

Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
AND

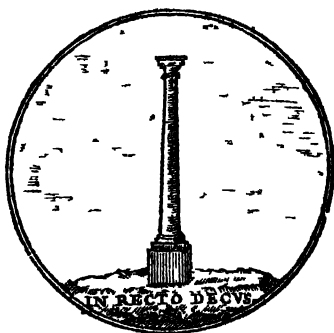
Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH
A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας εὐρεσθαι μὴ κατὰναι ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὐρήσεις
οὐκ ὅπως, ἀ τ ῶ ἑτεροὶ συνήξαν ἐγκρίτως.

Basil Imp ad Leon. fil.

V O L. VIII.



L O N D O N:

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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE
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V O L. VIII.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

*Of the Islands of Sicily, Crete, Saisos, Rhodes,
&c. to their becoming subject to the Romans.*

S E C T. I.

The History of Syracuse.

WE observed, in the close of the foregoing volume, that the disturbances raised in *Syracuse* by the *Agri-gentines*, who had taken refuge there, gave *Dionysius* a fair opportunity of making himself master of that city. We shall now see how he improved that opportunity, and what use he made of the sovereign power after he had seized it.

DIONYSIUS was a native of *Syracuse*, born, according to *Dionysius* some, of a noble and illustrious family; according to others, *stir, up the* of a mean extraction. He was one of those who accompa-*people.* nied *Hermocrates*, when he attempted to return to *Syracuse* by force of arms, after he had been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. *Hermocrates* was killed in the attempt,

Is chosen
one of the
generals.

and many of his friends afterwards publicly executed. *Dionysius* was dangerously wounded, and the report of his death, purposely spread abroad by his relations, saved his life. When the war, we are now speaking of, broke out, he was by the intercession of his friends, recalled, and distinguished himself at the battle fought near *Agrigentum*, in a very particular manner. When the *Agrigentines* charged the *Syracusan* officers with treachery, as if they had been gained over by the *Carthaginians* with bribes to betray their country, *Dionysius* backed their accusations, and even impeached the magistrates, as keeping a secret intelligence with the enemy, and attempting to introduce an oligarchy. His speech, which was entirely levelled against the wealthy and powerful citizens, and therefore agreeable to the humour of the people, set all the assembly in a flame; the people, already incensed against their commanders, being more exasperated by the speech of *Dionysius*, forthwith deprived them of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was *Dionysius*, now as much esteemed and favoured by the populace, as he had been lately persecuted and hated. Having gained this step to preferment, he began to consider with himself how he might have his colleagues turned out, and the whole command of the army lodged in himself. With this view he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders, nor imparted to them his resolution, giving out, that he durst not trust them, and that they had more at heart their own interest, than the welfare of their country. While he was thus by degrees paving his way to the throne, the most prudent among the citizens, being well apprised of his wicked designs, complained of his proceedings to the senate and magistrates, who fined him as a disturber of the public peace. According to the laws, the fine was to be paid before he could speak in public, and *Dionysius* was not in a condition to discharge it. Hereupon *Philistus* the historian, a man of great wealth, not only paid the fine for him, but encouraged him to speak his mind freely, as it became a zealous citizen to do, offering to pay all the fines they should lay upon him. *Dionysius*, being thus supported by the wealth of a rich citizen, and the favour of the people, as he was an eloquent speaker, bitterly inveighed against all those, who, on account of their power or interest, were in a condition to obstruct his designs, and by degrees brought them into disgrace with the people^a.

Gets the
Syracusan
exiles
recalled.

ANOTHER scheme, which he formed, was attended with all the success he could have wished, and greatly strengthened his party. There were, at that time, a great many *Syracusan*

^a Diodor. l. xiii. c. 12. Aristot. polit. l. v. c. 6.

an exiles dispersed up and down *Sicily*, whom the faction of the nobility had banished at different times, and under various pretences. These *Dionysius* looked upon as the most proper tools for the execution of his designs; for he did not doubt but their gratitude towards him, and their hatred against those, who had occasioned their misfortunes, would unalterably attach them to his party and interest. Wherefore in one of the assemblies, that were then frequently held to deliberate on the state of affairs, he applied with his usual address to the people in behalf of the exiles. A decree had passed for the raising a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the *Carthaginians*, and the people were very uneasy on account of the expence which the new levies would amount to. *Dionysius* took advantage of this favourable conjuncture, and disposition of the people. He represented, that it was absurd and impolitic to bring troops from *Italy* and *Peloponnesus* at a vast charge, when they might be supplied with excellent forces, without being at any expence at all; that, if they recalled their own countrymen, who were dispersed all over *Sicily*, they would, by that kindness, oblige them to sacrifice willingly their lives in defence of those who restored them to their former condition, &c. His speech had such an effect on the people, that a decree was immediately passed in favour of the exiles. Many plainly perceived what he had in view, but none durst contradict him, knowing that he had gained such an ascendant over the people, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the multitude against them, and raise the reputation of *Dionysius*, to whom alone the exiles would be indebted for their return. The decree was no sooner published, but the exiles flocked from all parts to *Syracuse*.^b

In the mean time the inhabitants of *Gela*, falling out among themselves, implored the protection of *Syracuse*, lest the common enemy should take advantage of their disagreement, and, by the assistance of one party, possess themselves of the city. *Dionysius* immediately marched thither with two thousand foot, and four hundred horse; and, finding the city in an uproar, occasioned by the unjust pretensions of the nobility over the people, he sided with the latter, and caused those to be put to death, whom the people condemned in their assembly. Their estates he confiscated and sold, and with the money arising from the sale paid the soldiers, who were there in garison under *Dexippus*, their arrears, distributing the overplus among the troops that came with him from *Syracuse*. At the same time he assured them all, that

^b Idém ibid.

their pay should be doubled ; which gained him the hearts of the soldiery. The *Geleans* treated him with the highest marks of distinction, and even sent ambassadors to *Syracuse*, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them, in sending thither *Dionysius*.

DURING his stay at *Gela*, he endeavoured to gain over to his views *Dexippus* ; but, not being able to persuade the *Lindusmonian* to come into his measures, he marched back to *Syracuse* with all his forces, promising to return soon with a more numerous army. He arrived at *Syracuse* just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who, thronging about him, inquired what news he brought concerning the *Carthaginians*. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city had not so much cause to be afraid of them, as of her own officers and magistrates, who, instead of making the necessary preparations against the approach of so formidable an enemy, lulled the people asleep with trivial amusements, and idle shews, and suffered the troops to want necessaries, converting their pay to their private uses ; that he had long suspected, but now saw plainly, what they aimed at ; that *Amilcar* had sent an officer to him, under pretence of redeeming some captives, but in truth to persuade him not to pry too narrowly into the conduct of his colleagues, and, if he would not enter into their measures, at least not to obstruct them ; that he was come determined to lay down his commission, that he might leave no room for injurious suspicions of his acting in concert with traitors, who basely fold their country.

Made generalissimo

THIS speech being divulged about the city, and among the troops, the very next day an assembly was convened, when *Dionysius* renewed his complaints against the generals, and was heard with universal applause. At length some in the assembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, and that the thing ought not to be put off till the enemy was battering the walls ; that the greatness of the war required such a commander ; and that *Gelon* was chosen generalissimo on the like occasion, and defeated the *Carthaginian* army, consisting of three hundred thousand men. As for the traitors, their cause might be referred to another day ; but the present affair would admit of no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect ; for the people, who, as the historian observes, are always apt to close with the worst advice, elected that instant *Dionysius* commander in chief, with an absolute and unbounded power.

Procures a guard.

ALL things succeeding thus according to his wish, he caused a decree to be passed, ordering that for the future the soldiers pay should be doubled, alleging, that they would be

be thereby encouraged to fight more chearfully in defence of their country. When the assembly broke up, the *Syracusians*, upon second thoughts, began to repent of what they had done, being sensible they had acted imprudently in putting the whole power into the hands of one man, which was, in effect, giving themselves a master, who might, if he pleased, lord it over them without controul. *Dionysius* therefore, to prevent the change of the people's minds, began to contrive how he might procure a guard for his person : if he could but gain this point, he concluded he might easily usurp the sovereignty. With this view he commanded all that were able to bear arms, and under forty years of age, to march with thirty days provisions to the city of *Leontini*, which belonged to the *Syracusians*, and was full of foreigners and exiles, persons very fit for the execution of his design. He encamped the first night on the plains of *Leontini*, where he caused a great noise and clamour to be made in the dead of the night by his servants and attendants, as if his enemies had attempted to assassinate him in his tent. In this alarm he fled to the castle of *Leontini*, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great many fires to be lighted, and drawn off with him such of the troops as he most confided in. At break of day he acquainted the people of *Leontini* with the danger he pretended to have been in ; and, feigning to be still under great apprehension, he demanded leave to choose himself a guard of 600 men for the security of his person. His demand seemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the spot, armed them completely, and encouraged them with great promises. He also attached the mercenaries to his interest in a peculiar manner, by addressing them with great freedom and affability. He then made several alterations and removals in the troops, giving commissions to such as he could rely upon, and turning out those whom he distrusted. Among the latter was *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, whom he sent back into *Greece*, not doubting but the *Syracusians* would choose him for their general, if they should attempt the recovery of their liberty ; for he was an officer of great experience, and could not, by any offers, be prevailed upon to fall in with *Dionysius*. At the same time he sent orders to the garison of *Gela* to join him, and assembled from all quarters fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals.

With this train he returned to *Syracuse*, which trembled at his approach. But the people were no longer in a condi-

* Idem ibid. & ARISTIDES in Panathen.

Seizes on
the cita-
del, and
declares
himself
king of
Syracuse.

Year of
the flood

1944.
Bef. Chr.

404.



Gela be-
sieg'd by
the Car-
thaginians

The inha-
bitants
abandon
the city.

tion to oppose his designs, or dispute his authority ; the city being full of mercenaries, who were in arms, and the *Carthaginians* with a mighty army on the frontiers. The first thing he did, after his return to *Syracuse*, was to possess himself of the citadel, where the arms and provisions were lodged ; which he no sooner saw himself master of, than, bidding defiance to his opposers, he publicly declared himself king of *Syracuse*, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he married the daughter of *Hermocrates*, whose family was the most powerful of *Syracuse*, and gave his own sister in marriage to *Polyenus*, brother-in-law to *Hermocrates*. Afterwards he called an assembly, in which he caused *Daphneus* and *Demarchus*, who had been the most active in opposing him, to be condemned. Thus *Dionysius* from a simple notary, as *Diodorus* informs us, raised himself to the sovereignty of the greatest and most opulent city of *Sicily* ^d.

IN the mean time, the *Carthaginians* under the command of *Amilcar*, having, on the return of the spring, raised the city of *Agrigentum*, marched with all their forces against *Gela* ; and, sitting down before that place, fortified their camp with a deep ditch and a wall, not doubting but *Dionysius* would come to the relief of the besieged with a powerful army. The *Geleans*, in the beginning of the siege, were for sending their wives and children to some place of safety ; but not one of them could be prevailed upon to retire ; they all protesting, that they would undergo the same fate as their husbands and parents. This resolution encouraged the *Geleans* to exert themselves in the defence of persons so dear to them, and to whom they were so dear. They made several sallies, and cut great numbers of the enemy in pieces. No sooner was a breach opened in the wall, but the inhabitants repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children cheerfully shared with them the labour and danger. Thus they held out a long time, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, against an army of above three hundred thousand men, without receiving any aid from their allies. At length *Dionysius* advanced to their relief, at the head of fifty thousand foot, and a thousand horse ; but, after some unsuccessful attempts, not caring to put all to the issue of a battle, he persuaded the inhabitants to abandon their country, as the only means to save their lives ; and covered their retreat with the forces he had brought to relieve the place. The *Carthaginians* immediately entered the city, and either put to the sword, or crucified, all those they found in it. From *Gela*

^d Idem ibid.

they advanced to *Comarina*, whither the *Geleans* had retired ; and *Dionysius*, being informed of their march, obliged the *Comarinians* to remove from their native city, and withdraw, with their wives and children, to *Syracuse*. The moving sight of aged persons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength from two several cities in one and the same country, and stripped of all their wealth and possessions, raised compassion in the breasts of *Dionysius's* soldiers, and incensed them against the tyrant. They suspected him to be in concert with the *Carthaginians* ; the more, because they did not offer to pursue him, and none of his mercenaries had been killed in the attacks he made on the enemy's camp before *Gela*. The *Italians* therefore left his camp in a body, and marched homewards through the heart of the country. The *Syracusan* cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, clapped spurs to their horses, and rode full gallop to *Syracuse*, where they entered the citadel without opposition, the guards being quite ignorant of what had happened at *Gela* and *Comarina*. Upon their arrival, they forced his palace, ransacked his treasures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abused his wife so cruelly, that through grief and shame she poisoned herself. In the mean time *Dionysius*, suspecting their design, followed them with all possible expedition ; and, having marched fifty miles without once halting, arrived at midnight, with an hundred horse, and five hundred foot, at the gate of *Acradina*, which he found shut against him. He immediately caused the gate to be burnt down ; and, having thus opened himself a way into the city, he cut in pieces a body of the most wealthy and noble citizens, who, without waiting for the people, had hastened to the defence of the gate. Being now master of the city, he scourged the streets, putting all those to the sword that came in his way, and even entering the houses of such as he took to be his enemies, and cutting them off with their whole families. Next morning at break of day the whole body of his troops arrived ; but the unhappy fugitives from *Gela* and *Comarina*, incensed against the tyrant, retired to *Leontini*.

In the mean time a plague breaking out in the *Carthaginian* camp, *Aniëar*, not finding himself in a condition to carry on the war, sent an herald to *Syracuse*, to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to *Dionysius* ; and a peace was immediately struck up on the following terms : That the *Carthaginians*, besides their antient acquisitions in *Sicily*, should still possess the countries of the *Sicani*, and the dismantled cities of *Selinus*, *Agri- gentum*, and *Himera*, with their territories ; that the *Geleans* and *Comarinians* should be suffered to return to their respective countries,

The Syracusians revolt from Dionysius.

He possesses himself of the city.

A peace between the Carthaginians and Dionysius.

countries, and live there, paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Leontines*, *Messenians*, and all the other inhabitants of *Sicily*, should live according to their own laws, and enjoy their liberties, except the *Syracusians*, who should continue subject to *Dionysius*. These articles being agreed to by both parties, *Amilcar* embarked his troops, and set sail for *Carthage*, after having lost above the half of his army by the plague, which afterwards made a dreadful havoc in *Africa* *.

He fortifies the island.

DIONYSIUS, foreseeing that the *Syracusians* would not fail to take advantage of the peace with the *Carthaginians* to attempt the recovery of their liberty, neglected nothing on his side in support of his power. He fortified the island, which was very strong by nature, and divided it from the rest of the city with an high and thick wall, which was at due distances flanked with strong towers. He built likewise at a vast expence a castle, which commanded the city, to serve him for a retreat, in case of any sudden commotion. As to the lands, he chose the most fertile for himself and his friend; the rest he equally distributed among the citizens, including in that number the slaves, whom he made free, and called *Neopolites*, or new citizens. In the same manner he divided the houses, except those in the island, which he bestowed on his mercenaries, and such friends as he could confide in †.

The Syracusians revolt anew.

HAVING taken these precautions for his own security, and deeming his authority sufficiently established, he began to think of extending his dominions, and subjecting several free states of *Sicily*, which had sided with the *Carthaginians*. He marched first against the city of *Herbessus*; but, while he was employed in the siege of that place, the *Syracusians*, who had been enlisted for that expedition, seeing their swords restored to them, thought it their duty to employ them in the recovery of their liberty. One of the tyrant's officers, endeavouring to prevent their meeting together in private cabals, was killed on the spot; and his death served as a signal for the rest to take up arms, and join in the common cause. They sent immediately to *Ætna* for the horse; for they had retired thither, and possessed themselves of that castle, when *Dionysius* first usurped the sovereignty. *Dionysius*, alarmed at these commotions, broke up the siege; and, hastening to *Syracuse*, made himself master of that city, before the news of the revolt in the army had reached it. The revolvers, being joined by the cavalry from *Ætna*, followed him close; and, encamping on *Epipolæ*, cut off all communication with the country. At the same time they dispatched messengers to *Rhegium* and *Messana*,

Dionysius besieged in the island.

* *Dios. Sicul. ibid.*

† *Idem ibid.*

soliciting their aid by sea for the recovery of their liberty. The messengers were kindly received in both places ; and fourscore galleys, well-manned, sent with all possible expedition to support so good a cause. Being thus reinforced, they promised, by the common crier, a great reward to any one that should kill the tyrant ; and the freedom of the city to all foreigners, who should abandon him, and come over to them. A great number of *Dionysius's* mercenaries, allured by these promises, forsook him, and were immediately made free of *Syracuse* ; and, besides, rewarded with large sums ; which so encouraged them, that, in a few days, the tyrant saw himself quite abandoned by those in whom he chiefly confided. And now the *Syracusians*, having prepared engines for the battering down of the wall, with repeated assaults so harassed those few that still kept with the tyrant, that they were soon reduced to the utmost extremity. In this desperate condition *Dionysius* assembled his friends, to consult with them rather by what kind of death he should put an end to his career, than by what means he might save his life, or maintain the sovereignty. They were divided in their opinions. *Heloris* advised him to lay violent hands on himself, before he was forced to resign the sovereign power ; telling him, that the royal title would be the greatest ornament of his sepulchre. *Polyxenus* would have had him attempt to break through the enemy's camp, on the swiftest horse he had ; and, retiring to those places which were subject to the *Carthaginians*, implore the assistance of the *Campanians*, whom *Amilcar* had left to defend his conquests in *Sicily*. But *Philistus* the historian opposed this advice ; telling *Dionysius*, that he ought not to fly from the crown, but hold it, to the last gasp, with both his hands. *Dionysius* closed with this advice ; and resolved to part with his life, rather than with the power he had acquired. However, to gain time, he sent deputies to the *Syracusians*, demanding permission to depart the city with his friends and adherents : which was granted ; and five ships were allowed him to transport his men and effects. In the mean time he sent privately dispatches to the *Campanians*, who garisoned the places in the possession of the *Carthaginians*, with great offers, if they would hasten to his relief *.

THE *Syracusians*, believing they had now got the better of the tyrant, and trusting to the treaty, disarmed part of their troops, and suffered the others to rove about in the fields, as if there were nothing further to be feared. In the mean time the *Campanians*, encouraged by *Dionysius's* generous promises, arrived unexpectedly at *Syracuse* ; and, having killed all who

* *Idem*, l. xiv. c. 3.

opposed them, broke through into the port where he was shut up. At the same time three hundred mercenaries more came to his assistance. The face of affairs was then entirely altered: and *Dionysius*, taking advantage of the consternation and distraction that reigned in the enemy's camp, made a vigorous sally, and drove them as far as that part of the city which was called *Neapolis*. The slaughter was not great, *Dionysius*, to ingratiate himself with the *Syracusians*, having given order to spare those that fled. With the same view he caused the dead to be buried; which had so good an effect on the minds of the simple populace, that above seven thousand of them joined him. But the *Syracusan* cavalry could not by any officers be prevailed upon to side with him; wherefore, seeing all lost, they retired anew to their strong castle of *Atina*, waiting there

*Recoovers
the former
reign power.*

for another opportunity of pulling down the tyrant. *Dionysius* sent frequent messages to them, exhorting them to lay aside their animosities, and return to their country; but the only answer they gave was, that they had rather live free in exile, than in their own country, subject to a tyrant. All the rest returned home, and again acknowledged *Dionysius* as their sovereign, who treated them for some time with great kindness and humanity. When all things were again quiet, he discharged the *Campanians* with great rewards, not daring to trust their fickle and inconstant humour. These, arriving at the city of *Entella*, prevailed with the citizens to receive them within their walls; which favour they requited by murdering in the night all the townsmen; and, possessing themselves of the city, they married the wives of the deceased, and maintained themselves, for many years, in possession of the place.

*The Campanians
seize on
the city of
Entella.*

*Dionysius
distrusts
the Syracusians.*

DIONYSIUS, being now convinced by experience, that he could not by any means trust the *Syracusians*, resolved to disarm them all; and because that, if done with open violence, might occasion great commotions, he waited till most part of the inhabitants had left the city, and were employed abroad in gathering in their harvest. He then searched narrowly every house, and seized on all the arms he could find. Afterwards he inclosed the citadel with another wall, fitted out a powerful fleet, hired a great many foreigners, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the attempts of the *Syracusians*.

HAVING sufficiently provided for his safety at home, he began to extend his conquests abroad, not only with a view of enlarging his dominions, and increasing his revenues, but in order to divert his subjects from the sense of the evils attending slavery, by employing them in military expeditions, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would stir them up. Having therefore

therefore mustered his troops, he took the field; and, in the *Hesubdues* very first campaign, possessed himself of *Naxos*, *Catana*, *Le-several* *ontini*, *Aetna*, *Enna*, and other cities. Some of them he *free cities*. treated with great clemency, to gain the esteem and affection of the people; others he plundered, and sold the inhabitants for slaves, to strike terror into the country.

THESE conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities, that saw themselves threatened with the same danger. *Rhegium*, situate on the opposite coast of the strait which divides *Sicily* from *Italy*, taking umbrage at the great naval preparations carried on at *Syracuse*, entered into an alliance with *Messana*, on the *Sicilian* side of the strait; and, having raised a considerable army, sent a messenger to the *Syracusians*, acquainting them, that, if they were desirous of shaking off the yoke they groaned under, they should be assisted with a numerous fleet, and powerful army. The *Syracusians* readily promised to perform their part; but, while the joint-forces of *Messana* and *Rhegium* were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, disputes arising among the troops and officers of the two armies, the enterprize was dropped, and the mighty preparations for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between *Dionysius* and the two cities.

DIONYSIUS had concluded the late peace with the *Cartha-* *Prepares* *ginians*, with no other view but to gain time to establish his authority: he therefore no sooner saw himself firmly seated on the throne, but he began to make the necessary preparations for renewing the war, designing nothing less than to drive them quite out of *Sicily*. As he was very sensible, how formidable the power of the *Carthaginians* was at that time, he made preparations suitable to the undertaking he was going upon. His first care was to bring to *Syracuse* from all parts of *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all sorts of arms. Not only the porches of the temples, but the schools, walks, piazzas about the forum, and every public place, nay, even private houses, were filled with workmen. The great wages, which *Dionysius* paid them, induced the best artificers in every profession to quit their own country, and flock to *Syracuse*. *Dionysius* himself was continually among them, encouraging them with great rewards, to dispatch the work in hand. Such as distinguished themselves by their ingenuity or application, were sure to receive some particular marks of his favour. He even invited them to dine with him, and took pleasure in entertaining them with all the freedom and kindness of a friend. The artificers, thus encouraged, were indefatigable, striving to outvie each other; in so much that in a short time an hundred and forty thousand complete suits of armour were finished.

He

*fits out a
fleet.*

He then applied himself intirely to the fitting out of a fleet, capable of disputing with the *Carthaginians* the sovereignty of the sea. The timber for building his galleys, he brought at a great expence from *Italy*, where it was drawn on carriages to the sea-side, and then shipped for *Syracuse*. Having provided the necessary materials, he employed such a vast number of workmen, that a fleet of two hundred sail was soon ready to put to sea: to these he added an hundred and ten old galleys, which he caused to be made as serviceable as the new ones. The preparations he made, both by sea and land, were so great and expensive, that one would have taken them, as our author observes, to have been the utmost effort of the whole island. The fleet was manned with an equal number of citizens and foreigners. *Syracuse*, and the cities in its dependence, supplied him with great part of his land-forces; many came from *Italy* and *Greece*, the great pay he offered inducing them to flock over in crowds, and list in his service. Being sensible of what importance it is for a general to gain the affection of his troops, he applied himself in a particular manner to oblige all, especially the *Syracusians*. With this view he intirely changed his behaviour for some time: kindness, civility, a disposition to do good, and an insinuating condescension, took place of that imperious air, and inhumane temper, which had rendered him so odious.

*War de-
clared a-
gainst the
Carthagi-
nians.*

DIONYSIUS, seeing his great preparations now complete, and the army in a condition to take the field, assembled the *Syracusians*, and acquainted them with his design; which was, he said, to make war upon the most implacable enemy the *Greeks* had: he represented to them, in a pathetic speech, the many calamities which the *Carthaginians* had brought upon *Sicily*; adding, that the plague, which had lately wasted *Carthage*, offered them a fair opportunity of being revenged on them for the inhuman cruelties they had practised on their countrymen. The assembly readily concurred in his opinion; the ancient hatred they bore the *Carthaginians*, their rage against them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding some opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their suffrages, and war was unanimously resolved on. Upon the breaking up of the assembly, *Dionysius* granted leave to the people to seize on all the goods and estates of the *Carthaginians*, who, upon the faith of treaties, had settled at *Syracuse*, and there carried on a considerable trade^b.

DIONYSIUS, finding the *Syracusians* no less desirous of the war than himself, dispatched an herald to *Carthage*, with a

^b Idem ibid, c. 7.

set out to the senate and people, notifying to them, that, if they did not forthwith withdraw their garisons from all the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuse* would treat them as enemies. His letter, being read first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people, occasioned a general alarm at *Carthage*, which the plague had reduced to a miserable condition. However, they were not dismayed, but sent officers into all parts with considerable sums to raise troops with the utmost diligence, and appointed *Amilcar* commander in chief of all their forces.

Dionysius on his side lost no time: without waiting for the answer of the *Carthaginians*, he took the field, and his army was daily increased by the arrival of new troops, which, out of hatred to the *Carthaginians*, flocked to him from all parts: it amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred long gallies, and five hundred transports, laden with warlike engines, and all sorts of provisions. He opened the campaign *Motya* with the siege of *Motya*, where the *Carthaginians* kept all sieged, their stores and provisions. This city stood near mount *Eryx* in a small peninsula about a mile from the shore, to which it was joined by a narrow neck of land; this the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side. *Dionysius*, after having taken a view of the place with his engineers, commanded the canal between the city and the shore to be filled up with rubbish, and his gallies to anchor at the mouth of the harbour. Having given these orders, he left his brother *Leptinus*, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the siege, while he, with his land-forces, went to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*; which, terrified at the approach of so great an army, all submitted, except five; viz. *Ancyra*, *Solas*, *Egesta*, *Panormus*, and *Entella*. The two last he besieged; but, not being able to reduce them in so short a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*; not doubting but all other places would surrender, as soon as they saw him master of this¹.

In the mean time *Amilcar*, who was busy in raising men, and making other preparations for the war in *Sicily*, ordered his admiral to set sail from *Carthage* with ten gallies; and, making strait to *Syracuse*, to destroy all the vessels he should find in that harbour. What he proposed by this, was, to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige *Dionysius* to send part of his fleet to the defence of *Syracuse*. The admiral, pursuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night; and, having sunk

¹ Idem ibid.

most of the ships he found there, sailed back to *Carthage*, without the loss of a single man.

Dionysius, on his return to *Motya*, having set more hands at work, speedily filled up the canal with heaps of stones and rubbish; so that he could make his approaches, as on the dry land. He then brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers six stories high, rolled upon wheels; and from thence galled the besieged with continual volleys of arrows and stones discharged from his catapults, an engine at that time of late invention. *and taken.* The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the aggressors had opened several breaches in the walls, and entered the city sword in hand, the besieged still persisted in defending the narrow streets and passages, with incredible valour, so that they were driven from street to street; till, being quite tired out, and overpowered with numbers, they were all cut in pieces. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all to the sword, without distinction of sex or age, those only excepted, who took sanctuary in the temples. The city was given up to be plundered, *Dionysius* being glad to have such an opportunity of gaining the affection of the troops by the allurements of gain and booty. He rewarded one *Archylus*, who first mounted the wall, with an hundred minas, and all the rest, in proportion to their merit. Such of the *Motyans* as were left alive, he sold for slaves; but commanded *Diamenes*, and all the *Greeks*, who had joined the *Carthaginians*, to be crucified. Having thus reduced the strongest city in *Sicily* subject to *Carthage*, and placed a numerous garison in it under the command of one *Bito* a *Syracusan*, and ordered *Leptines*, with an hundred and twenty galleys, to watch the *Carthaginians* at sea; summer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to *Syracuse*.

The city plundered, and the inhabitants treated with great cruelty. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, having certain intelligence of the strength of *Dionysius*, resolved to surpass him in numbers both of men and ships; and accordingly, having made an extraordinary effort, they raised an army of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. Their fleet, under the command of *Mago*, consisted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of six hundred ships of burden laden with provisions and engines of war. The troops being embarked, and the fleet ready to set sail, *Amikar* delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet sealed up, injoining them not to open them till they were out at sea, and then to observe them with all strictness. This precaution he took (and it is the first time we find it used) to prevent spies from informing the enemy of his designs. The orders were, that they

they should make strait to *Panormus*, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous; and thither they steered their course with a fair wind. But the transports, having out-failed the gallies, were attacked off the coast of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, who sunk fifty of them, in which five thousand men, and two hundred chariots, were lost; the rest, tacking about, had the good fortune to escape. As soon as the gallies appeared, *Leptines* retired; and *Amilcar*, having landed his troops, marched directly against the enemy, commanding the fleet to sail along the coast near the army. On his march he took *Eryx* by treachery, and, hastening from thence to *Messana*, reduced that important place, before *Dionysius*, who was then besieging *Egesta*, could send any forces to its relief. The *Syracusians*, and their confederates, were for venturing a battle; but *Dionysius* thought it more adviseable to retire to *Syracuse*, and abandon all the open country to the mercy of the *Carthaginians*; who, flushed with their success, marched strait to *Messana*. *Amilcar* was desirous to possess himself of that city, on account of its situation; for, being once master of it, he could easily intercept all succours sent to the enemy, either from *Italy* or *Greece*; and, besides, the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which consisted of five hundred sail, and upwards. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themselves about the measures to be taken on that occasion. Some, alarmed at the great strength of the *Carthaginians*, and seeing themselves deserted by their confederates, were for submitting to the enemy; others were resolved to hold out to the last, and cheerfully sacrifice their lives in the defence of their liberties. They were encouraged to this resolution by an antient prophecy; whereby it was foretold, *That the Carthaginians should be one day carriers of water in that city*. This they interpreted, as if the *Carthaginians* should be slaves in *Messana*; and therefore, having sent away their wives and children, with all their treasures, to the neighbouring cities, they began to make the necessary preparations. But, in the mean time, the *Carthaginian* fleet, having, by the favour of a strong gale, entered the harbour, and, with a great number of engines, battered down the walls on that side, the inhabitants hastened in crouds to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. *Amilcar* took advantage of this confusion; and, attacking the city on the land-side, entered it without opposition. All those who were on the ramparts, died valiantly on the spot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or threw themselves into the sea, and made their escape to the opposite shore of *Italy*. *Amilcar*, entering *Messana* with his whole army, and

andrased
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ground.

considering, that it was too far distant from the cities held by the *Carthaginians*, ordered his soldiers to raise it to the ground; and his orders were executed with such severity, that there was not one house left standing in the whole city; nay, our historian relates, that, after the departure of the *Carthaginians*, it was hard to tell where *Messana* had stood, the very rubbish being carried away, and thrown into the sea; which discovered the implacable hatred *Amilcar* bore to the *Greeks*.

THE fame of these successes being spread all over the island, most of the inhabitants, who hated *Dionysius* in their hearts, and had only been reconciled to him in appearance, and out of fear, took this opportunity to quit his party, and join the *Carthaginians*. He raised new forces; and, giving the slaves their liberty, manned with them three score galleys. His whole army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and his fleet to an hundred and eighty galleys. With these he took the field, and removed about twenty miles from *Syracuse*. *Amilcar*, upon advice of his march, advanced to meet him; his land-army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coast. When the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Naxos*, they could not continue any longer their march by the sea-side, but were obliged to take a long compass round mount *Ætna*, which by a violent eruption had covered all the neighbouring country with burning ashes. *Amilcar* therefore ordered *Mago* to sail to *Catana*, and there wait till he, marching thro' the heart of the country, should rejoin him with the land-forces. *Dionysius*, apprised of this, hastened with all speed to *Catana*, with a design to attack *Mago*, before *Amilcar's* army came up: he hoped, that his land-forces, drawn up on the shore, would greatly encourage his own mariners, and discourage the enemy's: besides, if his fleet were worsted, both ships and men had a place of safety to retire to.

A fight at
sea be-
tween Ma-
go and
Leptines.

HAVING therefore daawn up his land-forces on the shore, he sent out *Leptines* with the whole fleet against the enemy; commanding him to engage in close order, and not to break his line upon any account whatsoever. The *Carthaginians*, seeing the *Greek* troops drawn up on the shore, and the navy advancing in good order against them, were struck with terror, and began to make to the shore, with a design, to save themselves over land, and join *Amilcar*; but, recollecting that this was equally, if not more, dangerous, they resolved to try their fortune by sea; and accordingly, drawing themselves up in a line, waited for the enemy. *Leptines*, inconsiderately advancing with thirty of his best galleys, contrary to the express command of *Dionysius*, sunk several of the enemy's ships, but was himself surrounded; and, after having fought

for some hours hand to hand with the enemy, as if in a battle Leptines on land, was obliged to fly. The flight of the admiral dis-*defeated.* heartened the *Syracusians*, and gave the enemy fresh courage; the former fled to the shore where their land-forces were drawn up, but were closely pursued by the *Carthaginians*. Many, abandoning their ships, threw themselves into the sea, hoping to save their lives by swimming to the shore; but the *Carthaginian* transports, which lay near the shore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of those unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any resistance. The land-army saw them perish, without being able to give them the least relief. In this engagement above an hundred of the *Syracusan* galleys were either sunk or taken, and more than twenty thousand of their men killed in the battle or pursuit.

UPON this misfortune the land-forces, under the command Dionysius of *Dionysius*, solicited their generals to lead them against *marches Amilcar*, alleging, that their unexpected arrival would strike *back to* terror into the enemy, and give them a fair opportunity of *Syracuse*. retrieving their late loss, while the enemy's troops were fatigued with their long and hasty march. This proposal pleased *Dionysius* at first; but, while he was preparing to march, some of his friends remonstrating to him, that *Mago*, in the mean time, with his victorious fleet, might possess himself of *Syracuse*, he altered his resolution, and hastened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. Many of the *Sicilians*, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues and hardships of a siege, deserted, and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their respective homes.

AMILCAR, in two days march, arrived at *Catana*, where *Syracuse* he halted some time to refresh his troops; and then, animated *besieged.* with the good success that attended his arms, marched strait to *Syracuse*, with a design to besiege it; while his fleet, under the command of *Mago*, sailed along the coast, carrying great plenty of provisions for the subsistence of so numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmost consternation. Above two hundred galleys, adorned with the spoils of the enemy, entered in a kind of triumph the great haven of *Syracuse*, and were followed by a thousand transports; so that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain so great a navy. The fleet had scarce cast anchor, when the army appeared on the other side, consisting of three hundred thousand foot, and four thousand horse. *Amilcar* took up his quarters in the temple of *Jupiter*, and the rest of the army encamped round it, about twelve sur-

longs from the city. The next morning the *Carthaginian* general, advancing with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, offered the inhabitants battle, but, as they were not so imprudent as to accept the challenge, he returned to his camp, well satisfied at his having extorted from the *Syracusians* a tacit confession of their own weakness, and his superiority. At the same time he ordered an hundred of his best galleys to enter the two other harbours, viz. the *Little Port*, and that of *Trogilus*, to strike more terror into the *Syracusians*, and convince them, that the *Carthaginians* were likewise masters at sea. As he met with no opposition, he sent out parties for thirty days together to lay waste the country, cutting down groves, and destroying all before him. He took, by assault, the quarter of the town called *Aradina*, where he plundered the rich temples of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. He considered the city as a sure prey, which could not possibly escape him; but, at the same time, foreseeing that the siege would be long and tedious, he surrounded his camp with a trench, and inclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished, for that purpose, all the tombs which stood round the city, and, amongst others, that of *Gilon*, and his wife *Demarata*, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the sea, at equal distances from each other; one at *Plemmyrium*, another about the middle of the port; and the third near the temple of *Jupiter*; laying up in these great stores of provision. He sent likewise transports to *Sardinia* and *Africa*, to bring from thence corn, and other necessaries.

In the mean time *Polyxenus*, whom *Dionysus* had dispatched into *Italy* and *Greece* with great sums of money to raise what forces he could, arrived with a fleet of thirty ships under the command of *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. This reinforcement came very seasonably, and somewhat raised the courage of the despirited *Syracusians*, who, spying a large vessel laden with provisions for the enemy, ventured out with five galleys, and took it. As they were sailing away with their prize, the *Carthaginians* gave them chase with forty sail, against which they advanced with their whole fleet, and, engaging them, took the admiral galley, and twenty-four more, damaged others, and pursued the rest to the place, where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a second time. The *Carthaginians*, discouraged with this unexpected overthrow, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's, who challenged them.

The Syracusians defeat the Carthaginians by sea.

* Idem ibid.

THE

THE *Syracusians*, animated by this success, which could only be ascribed to their own valour (for both *Dionysius* and *Lepides* were then absent), began to encourage each other to shake off the shameful yoke of servitude, and reclaim their antient liberty. What exploits, said they, have we achieved under the conduct of the tyrant? Have we not been always shamefully overcome by the *Carthaginians*? But now, that we did not fight under the unlucky auspices of *Dionysius*, we have gained a glorious victory, and are returned conquerors.

Why then do we not exert the same courage against a domestic tyrant, which we have shewn against a foreign enemy? We have again got swords in our hands; let us employ them against him who has injured us more than the *Carthaginians* themselves. While these speeches were whispered about the town, *Dionysius*, who had been out at sea with a small squadron to procure provisions, landed at the port; and, having summoned an assembly, he congratulated the *Syracusians* on their late victory, promising in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from their present calamities. When the assembly was ready to break up, one *Theodorus*, a *Theodo-Syracusan* of great authority among the nobility, and who had done eminent services to his country, stood up, and spoke thus: "Although *Dionysius* has advanced many falsehoods in his speech, yet what he said in the close of it, viz. that he would put a speedy end to the war, he may truly perform, if he himself, who has always been overcome, resign the command, and restore us to our liberty; for none of us care to venture our lives in the field against a foreign enemy, while we know, that, notwithstanding our victory, we are to be treated like slaves by a domestic tyrant. If the *Carthaginians* prevail, by paying an annual tribute, we shall be allowed to enjoy our liberties; but, if *Dionysius* should conquer, he would not fail to rob our temples, plunder our houses, seize our estates, take away our lives, and deprive us of all that is most dear to us. Let us therefore get rid of the tyrant within our walls, before we attempt to drive away a less dangerous enemy without. Shall we, who have lately engaged thousands, and put them to flight, be now afraid of one tyrant? We have arms in our hands, and against whom can we better employ them, than against one who has reduced us to such a deplorable condition, that we are pitied even by our enemies? If *Dionysius* consents to abdicate the tyranny, and retire, let us open our gates to him, and his followers; but, if he refuses to resign his usurped authority, let him know by experience, how powerful is the love of liberty in the breasts of brave and valiant men."

WHEN *Theodorus* had ended his speech, the *Syracusians*, much perplexed in their minds, and not knowing what to resolve on, looked earnestly on their allies, especially on the *Spartans* there present; when *Pharacidas*, who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, rose up. Every one expected, that a citizen of *Sparta* would declare in favour of liberty; but they were disappointed in their hopes; for he told them, that he had been sent by his republic to assist the *Syracusians* and *Dionysius* against the *Carthaginians*, and not to make war upon *Dionysius*, or subvert his authority. This unexpected answer put a stop to any further attempts of the *Syracusians*; and the tyrant's mercenaries arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. However, *Dionysius* was under no small apprehension; and, from that time, left no stone unturned to ingratiate himself with the people, affecting on all occasions to treat them with great kindness and familiarity c.

Polyxenus with- draws from Sy- racuse.

The un- daunted behaviour of Thesta Dionysius's sister.

POLYXENUS, who had married *Thesta*, *Dionysius's* sister, declared against him on this occasion; and, not thinking himself safe in *Sicily*, privately withdrew into *Italy*. When *Dionysius* was informed of his flight, he sent for his sister, and bitterly reproached her for not giving him notice of her husband's retreat, since she could not be ignorant of it. *Thesta* replied, without expressing the least fear or concern, Have I appeared to you to be so bad a wife, and so mean-spirited, as to have abandoned my husband in his flight? No; I was quite unacquainted with his design; but, if he had imparted it to me, I should not have discovered it to you, but shared with him his dangers and misfortunes, reckoning myself more happy in being called the wife of *Polyxenus* the exile, than the sister of *Dionysius* the tyrant. *Dionysius*, though highly incensed against his sister, yet could not help commending the affection she expressed for her husband; and the *Syracusians* were so charmed with the love she shewed for her country on this and all other occasions, that, after the tyranny was suppressed, the same honours, equipage and train, which she had before, were continued to her, during her life. After her death the whole city attended her funeral, which was performed, at the expence of the public, with extraordinary pomp and splendor d.

A plague in the Car- thaginian army.

BUT to return to the *Carthaginians*; their successes were not lasting. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking *Syracuse* upon their arrival, when the sight of a mighty fleet, and a formidable army, had occasioned an universal consternation in the city; and now a plague, breaking out in their camp, prevented them from making any attempts

c Idem ibid,

d PLUTARCH. in Dion.

towards the reduction of the place. This infection was looked upon as a punishment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, and demolishing the tombs round the city ; but was, in effect, occasioned by the unwholesome exhalations of the fens and marshes joining their camp ; for the *Athenians*, who spared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the same calamity. The plague began among the *Africans*, and soon spread through the whole army. Care was taken at first to interr the dead ; but, their numbers increasing daily, they were left unburied ; and this, as it was then the midst of summer, and the heat that year excessive, aggravated the evil beyond measure. This infection was attended with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all the parts of the body, &c. : some were even seized with madness and fury, falling upon all those that came in their way, and tearing them to pieces. The plague was so violent, that, in a short time, it swept away above an hundred thousand men, all remedies proving unsuccessful, by reason of the incredible violence of the distemper, and the quick dispatch it made of such as were seized with it.

DIONYSIUS resolved not to let slip so favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy. Having therefore manned fourscore galleies, he ordered *Pharacidas* and *Leptines* to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view, having commanded his troops to be ready to march by midnight, he set out at the head of ten thousand chosen men at the time appointed ; and, without being discovered, arrived at the enemy's camp. He then detached a strong body of cavalry, and a thousand of the mercenary foot, with orders to fall upon that part of the camp which lay at the greatest distance, pretending that the enemy there kept no guard ; but his real design was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having, in the late disturbance, inclined to favour the faction which opposed him. Accordingly he gave private instructions to the officers of the horse to attack as soon as the infantry was engaged ; his orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being surrounded on all sides, were cut off all to a man. Upon the return of the cavalry, *Dionysius* at the same time attacked the camp, and the forts which the enemy had built near the shore. Two of the forts were taken at the first onset, which gave the *Syracusans* an opportunity of entering the great haven with all their fleet, and falling furiously on the enemy's galleies anchored there. The *Carthaginians* in the camp made at first a vigorous resistance ; but, seeing the two forts, which defended the harbour, possessed by the enemy, and their navy

Dionysius forces the Carthaginian camp, and burns their fleets

in imminent danger of being utterly destroyed, many of them, abandoning the defence of the camp, hastened to the shore to the relief of their companions on board the vessels. This occasioned a great confusion in the army, which *Dionysius* taking advantage of, broke into the camp, and made a dreadful havoc, putting all to the sword who opposed him. The surprize, terror, and even haste they were in to put themselves in a posture of defence, threw them into greater confusion and disorder. They knew not on what side to find relief, all being equally in danger. Many of their vessels were sunk, others quite disabled, and a great many burnt and taken. The inhabitants of *Syracuse*, crowded on the walls and eminences, were eye-witnesses of that scene of horror, and, lifting up their hands to heaven, thanked the tutelary gods of the city for revenging in so signal a manner the many sacrileges, which the *Carthaginians* had committed since their arrival in *Sicily*. The slaughter in the camp, and on board the vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only when night obliged the conquerors to retire. *Dionysius* encamped at the temple of *Jupiter*, near the enemy, with a design to renew the fight early next morning; but *Amilcar*, taking the opportunity of this short respite, sent ambassadors privately to *Dionysius*, offering him three hundred talents, if he would permit the remains of his shattered army to withdraw unmolested. *Dionysius* was unwilling utterly to destroy the *Carthaginians*, lest the *Syracusians*, when free from the apprehension of so formidable an enemy, should seek to regain their ancient liberty; but, on the other side, he knew, that neither the *Syracusians*, nor their confederates, would suffer him to grant the enemy such terms. He therefore answered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire; but that he would allow *Amilcar*, with all the citizens of *Carthage*, to depart in the night, upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed on, *Dionysius* retired with his forces into the city, where *Amilcar* privately sent him the promised sum, and then made the necessary preparations for his departure. The *Carthaginians* were put on board forty galleys, and ready to set sail, when the *Corinthians*, who served under *Dionysius*, discovering from the noise and motion of the vessels, that *Amilcar* was making off, sent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered some galleys to be manned, as if he designed to prevent their retreat; but, as his orders were but slowly executed, the *Corinthians* without his command pursued them, and sunk several vessels in the rear. *Dionysius* then marched out with his troops against those, whom *Amilcar* had left behind to the mercy of the conqueror; but, before his arrival,

Dionysius
grants the
Carthaginians
leave to
retire

the

the *Carthaginians* in the *Carthaginian* service had retired to their respective cities, the rest, seeing themselves abandoned by the *Syracusan* and *Carthaginian* by the *Carthaginians*, at the approach of *Jas'* army betook themselves to flight; but, being closely pursued, were either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners. Only the *Iberians* kept together in a body, and sent an herald to capitulate with *Dionysius*, who took them into his service. Such was the fate of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*; which shews, says our historian, that those, who are too much elated with power and success, may soon be forced to confess their weakness and vanity. Those haughty conquerors, masters of almost all *Sicily*, who looked upon *Syracuse* as their own, and entered at first triumphant into the harbour, insulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully in the night, dragging away with them the sad ruins and miserable remains of their shattered fleet and army, after having left an hundred and fifty thousand men lying unburied in the enemy's country^e.

AMILCAR, upon his arrival at *Carthage*, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, went directly to his own house; and, shutting the doors against the citizens, and even his own children, laid violent hands on himself, to shew that he did not survive his countrymen, who perished in *Sicily*, out of a fondness for life, but merely to preserve the troops, which had escaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which his more early death would have exposed them. When it was publicly known in *Africa*, that *Amilcar* had saved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and states, which had sent them auxiliaries, were incensed to such a degree, that, taking up arms, they marched directly to *Carthage*, being two hundred thousand men and upwards. But, as they wanted a leader of experience, and had neither warlike engines nor provisions to support so numerous an army, they soon dispersed, and, retiring to their respective countries, freed *Carthage* from a dreadful alarm.

THE *Carthaginians* being thus intirely defeated in *Sicily*, all those who had abandoned their country through dread of so formidable an enemy, returned to their ancient habitations. *Dionysius* caused the city of *Messana* to be rebuilt, and peopled it with a thousand *Lacrians*, and four thousand *Medymneans*. This gave no small jealousy to the inhabitants of *Rhegium* in *Italy*; who, receiving into their protection all those that were driven out by *Dionysius*, or hated his government, formed a considerable army, which they sent, under the conduct of

^e Idem ibid.

The Rhegians defeated by Dionysius *Heloris*, to besiege *Messana*. But *Dionysius*, unexpectedly falling upon them, cut most of the *Rhegian* forces in pieces, and obliged the rest to retire to their vessels, and abandon the island. He had scarce obtained this victory over the *Rhegians*,

And Mago the Carthaginian.

but *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Amilcar* had left to settle the affairs of *Carthage* in *Sicily*, appeared before *Messana*, at the head of a numerous army; but was attended with no better success, being, in a pitched battle, driven out of the field, with the loss of above eight hundred men. *Dionysius*, animated by these two victories, resolved to make an attempt upon *Rhegium*; and accordingly, having manned an hundred galleys, arrived unperceived before the city, set fire to the gates, and, in the confusion which his arrival occasioned, was very near carrying the city by assault, the inhabitants being more intent upon extinguishing the fire than repulsing the enemy.

Dionysius repulsed at Rhegium.

But *Heloris*, perceiving the danger the city was in, ordered the inhabitants to give over quenching the flames, and hasten to the walls; by which means the place was saved; for some of *Dionysius's* men had already, by the help of their scaling-ladders, got into the city; but, the rest being timely prevented from following them, they were either put to the sword, or made prisoners. *Dionysius*, being thus disappointed in his design, laid waste the territory of *Rhegium*, and then retired to *Syracuse*.

Mago concludes a peace with Dionysius

THE *Carthaginians*, however disheartened by their late losses, yet could not forbear making new attempts upon *Sicily*. They sent *Mago* fourscore thousand men, injoining him to make war upon *Dionysius*, and promising quickly to send him new supplies of men, money, and ships. But *Mago*, being soon reduced to great streights for want of provisions, sent ambassadors to *Dionysius* to treat of a peace, which was concluded before either side had lost one man. By this treaty *Taurominium*, a *Carthaginian* colony, was given up to *Dionysius*, who, driving from thence the antient proprietors, placed the choicest of his mercenaries in their room. As for *Mago*, as soon as the treaty was signed, he returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in *Sicily* to shift for themselves.

Dionysius attacks Rhegium.

AND now *Dionysius*, being under no apprehension of the *Carthaginians*, bent all his thoughts on the reduction of *Rhegium*, which was the key of *Italy*, with a design to bring under his power all the *Greek* cities there. He had then under his command an army of twenty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, besides an hundred and twenty galleys well manned and equipped. With these he passed over into *Italy*; and, having laid waste the country of the *Locrians*, advanced to *Rhegium*. But, in the mean time, the *Italians*, being well apprised of his designs, raised forces in all their cities; and, having

having fitted out a fleet of sixty gallies, sent them to the relief of *Rhegium*. They were met by a squadron of *Dionysius's* His fleet consisting of fifty gallies; whereupon a sharp engagement ensued, in which *Dionysius* lost seven gallies, and fifteen hundred men. The fleets were parted by a violent storm, which driving many of the *Syracusan* vessels upon the *Rhegian* shore, the mariners were either cut in pieces by the inhabitants, or taken prisoners, *Dionysius* himself having narrowly escaped in a small vessel, and with much ado landed at midnight at the port of *Messana*. *defeated, himself narrowly escaping.*

THIS disappointment did not make *Dionysius* lay aside his designs upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*; he reinforced his army with new levies, equipped a greater number of ships, and made vast preparations both by sea and land, in order to renew the war. In the mean time he entered into an alliance with the *Lucanians*, engaging them, with great promises, to fall upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, hoping to find them thereby on his return so weakened, that he might easily accomplish his design. The *Lucanians*, agreeable to their engagement, entering the country of the *Thurians*, put all to fire and sword; and, having joined battle with the confederate *Greeks*, killed above ten thousand of them on the spot. Those, who escaped the slaughter, fled to an hill near the sea-side, whence they discovered a squadron of ships making to the *Italian* shore; and, hoping that they were sent from *Rhegium* to their assistance, out of eagerness to save themselves from the *Lucanians*, who pursued them, leaped into the sea, and swam to the ships. But this fleet proved to be a squadron sent by *Dionysius* to the assistance of the *Lucanians*, under the command of his brother *Leptines*. However, that commander not only received them generously into his ships, but prevailed upon the *Lucanians* to accept for each man, they being a thousand in all, a mina, and suffer them to return unmolested into their own country. This sum, which was very considerable, *Leptines* himself disbursed, being moved thereunto by his own generosity, and natural inclination to pity even an enemy in distress. Such a generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the *Greeks*, but highly displeased *Dionysius*, who immediately discharged him, and appointed *Thearides*, his other brother, admiral in his room. *Leptines's generous behaviour.*

AND now *Dionysius*, having made the necessary preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, set sail from *Syracuse* with an army of above twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and a fleet of forty long gallies, and three hundred transports, loaded with provisions, and all sorts of warlike engines. The fifth day after his departure from *Syracuse*, he arrived at *Messana*. *Dionysius gain into Italy.*

^f DION. SIC. *ibid.* c. 12,

Lays siege
to Caulonia.

Defeats
the Italians
attempting
to relieve
it.

His generosity
to the captives.

Rhegium
besieged.

Syracusa, whence he sent his brother *Thearides* to the *Lipara* islands, upon advice brought him, that ten ships of *Rhegium* were anchored there. *Thearides* found the ships, and returned, with them and their crews, to *Dionysius*, who delivered the prisoners, loaded with chains, to the care and custody of the magistrates of *Messana*, and then set sail for *Italy*. The first place he attacked was *Caulonia* or *Caulum*, a strong city in *Locris*, which, though battered night and day without intermission, held out till the *Italians*, having raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, drew near the city, in order to relieve it. These were commanded by *Heloris*, a native of *Syracusa*, whence he had been banished by *Dionysius*, and therefore bore him an implacable hatred. *Heloris*, as he drew near the besieged city, advanced with a detachment of five hundred chosen men to observe the ground on which the enemy was encamped. But *Dionysius*, upon advice of his approach, breaking up the siege, marched with all speed against him; and, arriving by break of day at the place where *Heloris* was encamped with his small detachment, fell upon him with his whole army. *Heloris* kept his ground, in spite of the utmost efforts of an army so much superior in number, till the rest of his forces came up. But, as they arrived by parties, every one making what haste he could to relieve their general, they were, after a long and obstinate dispute, put to flight. *Heloris* and his party still kept their posts, and were all killed on the spot. Those who escaped, fled to a neighbouring mountain, and there made a stand. But, as they wanted water, and were hemmed in on all sides by the enemy, they sent an herald to *Dionysius*, offering to surrender, provided he would allow them to retire unmolested; but, he insisting upon their delivering themselves up at discretion, they held out till they were ready to perish with hunger and thirst, and then complied with his proposal. They were above ten thousand, and expected no quarter from so cruel an enemy. But *Dionysius*, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great humanity, discharging them all without ransom, and suffering them to live in their respective countries according to their own laws. This, as our historian observes, was the only commendable action he ever performed in the whole course of his life. The captives, on their return to their respective cities, greatly extolled his clemency and good-nature; and acknowledged his kindness to them by presenting him with crowns of gold &c.

DIONYSIUS having, by this generous action, acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and, from

• Idem ibid.

enemies,

enemies, made them his friends and allies, he turned his arms again upon the city of *Rhegium*. He was highly incensed against the *Rhegians*, on account of their having refused to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, and much more for the insolent answer with which their refusal was attended (2). The besieged, finding themselves abandoned by their allies, whom *Dionysius* had gained over by his late kindness, and expecting no quarter if the city should be taken by storm, sent ambassadors to treat of a surrender. *Dionysius* offered them peace, upon condition that they paid him three hundred talents, delivered up all their vessels, which were seventy in number, and put an hundred hostages into his hands. These terms the inhabitants agreed to, and the siege was raised. It was not out of kindness or good-nature he acted in this manner, but with a view to deprive them of their fleet, knowing that it would be impossible for the *Rhegians* to hold out, if they received no assistance by sea. He therefore put off from day to day his march, waiting for some colourable pretence to break the treaty lately concluded with the *Rhegians*. With this view, having drawn all his forces together, as if he intended to leave *Italy*, he desired the *Rhegians* to supply his army with provisions, promising to defray the charges they should be at, as soon as he got to *Syracuse*. His design in this was, that, if they refused to supply him, he might have a pretence to attack their city anew; and, if they complied with his demand, after their provisions were all spent, he might easily possess himself of the place. The *Rhegians*, not suspecting his design, supplied him for some days very plentifully. But, as he put off his departure from day to day, sometime,

(2) *Dionysius*, in the beginning of his reign, did all that lay in his power to oblige the two powerful cities of *Rhegium* and *Messana*, lest they should enter into an alliance with the *Syracusans*, among whom his authority was not then well established. The inhabitants of *Messana* he presented with some lands in their neighbourhood, which lay very conveniently for them. To give the people of *Rhegium* an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he sent ambassadors to desire them to give him the

daughter of one of their citizens in marriage. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors, the people of *Rhegium*, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, took a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and, for their final answer, charged the ambassadors to acquaint the tyrant, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. This gross abuse *Dionysius* never put up, but continually studied how to revenge it (13).

Who nevertheless renews hostilities.

Dionysius dangerously wounded.

The besieged reduced to great straits.

Rhegium taken.

Dionysius's cruelty to Phyto.

pretending sickness, at other times alleging other frivolous excuses, they at length saw into his real design, and forbore sending him any further provisions. Hereupon *Dionysius*, pretending to be highly affronted, sent them back their hostages, and besieged them again with all his forces. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the fear of inhuman cruelties on the other, animated the troops. The *Rhegians* were under the command of *Pisto*, an officer of long experience, and extraordinary valour. He made frequent sallies, in one of which *Dionysius*, while he was encouraging his troops to stand their ground, was so dangerously wounded, that his life was despaired of. However, he recovered, and renewed the siege with more fury than ever, the walls trembling all round the city at the repeated shocks of almost innumerable warlike engines, no otherwise, as our historian expresses it, than as if they had been shaken by a dreadful earthquake. But, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the aggressors, the siege went on very slowly, their works being often demolished, and their engines burnt, by the besieged, who in each sally gained very considerable advantages. Thus they held out for the space of eleven months against the whole force of *Dionysius*; but were at length, for want of provisions, reduced to the utmost extremity. A bushel of wheat was sold for five minas, that is, 15*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and the famine was so great, that, after they had consumed all their horses and beasts of burden, they supported themselves with boiled skins and leather; which also failing, they daily went out of the town to feed, like brutes, on the grass that grew under the walls. But *Dionysius*, to deprive them even of this poor support, sent his horses under a strong guard to graze where they used to feed. The besieged, being thus overcome by famine, were at length forced to surrender at discretion. *Dionysius* himself, when he entered the city, was struck with terror, finding every-where heaps of dead bodies lying in the streets, and those who survived rather skeletons than men. However, he got together about six thousand prisoners, whom he sent to *Syracuse*, where such as were not able to redeem themselves with a mina, were sold for slaves. *Dionysius* vented his rage and revenge chiefly on the brave *Phyto*, who had made so gallant a defence; he caused his son to be thrown headlong into the sea, and drowned. The next day he ordered *Phyto* to be loaded with chains, and fastened to the top of one of his highest engines, that he might be exposed to the view of the whole army. In that condition he sent one of his guards to tell him, that his son had been drowned the day before; *Then the son*, replied *Phyto*, is by one day happier than the father. He afterwards caused him to be

be whipped through the city, and undergo innumerable other cruelties, whilst a crier, walking before him, proclaimed, that *the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner for having stirred up the people of Rhegium to war.* But *Phyto*, with an undaunted courage, cried out, that *he thus suffered, because he would not betray his country to a tyrant.* His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he suffered, raised compassion even in the breasts of the tyrant's soldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have rescued him, had not *Dionysius* immediately ordered him to be thrown into the sea. Thus suffered a man, whose probity, courage, and disinterested zeal for the good of his country, deserved a more glorious end. His death was lamented by all the *Greeks*, and became the subject of many elegant and affecting elegies ^b.

DIONYSIUS, after the taking of *Rhegium*, allowed both *Dionysius* himself and his troops some respite. In the intervals of leisure he loved to unbend his mind with the study of the liberal arts and sciences, especially of poetry, piquing himself upon the excellence of his genius, and the elegance of his performances. As he excelled all others in power, so, in his own conceit, he surpassed them in wit and humour; and was more pleased to hear his poetical compositions commended, than his victories and conquests. The flatterers, who abounded in his, as in all other courts, greatly contributed to the high opinion he had of himself; crying his poems up to the skies, and preferring them to the works of all who had written before him. He often used to invite the learned men, and poets of that age, to dine at his table; and, on that occasion, never failed to entertain them with some new composition of his own, which always met with great approbation; all was great, noble, majestic, and divine. *Philoxenus* was the only one who attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but narrowly escaped paying dear for his sincerity. As *Philoxenus* was himself an excellent poet, *Dionysius* one day, after having read to him some of his verses, pressed him to give his opinion of them; which he doing with great freedom, *Dionysius*, ascribing the liberty he had taken to envy, commanded his guards to carry the poet forthwith to the quarries, or common gaol; however, he was the next day, at the earnest intreaties of all *Dionysius's* friends, set at liberty, and restored to favour. On this occasion *Dionysius*, as it were, to ratify the pardon, made a noble entertainment; inviting to it all his own and the poet's friends. When the guests began to be merry, the prince did not fail to recite some verses he had lately made, choosing

Philoxenus sent to the quarries for censuring his poetry.

out some lines, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and looked upon as master-strokes; as was apparent from the self-satisfaction he expressed in rehearsing them. As he set a great value on *Philoxenus's* approbation, who was not apt to be lavish of his praises, he desired him again to divest himself of all envy, and speak his real sentiments. What had passed the day before, might have served as a lesson for the poet: but he could not dissemble; and therefore, without making any answer to *Dionysius*, he turned to the guards, who always stood round the table, and, with a serious, but humorous air, desired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleasantry *Dionysius* took in good part; saying, that the wit of the poet had atoned for his freedom. *Antiphan*, finding that *Dionysius* was pleased with witty expressions, told him several truths in a very humorous manner, which he took no offence at; but, having one day provoked him with too biting a jest, he paid dear for it. The prince, in a conversation, asked, which was the best kind of brass; to which question *Antiphan* answered, That the best brass was that of which the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* were made. These were two famous patriots, who had defended the liberty of their country against the tyranny of *Pisistratus's* sons.

His pleasantry taken in good part by *Dionysius*.

Disputes the prize of poetry at the Olympic games.

DIONYSIUS, notwithstanding all *Philoxenus* had said to undeceive him, still fancied himself the best poet of his age; and sent his brother *Thearides* to the Olympic games, to dispute, in his name, the prizes of poetry, and the chariot-races. When *Thearides* arrived at *Olympia*, the richness and number of his chariots, the extraordinary magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and silver, and the sumptuous apparel of his numerous attendants, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. Their ears were no less charmed at first, when the poems of *Dionysius* began to be read. He had chosen, for that purpose, persons of sweet and harmonious voices, who were heard far and distinctly, and knew how to give a just emphasis to the verses they repeated. But when that numerous assembly began to mind no more the delivery, but the sense and composition, they all burst out in a loud laugh, and hissed them off the stage; and even, to express their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. *Lysias*, the celebrated orator, who was then at *Olympia*, undertook to prove, that it was inconsistent with the honour of Greece, and sacredness of the sports, to admit such an impious tyrant to share in those diversions. This speech was filled the Olympic oration. When the races began, *Dionysius's* chariots

His poetry how received there.

¹ Idem ibid. Plur. moral.

were either by an headlong impetuosity driven out of the place, or dashed in pieces against one another. Neither did the vessel, which carried *Thearides* and his retinue, prosper better : being, by a violent storm, driven on the coast of *Tarentum*, whence, with much ado, they got to *Syracuse*. Upon their return, they ascribed all the misfortunes they had met with, both by sea and land, to the badness of *Dionysius's* verse. But that did not cure him of his folly, or, as the historian styles it, of his madness for versification ; he entertained the same high opinion of his poetical vein, ascribing such injurious treatment to envy, and saying, that they would one day admire what they then despised. He sent his poems a second time to *Olympia*, where they were treated with the same contempt as before ; which threw him into a deep melancholy, and a kind of madness. This grew daily upon him ; till at length he fancied, that even his best friends were plotting against his life and reputation ; crying out, like a phrenetic, that every one envied him, and that both his friends and foes conspired to his ruin. In these fits of melancholy and madness he put many of his friends to death, and banished others ; among the latter, were *Leptines* his brother, *Banishes* and *Philistus*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. *Leptines* they retired to *Thurium* in *Italy* ; whence they were soon recalled, and reinstated in their former places of power and authority.^k

Dionysius falls into a deep melancholy.

To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, he again had recourse to arms, and formed a design of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of *Sicily*. But, as he wanted money for so expensive an undertaking, he resolved to attack *Epirus*, and make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of *Delphi*. With this view, he settled powerful colonies in that part of *Italy* which faces *Greece* ; and made an alliance with the *Illyrians*, sending them two thousand men, and a great quantity of arms, to be employed against the *Molossians*, with whom they were then at war. But the *Illyrians* afterwards falling out with *Dionysius*, on account of his building the city of *Lyffus* in the island of *Pharos*, he laid aside, for the present, all thoughts of plundering the temple of *Delphi*, and pursued another project of the same kind, which he easily accomplished. For, having fitted out threescore galleys under colour of clearing the seas of pirates, he made a descent in *Hetruria*, and plundered a rich temple in the suburbs of *Agylia* ; carrying away, besides the rich moveables and furniture, above a thousand talents in money. Five hundred ta-

Forms a design of plundering the temple of Delphi.

Plunders the temple of Agylla in Hetruria.

^k Idem ibid.

Dionysius lents more he raised by the sale of the spoils; and, with this *makes war on the Carthaginians, and defeats them.* money, set on foot a numerous army, and made other preparations, as if he intended to attempt again the reduction of the Greek cities in Italy. But the Carthaginians, suspecting his real design, upon the first notice they had of these extraordinary preparations, sent Mago over into Sicily with a powerful army. Dionysius attacked him soon after he was landed, killed him with ten thousand of his men, took five thousand prisoners, and forced the rest to save themselves on a neighbouring hill, where he surrounded them on all sides, and brought them to such streights, that they were forced to sue for a peace. Dionysius answered the ambassadors they sent him with great haughtiness, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him; and that was, forthwith to evacuate Sicily, and to defray all the expences of the war. The Carthaginians pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered; but, representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they possessed in Sicily without the express orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to last till the return of an express sent to Carthage. During this interval, they buried Mago with great pomp and magnificence, and appointed his son to command the troops in his room. This new general, who was very young, but had on all occasions given proofs of an extraordinary valour and prudence, in the time of the truce raised and disciplined new troops; and improved so well the short time allowed him, that at the return of the express from Carthage he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above fourteen thousand Syracusians on the spot, and among the rest Leptines, Dionysius's brother, who was greatly regretted, even by those who hated the tyrant. He was a brave and experienced officer; and, though ever faithful to Dionysius, yet an enemy to all manner of oppression. Dionysius, with the remains of his shattered army, fled to Syracuse, where he expected to be soon besieged by the victorious enemy. But the Carthaginian general used his victory with great moderation; and, instead of pursuing the routed enemy, retired to Panormus, whence he sent ambassadors to Dionysius, offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions; viz. That both parties should keep what they had at the breaking out of the war; save only, that Dionysius should deliver up to the Carthaginians the city and territory of Selinus, and part of the territory of Agrigentum; and, besides, pay a thousand talents to defray the expences of the war¹.

Dionysius routed.

Peace concluded.

¹ Idem, l. xv. c. 2.

A VICTORY of a very different kind made amends, or at Dionysius least lessened his concern, for the ill success of his arms : he victor in had caused a tragedy, written by himself, to be acted at *Athens* poetry at for the prize of poetry, at the celebrated feast of *Bacchus*, Athens. and was proclaimed victor. As the *Athenians* were the best judges of this kind of literature, and no-way biased in favour of *Dionysius*, who had, on all occasions, assisted the *Lacedæmonians*, we cannot help thinking, that the contemptuous sentence passed upon his poems in the *Olympic* games was chiefly owing to the hatred and aversion, which the spectators bore him. But, however that be, *Dionysius* received the news of *His joy on* his victory with such transports of joy, as are not to be ex- that occa- pressed ; he amply rewarded the person that brought him the sion. agreeable tidings ; caused costly sacrifices to be offered to the gods ; and, believing himself arrived at the highest pitch of glory, set no bounds to his generosity : he entertained the whole city with extraordinary magnificence, and spent an immense treasure in public feasts and banquets, which lasted several days. On this occasion, *Dionysius*, drinking to excess, and overcharging nature, a fault which he had never before been guilty of, was seized with violent pains, which were attended with uneasy and restless nights. Having, therefore, asked of his physicians a soporative, they gave him so strong a dose, as quite stupefied his senses, and laid him in a sleep, out of *Dionysius's* which he never awaked. He had been formerly forewarned death. by an oracle, that he should die when he had overcome those who were better than himself. This prediction he applied to the *Carthaginians*, who were more powerful than himself ; and, therefore, would never own, that he had gained any victory over them ; but used to say, that the advantage, all things well considered, was pretty equal on both sides. However, he could not avoid his destiny, says the historian ; for, though he was but a bad poet, yet, in the opinion of the *Athenians*, he gained the victory over those, who far excelled him in that art. He died after he had reigned thirty-eight years.

DIONYSIUS was, without all doubt, a prince of extraor- *His cha-* dinary abilities, both in his political and military capacity, racter. having raised himself, in spite of the utmost efforts of a powerful people, from a mean condition to so high a station, and transmitted the sovereignty to a successor of his own issue and election, who, notwithstanding the slenderness of his parts, held it for the space of twelve years. This shews that *Dionysius* had established his power and authority upon a solid foundation ; which could not be effected in a city so fond of

His impiety.

liberty, without great prudence and forecast. But what abilities could atone for the vices, which rendered him the object of the public hatred? His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice spared not the most sacred persons or places; and his cruelty, when awakened by jealousy or suspicion, made no distinction between friend and foe. He despised not only his fellow-creatures, but the gods themselves, glorying in his open and professed impiety; whereof the antients relate the following instances. On his return from *Locris*, where he had plundered the temple of *Proserpine*, the wind being favourable, he turned to his friends, and with a contemptuous smile, *See*, said he, *how the immortal gods favour the sacrilegious* ⁿ. Being in great want of money to carry on the war against the *Carthaginians*, he rifled the temple of *Jupiter*; and, amongst other things, stripped the god of a robe of gold, which *Hiero* had presented him with out of the spoils of the *Carthaginians*, saying, that a robe of gold was too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter; and, at the same time, ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders, adding, that such an habit would be far more proper for all seasons. He ordered the golden beard of *Æsculapius* to be taken off, saying, it was very inconsistent for the son to have a beard, when the father had none; for *Apollo* is always represented as a beardless young man ^o. Several of the statues of the gods held cups and crowns of gold in their hands, which he made no scruple to carry off, saying, that the gods offered them to him; and that it was very simple to be continually importuning the gods for good things, and then refuse them when they themselves presented them to their votaries. These spoils were, by his orders, carried to the market-place, and there sold by auction. But the very next day, pretending to be sorry for having plundered the temples, he caused a proclamation to be issued, commanding all those, who had any thing in their custody belonging to the immortal gods, to restore it to the temples within a limited time; but did not himself return the money to the buyers.

His suspicious temper.

THE amazing precautions, which he made use of to secure his life, shew both his suspicious temper, and the inquietude to which he was abandoned. He never harangued the people, but sat on the top of an high tower. Not daring to trust his friends and nearest relations, he committed the guard of his person to slaves and foreigners; and, though surrounded with these, scarce ever ventured out of his palace ^p. A jest, that escaped his barber, who boasted in a

ⁿ PLUT. in Dion.
Tusc. quæst. l. v.

^o CIC. de natur. Deor. l. v.

^p CIC.

merry humour, that he often held a razor to the king's throat, being related to *Dionysius*, cost the man his life; and from that time he employed his daughters, then very young, in that mean office. When they were grown up, he did not care to trust them with razors or scissars, but only allowed them nut-shells; and at last was reduced, by his apprehensions, to do that office himself. He never went into the apartments of his wives before they were searched with the utmost care, lest any weapons should lie there concealed. His bed was surrounded with a deep and broad trench, and a draw-bridge over it. After having fastened the doors of his apartment with strong bolts, he drew up the bridge, and then took some rest, which was interrupted by the least noise he heard, either in the streets, or his palace. Neither his son, nor his brother, were admitted to his presence, without being searched by the guards, and obliged to change their garments¹. Thus, at the height of his grandeur, he led a more miserable life than the meanest of his slaves, as he himself ingenuously owned (A).

DIONYSIUS was, without all doubt, an ambitious and *His good* inhuman tyrant; but at the same time had some good *qualities.* qualities, which ought not to be disguised or misrepresented;

¹ Cic. off. l. ii. PLUT. in Dion.

(A) As one of his courtiers, named *Damocles*, was perpetually repeating, that never man was happier than *Dionysius*, and extolling the magnificence of his palaces, the extent of his dominions, the number of his troops, the richness of his treasures, &c. *Dionysius* asked him, whether he would, for a short time, have a taste of his happiness. *Damocles* accepted the offer with joy; and, being invited to dinner by *Dionysius*, he was accordingly placed on a bed of gold, covered with carpets of an inestimable value: the table was spread with dainties of all sorts; and the most beautiful slaves, in pompous habits, ordered to wait on *Damocles*, and watch the least signal to serve him. The courtier was transported with joy, and said, that, if he could always live in that manner, he should look upon himself as the happiest of mortals. He had scarce spoken, when, unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head a naked sword, hanging from the ceiling by a single horse-hair. At this sight he was immediately taken with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant, except the sword; he could think of nothing else; and the danger he was threatened with, throwing him into agonies of death, he desired permission to retire, declaring he would be happy no longer. A lively representation of the unhappy life which a tyrant must lead, when hated by his subjects (32).

(32) Cic. *Tusc. quæst.* l. v.

the impartiality of, an historian requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked. The kindness and respect which he ever shewed for his two wives (B); the mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young *Dion* (C); the commendations he bestowed on his own sister *Thesta*, for the bold and generous answer she made him, on account of her husband's flight, as we have related above; his obliging and insinuating behaviour towards the *Syracusians*, on several occasions; and the familiarity with which he condescended to converse with the meanest citizens, and even workmen; con-

(B) *Dionysius* married two wives at the same time, viz. *Doris* and *Aristomache*: *Doris* was the daughter of one of the most illustrious citizens of *Locris* in *Italy*, whence he caused her to be brought in a quinqueremis, adorned in a most magnificent manner. *Aristomache* was the daughter of *Hipparinus*, the most wealthy and powerful citizen of *Syracuse*, and sister of the celebrated *Dion*. She was brought to the royal palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was, at that time, a mark of great distinction. The nuptials of both were solemnized the same day with universal rejoicings throughout the whole city. *Dionysius*, to remove all causes of discord, shewed an equal affection for both. But the *Locrian* had the good fortune to bring him the first son, who succeeded him. *Aristomache*, after some years, bore him two sons, viz. *Hipparinus* and *Nisus*, and two daughters, *Sophrosyne* and *Arete*. *Sophrosyne* married *Dionysius* the eldest son of the *Locrian*, and *Arete* first *Theorides*, the brother of *Dionysius*, and afterwards *Dion*.

(C) *Dion* was in great esteem and favour with *Dionysius*, to whom he was first introduced by his sister

Aristomache, but afterwards recommended by his own merit. Amongst the other marks *Dionysius* gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treasurers to supply him with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him the same day they paid it. But *Dion*, notwithstanding the kindness shewn him by the tyrant, used to speak to him with a great deal of freedom. *Dionysius* ridiculing one day the government of *Gelon*, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the laughing-stock of *Sicily*, that being the import of the Greek word *Γέλως*; all the courtiers highly applauded the wit of that conceit, or rather pun, flat and insipid as it was. But *Dion* took it in a different manner, and had the freedom to tell *Dionysius*, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wise and equitable conduct had exhibited an excellent form of government, and given the *Syracusians* a favourable opinion of monarchy. *You reign*, said he, *and have been trusted, for Gelon's sake; but, on your account, no man will ever be trusted after you.* This *Dionysius* took in good part, without shewing the least resentment (33).

vince us, that he had more equity, moderation, and generosity, than is commonly ascribed to him. In short, he was a tyrant, but not so inhuman as many, who have reigned since his time.

DIONYSIUS had three children by his wife *Doris* the *Locrian*, and four by *Aristomache*, the sister of *Dion*, whom we shall have often occasion to mention in the following reign. When no hopes were left of *Dionysius's* life, *Dion* took upon him to speak in favour of his children by *Aristomache*, insinuating that it was just to prefer the issue of a *Syracusan* to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous to make their court to young *Dionysius*, the son of *Doris*, who had been brought up for the throne, did not give the father time to alter his resolution, dispatching him in the manner we have related above; so that *Dionysius*, surnamed the younger, peaceably ascended his father's throne. After he had performed his father's funeral with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and promised to pursue, with regard to his subjects, quite different measures from those which had been practised in the preceding reign. The gentle and humane disposition of the young *Dionysius* made the *Syracusans* believe, that they should live happy under his government; whereas they were well apprised, that, if they attempted a change, the sad consequences of a civil war would involve the state in endless calamities. On these considerations, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, they suffered him to take quiet possession of the throne, as of a lawful inheritance.

He was of a quite different character from his father, being as peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprising; which would have been no disadvantage to his subjects, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of a certain habitual sloth and indolence. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averse from all violence and cruelty; had a taste for arts and sciences, and took great delight in conversing with men of learning. Whence it is plain, that he would have proved a good prince, had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, stifled in him every noble and elevated sentiment by a mean and obscure education. He no sooner ascended the throne, but *Dion*, who was well acquainted with his temper, and good disposition, undertook to correct the faults of his low education, and inspire him with thoughts suitable to the high station he was placed in. *Dion* was, as we have hinted already, the son of *Hipparinus*, the most illustrious citizen of *Syracuse*,

Dionysius
the younger.

Year of
the flood
1982.
Bef. Chr.
366.

His character,

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Dion's excellent qualities.

Dionysius
abandons
himself to
debauch-
ery.

and brother of *Aristomache*, the wife of *Dionysius* the elder. In his early years he contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with *Plato* (D), and so improved by his lessons, that that great philosopher, in one of his letters, gives this glorious testimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, on whom his discourses made so great an impression, or who had embraced his principles with so much ardour. *Diodorus* speaks of him as one of the greatest men *Sicily*, or any other country, ever produced. And indeed it is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person, as centred in *Dion*. But, to return to *Dionysius*; in the very beginning of his reign, as he had been kept under great restraint by his father, he abandoned himself to all manner of diversions, and shameful pleasures. He was scarce seated on the throne, when he made an entertainment, or rather a debauch, which continued for three months together, during all which time his palace, shut against all persons of any sobriety, was crowded with debauchees, and resounded with nothing but low buffoonry, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, &c. As *Dion* believed, that this was the effect of his bad education, and intire ignorance of his duty, he rightly conceived, that the best remedy would be to introduce to him persons of good sense, virtue, and learning, whose agreeable conversation might at once instruct and divert him; for the young prince was endowed with good natural parts, and took delight in conversing with philosophers. With this view *Dion* often talked to him of *Plato*, as the most profound of all the philosophers, whose merit he was well acquainted with, and to whom he was indebted for all he knew. He enlarged on the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him as the man most capable of any to form him in the arts of governing, upon which his own happiness, and that of his subjects, depended, &c. These discourses, well-timed, inflamed the young prince with a desire of seeing that

(D) He was first acquainted with *Plato* at the court of *Dionysius* the elder, who invited him into *Sicily*, and for some time professed a great kindness for him. But at length, taking offence at his freedom, he ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there sold as

a slave for five minas. But some philosophers of the same sect redeemed him, and sent him back to *Greece* with this friendly advice; that philosophers should very seldom converse with tyrants; and, when they did, they should be of a winning behaviour (34).

celebrated philosopher, and improving by his conversation. He wrote to him in the most obliging manner, inviting him Dionysius to his court, and dispatched express after express to hasten *sends for* his journey; but *Plato*, mindful of the treatment he had *Plato* met with at his father's court, could not prevail upon himself to comply with his invitation. All the *Pythagorean* philosophers of *Sicily* and *Italy* joined their intreaties with the prince's; and *Dion* with repeated letters never ceased to importune him, till at length he promised to return into *Sicily*, and attend the young prince's education.

THIS resolution highly displeased the rest of the courtiers, who, dreading the presence of *Plato*, of which they foresaw the consequences, united against him as their common enemy. They were, for the most part, young unexperienced debauchees, persons of no merit, and most abandoned characters; wherefore they rightly judged, that, if all things were to be measured according to the standard of true merit, which was one of *Plato's* maxims, they could lay no claim to any honours, nor expect any favour. They were not able to prevent *Plato's* voyage, but raised a strong battery to render it ineffectual, by persuading *Dionysius* to recall *Philistus* from *Philistus* banishment, who was an experienced officer, and a zealous *said for by* assertor of tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in *the court* him to *Plato*, and all his philosophy; for *Philistus* was not *iers to op* only a brave commander, but a man of extraordinary parts, *pose him* and uncommon learning. He wrote the history of *Sicily*, as we have hinted elsewhere, and is honoured by *Tully* with the title of *Thucydides the second* ^r.

PLATO, on his arrival, was received with the highest *Plato ar* marks of honour and respect: at his landing, he found one *rives at* of the prince's chariots, with horses richly caparisoned, ready *Syracuse* to attend him; and the prince no sooner heard, that he was landed, but he commanded a solemn sacrifice to be offered in thanksgiving to the gods, for having sent him a man of so great merit and wisdom. *Plato* found *Dionysius* in the most happy disposition imaginable, and inflamed with an eager desire of profiting by his precepts. The philosopher, by adapting himself with wonderful address to the young prince's humour, and gaining his confidence and affection, in a very short time wrought a surprising change in his mind. He had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure, and luxury; and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable consequence of a dissolute life; but now, awaked, as it were, from a lethargy, he began to have some relish for

^r DIOPOR. SICUL. l. xiv, PLUT. in DION. ATHEN. l. x. CIC. de orat. l. ii.

virtue, and to taste the refined pleasure of a blameless life. The courtiers, who never fail to ape the prince, seemed to fall in with his inclinations; and, laying aside the frivolous amusements of a court, applied themselves to the study of philosophy, as the only means to preferment.

Conspiracy
of the
courtiers
against
Dion.

PHILISTUS and his party were greatly alarmed at the sudden change they observed in *Dionysius*; and, judging from some expressions he let drop, that *Plato* might at last induce him to resign the tyranny, used all possible means to work him out of favour. They began by turning into ridicule the retired life, which *Dionysius* led with *Plato*: nor was that all; they attempted to render the zeal of *Plato* and *Dion* suspected, by giving out, that *Dion* made use of *Plato* as a proper tool to draw *Dionysius* into a voluntary resignation of the crown, that he might place it on the head of his nephew, the son of *Aristomachus*. The *Athenians*, said they, formerly invaded *Sicily* with a mighty fleet, and a formidable arm, without being able to subvert the government of *Syracuse*: and shall now an idle caviller from *Athens*, an unintelligible sophist, attain that point, and persuade *Dionysius* to renounce a real and substantial felicity, consisting in empire, riches, pleasures, &c. for a pretended supreme good to be found in the academy? Such repeated discourses raised in the mind of *Dionysius* some suspicion of *Dion*, as if he really designed to establish his nephew in the sovereignty. The fears of *Dionysius* were carefully fomented by the enemies of *Dion*, who were perpetually advising the prince to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. They even feigned a letter, which they shewed to *Dionysius*, pretending that it had been written by *Dion* to the *Carthaginians*. As this letter contained several articles of treason, *Dionysius* flew into a violent passion; and, having concerted with *Philistus* what measures he should take, by his advice dissembling his resentment, he led *Dion* alone to the sea-side below the citadel, where he shewed him the letter, and accused him of entering into a league with his enemies the *Carthaginians*. *Dion* might have easily justified himself; but the king refused to hear him, commanding him immediately to go on board a vessel, which lay there ready, with orders to carry him to the coast of *Italy*, and leave him there.

Dion ban-
ished.

SUCH an unjust treatment raised great clamours in *Syracuse*, and the whole city declared against it. *Dionysius*, who apprehended the consequences of the public discontent, in order to appease it in some degree, allowed *Dion's* relations two vessels to transport to him, in *Peloponnesus*, whither he had

PLUT. in Dion.

retired.

retired, his riches and numerous retinue; for he lived with as much grandeur as a king^t. As soon as *Dion* was gone, *Dionysius* made *Plato* change his habitation, and remove into the citadel, in appearance to do him more honour, but in reality to assure himself of his person, and to prevent him from joining *Dion*. However, he continued to shew him an extraordinary kindness, and, out of a foolish jealousy, offered him all his treasures, provided he would prefer his friendship to that of *Dion's*. In the mean time a war breaking out, *Dionysius* restored *Plato* to his liberty, and even *Plato* gave him leave to return home. At his departure, he would have loaded him with presents, which *Plato* refused, only cily. begg that he would recall *Dion*. *Dionysius* promised to recall him the following spring; but did not keep his word, and only sent him the revenues of his estate, desiring *Plato*, in a letter he wrote to him, to excuse his breach of promise, and to impute it to the war. He assured him, that, as soon as he put an end to the war, *Dion* should be recalled, upon condition that he did not meddle with public affairs, nor in the mean time lessen him in the opinion of the *Greeks*; for *Dion*, during his banishment, visited most of the cities of *Greece*, and was every-where received with extraordinary marks of distinction. The *Lacedæmonians* made him free of their city, without regard to the resentment of *Dionysius*, who, at that very time, assisted them with a powerful supply in their war with the *Thebans*. *Athens*, which he chose for the place of his residence, paid him the highest honours, all the inhabitants of that illustrious city striving, as it were, to outdo each other in giving him instances of their esteem and affection. This alarmed the tyrant's jealousy, who put a stop to the remittance of *Dion's* revenues, ordering them to be paid into his own treasury^u. Such a resolution obliged *Dion*, who had hitherto lived quietly at *Athens*, to take another course, as we shall see anon.

Dion
highly ba-
noured in
Greece.

DIONYSIUS, having put an end to the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been transmitted to us, was again inflamed with a desire of seeing and hearing *Plato*; and accordingly, prevailed upon *Archytas*, and the other *Pythagorean* philosophers, to write to him, and assure him, that he might return with safety; and that, upon his return, the promises which had been made him should be punctually performed. The philosophers deputed *Archimedes* to *Plato*, and *Dionysius* sent at the same time two triremes, with several of his friends on board, to solicit his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, wherein he de-

^t PLUT. *ibid*. PLAT. *epist.* vii.

^u PLUT. *ibid*.

clared, that, if he refused to return into *Sicily*, *Dion* should receive no favours at his hands ; but, if he complied with his request, the exile should be immediately restored. *Plato* was very unwilling to trust himself anew to the tyrant's mercy and fickle temper, but could not resist the warm solicitations of *Dion's* friends ; he therefore set out for *Sicily* the third time, being then in the seventieth year of his age. *Dionysius* received him with inexpressible joy, appointed him the best apartment of his palace, and suffered him to have free access to him at all hours without being searched, a favour not granted to his best friends. The philosopher, seeing that *Dionysius* reposed an intire trust in him, entered upon *Dion's* affair with him, which was the chief motive of his voyage. But the tyrant put it off, and in the mean time endeavoured, by heaping all manner of honours on *Plato*, to lessen his esteem and regard for *Dion*. The philosopher dissembled on his side, and, though extremely offended at so notorious a breach of faith, carefully concealed his dissatisfaction. However, he could not give over soliciting in behalf of his friend ; which at length to exasperated the tyrant,

Plato returns to Sicily.

Disgraced by Dionysius.

Plato returns to Greece.

that all on a sudden he ordered *Plato* to remove from his apartment in the palace to another without the castle, where his guards were quartered (E). These had long hated *Plato*, because he had advised *Dionysius* to dismiss them, and live without any other guard, but the love of his people ; but *Dionysius* restrained their fury, forbidding them, on pain of death, to molest his guest. When *Archytas*, who was then prætor or chief magistrate of *Tarentum*, heard of the danger *Plato* was in, he immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Dionysius*, to remind him, that *Plato* came to *Syracuse* only upon his promise, and on the promise of all the *Pythagorean* philosophers, who had engaged for his safety ; wherefore he could not detain him against his will, nor offer him any insult, without a manifest breach of faith. This remonstrance awaked a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at length gave *Plato* leave to return into *Greece*. Upon his departure *Dionysius*,

(E) A few days before *Dionysius* and *Plato* fell out, one *Heli-con* of *Cyzicum*, a particular friend of *Plato's*, foretold an eclipse of the sun, which happening according to his prediction, *Dionysius* was so much surprised at it, that he made him a present of a talent. *Arzippus*,

jesting upon that occasion, said, that he likewise had something very extraordinary to foretell ; and, being pressed to explain himself, I prophesy, said he, that it will not be long ere *Dionysius* and *Plato*, who at present seem to be great friends, will be enemies (34).

throwing off all restraint, abandoned himself to the most shameful vices, setting no bounds to his avarice, cruelty, rapines, &c. &c.

NOT long after *Plato* had left *Sicily*, *Dionysius* ordered *Dion* ^{*re-*} all *Dion's* lands and effects to be sold, and applied the money ^{*solves to*} to his own use : neither did he stop here, but gave his half-sister *Arete*, whom *Dion* had married after the death of *The-* ^{*deliver*} *Sicily*. *orides*, in marriage to *Timocrates*, one of his friends and flatterers. So unworthy a treatment *Dion* could not brook ; and therefore from that moment resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and revenge all the wrongs done him. *Plato*, out of a scrupulous regard to the duties of hospitality, did all that lay in his power to divert him from such a resolution ; but, on the other hand, *Speusippus*, *Plato's* nephew, with whom *Dion* had contracted a particular friendship during his abode at *Athens*, encouraged him to pursue so noble a design, and restore *Sicily* to its antient freedom. All the rest of *Dion's* friends were of the same opinion, and many of the chief citizens of *Syracuse* continually importuned him to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for want of ships or forces, but to embark on the first vessel he met with, and only lend his name to the friends of liberty. *Dion* did not delay any longer, but, withdrawing from his retired life, undertook the delivery of his country, which implored his protection. No enterprize was ever formed with more boldness, or conducted with more prudence. He began to raise ^{*Raises*} foreign troops privately, by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. Many persons of distinction, who ^{*troops pri-*} were at the head of affairs, entered into his measures, and gave him notice of whatever was transacted in *Sicily*. But, of the exiles, who were above a thousand dispersed up and down *Sicily* and *Greece*, only twenty-five joined him ; so much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The island of *Zacynthus* was the place of the rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of about eight hundred, all tried on many occasions, well disciplined, and capable of animating, with their example, the forces which *Dion* hoped to find in *Sicily*. When they were to set sail, *Dion* acquainted them with his design, which, till that time, he had concealed from the common soldiers. The boldness of the undertaking occasioned at first no small consternation ; but *Dion* soon removed their fears, by telling them, that he did not lead them in this expedition as soldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the *Syracusians*, and all the people of *Sicily*, who were ready to receive them with open arms.

Sets sail for Sicily. *Dion*, before he set out from *Zacynthus*, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Apollo*, and gave a grand entertainment to his small army, which was now impatient to proceed on their voyage, and begin the great work of delivering *Sicily* from tyranny and oppression. The next day they embarked on board two trading-vessels, and put to sea with loud shouts of joy, as if they had already dethroned the tyrant. Who could imagine, says our historian, that a man, with two small vessels, should ever dare to attack a prince, who had under his command four hundred galleys, an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, with magazines of provisions, and treasures, sufficient to pay and maintain them? But no force is able to defend a prince, who is not guarded by the affection of his people, as the event of this undertaking will shew ^a.

Dion arrives in Sicily. *DION*, after having been twelve days at sea, arrived with his small body of troops at cape *Pachynum*, where their pilot advised them to land immediately, lest they should be overtaken by a violent hurricane, which threatened them. But *Dion*, not thinking it safe to land so near the enemy, ordered him to put to sea again, and double the cape; which they had no sooner done, than a furious storm, attended with rain, thunder and lightning, drove them on the eastern coast of *Afric*, where they were in great danger of being dashed to pieces against the rocks; but, luckily for them, the wind changing all on a sudden, they stood out to sea for *Sicily*, and, with a favourable wind, entered the port of *Minoa*, not far from *Agrigentum*. This city was then in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, and governed by one *Synalus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, *Paralus*, *Dion's* particular friend. They were therefore kindly received, and would have staid there some days to refresh themselves after the fatigues of their voyage, had they not received advice, that *Dionysius* had some days before embarked for *Italy*, attended with fourscore gallees.

Is joined by several states and tines. *Dion*, to take advantage of his absence, immediately set out for *Syracuse*; and, on his march, prevailed upon the *Agrigentines*, *Geleans*, *Camarinians*, and other cities, to join him. He no sooner entered the *Syracusan* territories, but multitudes of *Syracusan* flocked to him from all parts, every one looking upon him as the deliverer of their country. When he arrived at the *Anapus*, he ordered his troops to halt, and there offered a sacrifice to the tutelary gods of *Syracuse*; which being performed, he called an assembly of all the *Syracusians* in his camp; and, after having acquainted them with his design, which was to restore them to their liberty, and suppress tyranny, he desired them to name a general, who should be intrusted with the

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. P. IV. in *Dion*.

whole conduct of the enterprize. The multitude cried out *who de-* with one voice, that *Dion* and his brother *Megacles* should be *clare him* generals, and invested them with absolute power and com- *and his* mand. The new generals without delay drew up their army *brother* in battalia, and marched strait to the city, where they were *Megacles,* received at the gates by the most considerable of the inhabit- *generals.* ants in white habits. As nobody appeared to oppose them, they boldly entered the city, and marched through *Acradina* to the forum, where they encamped, being in all above fifty thousand men. Here *Dion* ordered the trumpets to sound, to appease the noise and tumult; and, silence being made, an herald proclaimed, that *Dion* and *Megacles* were come to *abolish* tyranny, and to free the people of *Syracuse*, and their *allies*, from the yoke of the tyrant. At these words the whole *Dion re-* city resounded with joyful shouts and acclamations for so sud- *ceived* den and unexpected an happiness. They had lived fifty years *with great* in slavery, and saw themselves, by the valour of one man, re- *joy by the* stored to their liberty, when they least expected so happy a *Syracu-* change. Where-ever *Dion* passed, the citizens, having set *fians.* out on both sides of the streets tables and bowls, and prepared victims, as he came before their houses, threw all sorts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. *Dion*, seeing himself master of the city, fell upon *Epi-* *polæ*, and took it by storm, setting at liberty the citizens, who were prisoners in the fort. He then surrounded the citadel, whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled, with a strong wall from sea to sea; so that they could receive no succours by land, nor have any communication with the rest of the city.

In the mean time *Dionysius*, who was at *Caulonia* in *Italy*, *Dionysius* receiving intelligence of what passed in *Syracuse* (F), hastened *enters the* thither, and entered the citadel by sea seven days after the *citadel.* arrival of *Dion*. He found his affairs in a desperate condition;

γ PLUT. & DIONOR, *ibid.*

(F) As soon as *Dion* landed in *Sicily*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion's* wife, and to whom *Dionysius* had left the command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him, with advice of *Dion's* arrival. But the courier, being almost at his journey's end, was so fatigued, that he could not help stopping to

take some sleep. In the mean time a wolf, smelling some meat he had in his wallet, came to the place, and carried off the bag, in which was the meat, with the dispatches. By this misfortune *Dionysius* was prevented from receiving a timely account of *Dion's* arrival, (35).

Gains time and therefore, to gain time, he sent ambassadors to Dion and the Syracusians, offering to restore the democracy, provided they would confer certain honours upon him in the republican state; he desired them to send deputies to treat with him, that he might put a speedy end to the war. The Syracusians immediately sent some of their citizens to sign an agreement with him, upon the articles which he had proposed; but Dionysius, putting off the conferences from day to day, and observing that the Syracusians, in hopes of peace, kept negligent guard, suddenly attacked the wall, with which they had inclosed the citadel, and made several breaches in it. So warm

Attacks the Syracusians. and unexpected an assault put the Syracusians in great disorder; however they maintained their ground, and fought with great resolution. Dion distinguished himself above all the rest; for, finding that his troops were very backward in engaging the tyrant's mercenaries, and believing example more powerful than words, he threw himself violently into the midst of them; and, after having made a great slaughter of the enemy, and broken their ranks, made way for his men to follow him.

Dion's gallant behaviour. His shield being pierced through in many places, and the enemy discharging showers of darts on him from all sides, he was wounded in his right arm with a javelin, and, fainting away through the extremity of the pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands; but the Syracusians, highly concerned for the safety of their general, charged the mercenaries in a full body, and, rescuing Dion, who was almost spent, put the enemy to flight. A great number of the tyrant's troops were slain on the spot: the rest escaped with much ado into the citadel. The Syracusians, having gained so glorious a victory, set up a trophy in defiance of the tyrant, rewarded their foreign troops with a considerable sum of money, and presented

Dionysius's troops defeated.

Dion with a crown of gold. On the other hand Dionysius, having obtained leave to carry off his dead, caused them to be buried in purple robes, and paid them extraordinary honours: such as survived, he rewarded with great generosity, bestowing upon them great part of his treasures.

Ingratitude of the Syracusians towards Dion.

DIONYSIUS, after this defeat, sent ambassadors anew to propose terms of peace; but Dion returned no other answer than this, Let Dionysius first abdicate the tyranny, and then we shall hear him. Dionysius was highly provoked at this haughty and peremptory answer, as he called it; but, however, dissembling his resentment, he sent other ambassadors with a letter to Dion, written with great art and address, and wonderfully calculated to render him suspected by the Syracusians, as if he intended to seize on the sovereignty himself. The

Syracusians were taken with this gross bait (for *Dion* read the letter in the public assembly), and began to be jealous of his too great power. The arrival of *Heraclides* did not a little contribute to the shameful steps that ungrateful people took with regard to their deliverer and benefactor. *Heraclides* was one of the *Syracusan* exiles, an excellent officer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly commanded under *Dionysius*; but at the same time he was very ambitious, and a secret enemy to *Dion*, with whom he had had some dispute in *Peloponnesus*. He arrived at *Syracuse* with seven triremes, and three other vessels, not with a design to join *Dion*, but to act separately against the tyrant, in hopes of having himself the glory of driving him out. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself with the people; and for that he was wonderfully qualified by an open and insinuating behaviour, whilst *Dion's* austere gravity was offensive to the multitude, especially as they were become more haughty and untractable by their late victory (G). *Heraclides*, by courting them, and in every thing seconding their capricious humour, so won their affections in a short time, that of their own accord they called an assembly, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet. *Dion*, having notice of these irregular proceedings, hastened to the assembly, and highly complained of the affront offered him; for they had conferred upon him the supreme command both of the fleet and army. His remonstrances were of such weight with the assembly, that they deprived *Heraclides* of the office which they had just then honoured him with. When the assembly broke up, *Dion* sent for him; and, having gently reprimanded him for his strange conduct in so delicate a conjuncture, when the least division among themselves might be attended with the most fatal consequences, he summoned a new assembly; and, in the presence of the multitude, appointed him admiral, and allowed him such a guard as he had himself. *Dion* imagined, that, by this obliging behaviour, he should get the better of his rival's ill-will. But *Heraclides* was not so easily to be gained; he aimed at

Heraclides endeavours to estrange the minds of the people from Dion.

(G) *Dion* had something rigid and austere in his temper, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even men of merit, and his best friends, at a kind of distance. *Plato*, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, often found fault with this his turn of mind, and advised him

to correct it. But he, notwithstanding their remonstrances, seemed to pique himself upon the austere gravity, and inflexible severity, with which he treated the people. That rough, and, as he called it, manly behaviour, created him many enemies, especially among the populace.

the supreme command, and nothing less would satisfy his ambition: he expressed indeed a great many obligations to *Dion*, seemed to court his favour, and, in his outward behaviour, shewed a great readiness to obey his orders. But in the mean time he influenced the people underhand against him, opposed his measures, and found fault with his whole conduct, as if he designed either to save the tyrant, or protract the war. While *Heraclides* was thus disposing the people to confer the supreme command upon himself, one thing happened, which greatly raised his reputation among the *Syracusians*. *Philistus*, the tyrant's admiral, having put to sea with sixty galleys, *Heraclides* gave him chase with his small squadron, obliged him to engage, and gained a complete victory. *Philistus* behaved with great personal bravery; but at last, finding himself surrounded on all sides by the *Syracusians*, who were desirous of taking him alive, he laid violent hands on himself, after having discharged the trust reposed in him in a distinguished manner. The *Syracusians* vented their rage upon his dead body, which they barbarously mangled, dragged it through all the streets of the city, and then threw it over the walls, to rot, without burial, in the open fields. He was one of the tyrant's most trusty friends, and had on all occasions given him signal proofs of his fidelity. Wherefore *Dionysius* was much disheartened with the loss of so steady a friend, and experienced an officer; and sent ambassadors to *Dion*, offering to surrender the citadel, with all the troops there in garison, and money to pay them for five months, upon condition that he were allowed to retire to *Italy*, and there enjoy, during his life, the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of *Syracuse*. *Dion*'s advice was, that the terms should be accepted; but the *Syracusians*, hoping to take *Dionysius* alive; would hearken to no proposals. Wherefore *Dionysius*, seeing all lost, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son *Apollocrates*; and, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, put to sea in a small vessel, and landed undiscovered in *Italy* with his treasures, and most valuable effects.

Philistus, defeated by Heraclides, lays violent hands on himself.

Dionysius flies to Italy.

Factions in Syracuse.

HERACLIDES was greatly blamed for having suffered him to escape; and therefore, to regain the favour of the people, he proposed a new division of lands; insinuating, that they could never enjoy perfect liberty, so long as there was so great an inequality in wealth and power. This motion was warmly opposed by *Dion*; which gave *Heraclides* an opportunity of rendering him suspected to the people, as if he intended to keep them in subjection, and reduce them to the same state of slavery in which they had been held by their tyrants. By thus

pretending to espouse the cause of liberty, he prevailed upon the assembly to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, to appoint new generals, himself among the rest, and to make a new division of lands. At the same time they privately solicited the foreign troops to abandon *Dion*, and join them, promising to give them a share in the government, as if they were natives and citizens. But they generously rejected the offer, declaring that they would stand by *Dion* to the last, and willingly sacrifice their lives in defence of their general. The populace were so enraged at this answer, that they began to assemble in a tumultuous manner, and throw out threats both against *Dion* and his troops. Whereupon those brave men, *Dion* placing *Dion* in their centre, began to march out of the city, *obliged to* protesting, that so long as one of them was alive, nobody *quit* Syracuse should hurt him. In this manner they withdrew, without cuse. offering the least violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer, and great benefactor. The *Syracusians*, despising their small number, and ascribing their moderation to fear, and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should put them all to the sword before they got out of the city. *Dion*, being thus reduced to the necessity of either destroying those he was come to save, or being himself destroyed with so many brave men, begged them in the most tender and affectionate manner to hearken to reason, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by ambitious and ill-designing men, pointing with his hand at the citadel, which was full of enemies, who with great joy beheld all that passed. But, finding them deaf to all his remonstrances, he commanded his men to face about, and march in close order, as if they designed to fall upon the multitude: they obeyed his orders; and, raising a great shout, advanced against them, pretending to attack them with the utmost fury. The noise they made with their arms, according *Puts to* to *Dion's* directions, so terrified the populace, that they *flight the* took themselves to a disorderly flight. *Dion* did not offer to Syracuse pursue them, but hastened his march towards the country of *Sians, who* the *Leontines*. The *Syracusians*, being on their return treated *pursued* by their countrymen as cowards for having suffered so small *him.* a body of men to make their escape, in order to retrieve their honour, marched out again in pursuit of *Dion*; and, coming up with him as he was passing a river, ordered their cavalry to advance to the charge. But, when they perceived, that he was resolved in earnest to repel force by force, they were again seized with terror; and, flying in a more shameful manner than before, made what haste they could to regain the city ^b.

^b PLUT. in *Dion*. p. 972, 975. DIODOR. l. xvi.

Dion well received THE *Leontines* not only received *Dion* with great marks of distinction, but made rich presents to his soldiers, and declared them all free citizens. They likewise sent ambassadors to the *Syracusians*, complaining of the ill treatment *Dion* and his men had met with at their hands, and reminding them of the inestimable favours they had received from so worthy a patriot. The *Syracusians* replied, that *Dion* had driven out one tyrant with a design to establish another; and therefore ought to be treated in the same manner as their first tyrant had been, whom they had obliged to quit not only *Syracuse*, but the island.

In the mean time the tyrant's troops in the citadel, being reduced by famine to the utmost extremity, resolved at last to surrender both the place and themselves to the *Syracusians*. Accordingly they sent deputies to obtain for them the best terms they could; but, while they were actually conferring with the townsmen, *Nysius*, a general of experienced valour, and greatly attached to *Dionysius*, appeared with a numerous squadron of galleys, and a great many transports laden with corn, and all sorts of provisions. *Nysius* anchored in the port of *Arethusa*; and, having landed the men he brought along with him, he called a council of war, wherein he made a speech to the garrison suitable to the present occasion; and, with hopes of ample rewards, engaged them to promise, that they would never submit to the enemy upon any terms whatsoever. The *Syracusians* no sooner heard of this new supply, but they manned as many galleys as they had at hand; and, attacking the enemy while they were unloading the corn, and other provisions, sunk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin: for, slighting the enemy, whom they looked upon as utterly undone, they gave themselves up to feasting, reveling, and all kind of debauchery; which general infatuation *Nysius* did not fail to improve to his advantage. That brave commander, desirous to repair his late loss by some bold attempt, ordered his men to march out of the citadel, and assault the wall that inclosed it. They met with no opposition, the guards being every-where asleep after their last night's debauch: having therefore in silence applied their scaling-ladders, some of the most resolute mounted the wall, killed the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Thus all the garrison, consisting of ten thousand well-disciplined troops, entered the city, cut all those to pieces who opposed them, and made such a dreadful havock as can hardly be expressed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houses were plundered, and their wives and children taken out of their beds, and either cruelly butchered before their faces,

*Syracuse
taken by
the garrison
of the ci-
tadel.*

faces, or carried captives into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries, and lamentations. The slaughter was so great, that the streets were every-where covered with dead bodies, and the private houses swimming in blood.

THE citizens, seeing themselves in this desperate condition, *Dion* ^{re-}knew not what to resolve on. They were all well apprised, ^{called.} that *Dion* was the only person who could administer them any relief; but no one had courage enough to name him; so much were they ashamed of their ingratitude towards their protector. As the danger increased every moment, and the enemy was preparing to set fire to the city, one boldly cried out, *Let us send for Dion*. His name was no sooner heard but the whole multitude, with shouts of joy, approved the motion; and accordingly deputies were that instant dispatched to *Leontini*; who, arriving late in the evening, threw themselves at *Dion's* feet, and with many tears acquainted him with the deplorable condition of *Syracuse*. *Dion* no sooner heard, ^{The Syra-}them, than he assembled a council of war; and, having in- ^{cusian de-}troduced the *Syracusan* deputies, he desired them to lay before ^{puties, how}his officers the state of their city; which they did in a very ^{received}moving speech, intreating *Dion* to forget the ill treatment he ^{by him.}had received, the rather, because that unfortunate people had already paid dear for it; and acknowledged the miseries they suffered justly inflicted upon them for their ingratitude towards so loving a father of his country. As soon as they had done, *Dion* rose up; but, instead of speaking, burst into tears, and could not for some time utter a single word. The foreign soldiers, who were mostly *Peloponnesians*, called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion in seeing their leader so overwhelmed with grief. At length, having recovered himself, he addressed his troops, and the people of *Leontini*, in the following terms: "Men of *Peloponnesus*, and
 "you, our allies, I have assembled you here, that you may
 "consider what is proper to be done with regard to yourselves:
 "as for me, I am already determined, and must not be waver-
 "ing, when my country is in danger. If I cannot preserve it,
 "I will perish with it, and be buried in its ruins. But, for you,
 "if you will be so generous as to forget the ill treatment you
 "have received at our hands, and assist us once more, follow
 "my example; but if your just complaints against the *Syracu-*
 "sians prevail with you to abandon them in their present di-
 "stress, and suffer them to perish, may the gods amply reward
 "you for the affection and fidelity you have hitherto expressed
 "for me! I only beg that you will remember *Dion*, who did
 "not abandon you, when you were basely treated by his
 "country, nor his country, when fallen into misfortunes."
 He had no sooner done speaking, than the foreign troops, with

one voice, intreated him to lead them on that moment against the enemy. The deputies, transported with joy, tenderly embraced them, praying the gods to second their generous resolution. As soon as the tumult was appeased, *Dion* ordered them to refresh themselves, and return with their arms to the same place, being resolved to set out that very night on his march to *Syracuse*.

The deplorable condition of Syracuse.

In the mean time the soldiers of *Dionysius*, after committing all sorts of outrages in the city, had retired at night into the citadel. This short respite gave *Dion's* enemies new courage; who flattering themselves, that the garison would not venture again out of the castle, began to exhort the *Syracusians* to think no more of *Dion*, but to defend themselves with their own valour. They so far prevailed, that new deputies were dispatched from the chief commanders to stop his march; but his friends, at the same time, sent some worthy citizens to intreat him not to hearken to the embassies of such as were equally enemies to him, and their country. *Dion* therefore pursued his march; but the opposite faction seized the gates with a design to dispute his entrance. In the mean time *Nysus*, well apprised of the divisions that reigned in the city, made another sally from the citadel, and caused such a dreadful havock in all quarters of the city, that from the heaps of dead bodies, with which the streets, the squares, and the forum, were strewed, one would have believed, that not a single citizen had been left alive. They spared neither age nor sex, but put all, without distinction, to the sword. Nothing but murder and bloodshed was seen in every corner; and because they were informed, that *Dion* was hastening to the relief of the city, they seemed determined to destroy it intirely before his arrival: for, after they had murdered all the inhabitants they could light on, with burning torches, straw, and other combustibles, they set fire to the houses; so that many, who had escaped the sword, were miserably consumed in the flames.

Dion relieves Syracuse.

DURING this confusion, *Dion* unexpectedly arrived; and, having detached his light-armed troops against the enemy to reanimate the citizens who were still alive, by their presence, he drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and divided them into small parties, that they might be able to attack in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy. Having made the dispositions, and invoked the gods, he marched across the city against the enemy, being every where welcomed with acclamations, shouts of joy, and songs of victory. There was not one in the

city so fond of life, as not to be in more pain for *Dion's* safety than his own: they were all under the greatest apprehensions in seeing him march the foremost over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the public streets were intirely covered. The enemy, hearing that *Dion* had entered the city, posted themselves in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, determined, at all events, to maintain that post, lest their communication with the city should be cut off. It was with the greatest difficulty that *Dion's* men kept their ranks, being often obliged to march through the fire, and clouds of smoke, while the roofs and beams of the houses, half consumed with the flames, falling down, broke their ranks. At length they arrived at the place where the enemy waited for them, and began the attack. The slaughter was great on both sides, and the fight continued for several hours before *Dion's* men could get over the ruins which covered the enemy; but at length the *Peloponnesians*, animating each other with mutual shouts, made such a vigorous effort, that the enemy, though far superior in number, were borne down, and forced to give ground; the greatest part of them fled into the citadel, and the rest were cut in pieces by the victorious *Peloponnesians*. The city being thus delivered, *Dion's* men, instead of refreshing themselves after so great fatigues, spent all that night in extinguishing the fire, which they compassed not without great danger and difficulty ^d.

THE next day *Heraclides*, and his uncle *Theodotus*, two of *Heraclides* *Dion's* greatest enemies, put themselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him to forget their ungrateful behaviour, and restore them to his favour, of which they acknowledged themselves unworthy. *Dion's* friends advised him not to spare them, since they would not fail to raise new disturbances in the city, and defeat in the end so glorious a victory. But *Dion*, believing he could get the better of their stubborn and restless temper by force of kind usage and obligations, generously pardoned them. *Heraclides* seemed to be affected with this kindness; for the same day he proposed in the assembly, that *Dion* should be elected generalissimo with supreme power by sea and land. But the ungrateful populace, whose darling *Heraclides* was, opposed this motion with all their power; and *Dion*, to avoid new disturbances, gave up that point, suffering *Heraclides* to command in chief at sea ^e.

ALL things being now quiet, the *Syracusans*, under the direction of *Dion*, applied themselves solely to the siege of the citadel; and, in a short time, reduced the numerous garrison.

^d PLUT. & DIODOR. *ibid*.^e PLUT. *ibid*.

to such straits, that *Apollocrates*, the tyrant's son, was obliged to capitulate. *Dion* allowed him to retire unmolested to his father in *Italy* with five galleys, and all his friends and relations. It is not easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. The whole city crowded to the shore, to gratify their eyes with such an agreeable sight, and to solemnize the happy day, on which, after so many years servitude, the *Syracusians* could again stile themselves a free people.

Dion enters the citadel. Is met by his sister and wife.

As soon as *Apollocrates* set sail, *Dion* entered the citadel at the head of his troops, and was met at the gate by his sister *Aristomache* leading his son, and by his wife *Arete*, whom *Dionysius*, as we have related above, had given in marriage to *Timocrates*. *Dion* embraced his sister first, and then his son; whereupon *Arete*, drenched in tears, was ready to swoon away, when *Aristomache* presenting her to *Dion*; "The tears, said she, " you see her shed at the time your presence restores us to life and joy, her silence and confusion, may well convince you, that you alone have always possessed her heart. " Shall she embrace you as her husband, or die at your feet, " abandoned by you for what she has suffered against her will?" At these words *Dion*, with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced her, gave her his son, and sent her home to his house, whither he soon followed her, leaving the *Syracusians* in possession of the citadel, as a pledge of their liberty. After this *Dion* rewarded, with a magnificence truly royal, all those who had contributed to his success, according to their rank and merit, dismissed his guards, and, though at the height of glory, lived like a private citizen.

Heraclides put to death by Dion's order.

As the city was now in a profound tranquillity, *Dion* attempted to establish in it a form of government, composed of the *Spartan* and *Cretan*, but wherein the aristocratical was to prevail. The supreme authority, according to his plan, was to be vested in a council, of which the members were to be chosen by the people and nobility. But this design was warmly opposed by *Heraclides*, who, still turbulent and seditious, did not fail to stir up the people on that occasion against *Dion*, as if he intended to abridge their power, and subject them to the nobility. Hereupon *Dion*, finding that he opposed all wise councils, was at last prevailed upon to consent to his death; and he was accordingly, by *Dion's* friends, dispatched in his own house. *Dion* publicly owned, that he had been put to death by his order; and, in an harangue to the people, convinced them, that it was impossible for the city to be free from commotions and sedition, while *Heraclides* lived. However, *Dion* never after enjoyed an happy hour, but lived in continual anguish and sorrow, reproaching himself with having imbrued his hands in

in the blood of his fellow-citizen (H). Not long after, his son, for some unknown disappointment, threw himself from the top of an house, and died of the fall. This increased *Dion's* affliction; but neither his grief nor life lasted long, *Calippus* having, by the blackest treachery, deprived *Syracuse* of the greatest hero it ever produced.

CALIPPUS was an *Athenian* by birth, and had contracted an intimate friendship with *Dion*, who lodged in his house at *Athens*, and ever after ranked himself among his particular and intimate friends. Having attended *Dion* into *Sicily*, after the tyrant was driven out, he gave himself up to ambitious views, and began to entertain thoughts of making himself master of *Syracuse*; but, as he was well apprised, that he could not accomplish his design so long as *Dion* was alive, he threw off all regard for the sacred ties of friendship and hospitality, and determined to get rid of him. Notwithstanding the care he used to conceal his wicked purpose, it came to the ears of *Dion's* friends and relations (I), who all earnestly exhorted him to prevent *Calippus's* crime, by inflicting upon him the punishment his base treachery deserved. But he could not be prevailed upon to take any such resolution, saying, he had rather die a thousand deaths, than live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends. He could not even be induced to take a guard for the security of his person: *Calippus* therefore, having one night entered his house with a band of *Zacynthian* soldiers, who were intirely devoted to his interest,

(H) *Plutarch* tells us, that a dreadful spectre, which appeared to him in the night, filled him with terror and melancholy. The phantom seemed a woman of an enormous stature; and, by her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a fury.

(I) Among others, *Dion's* sister and wife, having had notice of his wicked designs, lost no time, but endeavoured to discover the truth by a very strict inquiry. *Calippus*, finding that they suspected him, went to them with tears in his eyes, and in appearance inconsolable, that any body should suspect him

of such a crime, or think him capable of so black a design. They insisted upon his taking the great oath, as it was called. The person, who swore, was wrapped up in the purple mantle of the goddess *Proserpine*; and, holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced against himself the most dreadful execrations, wishing them to fall upon himself and his family, if he was guilty of the crime laid to his charge. This oath *Calippus* took, while he was watching every day an opportunity of putting in execution his black design (36).

Diontreachcerously murdered. murdered him without meeting with the least opposition ; and, apprehending his wife and sister, caused them to be carried to the public prison †.

Calippus or Gylippus makes himself master of Syracuse. AFTER the death of *Dion*, *Calippus*, with the assistance of the *Zacynthian* troops, made himself master of *Syracuse*, and practised there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants before him. *Plutarch* observes, that the success he met with occasioned great complaints against the gods, for suffering so impious a wretch to raise himself to so exalted a station by such an execrable piece of treachery. But Providence was not long without justifying itself, the traitor having soon undergone the punishment he deserved. Having marched with his forces against *Catana*, *Syracuse* revolted, and shook off so shameful a yoke. He then withdrew to *Messana* ; but the inhabitants, taking up arms, shut their gates against him, and in a sally cut off most off the *Zacynthian* troops, who had murdered *Dion*. No city in *Sicily* would admit such an execrable monster ; whereupon he left the island, and retired

But is soon driven out,

and murdered.

Dion's wife and sister put to death.

to *Rhegium*, where, after having led for some time a miserable life, he was slain by *Leptines* and *Polyperchon* with the same dagger with which he had murdered *Dion* ‡.

As for *Aristomache* and *Arete*, upon the downfall of *Calippus*, they were set at liberty, and at first kindly entertained by *Ictas* of *Syracuse*, one of *Dion's* friends, who received them into his house. But *Ictas*, at last complying with the importunities of *Dion's* enemies, provided a vessel for them ; and, having put them on board, under pretence of sending them to *Peloponnesus*, ordered the commander of the ship to put them to death in the passage, and throw them into the sea. His orders were put in execution ; but *Ictas*, as we shall see hereafter, paid dear for such an inhuman treatment.

Now troubles in Syracuse.

Dionysius anew master of Syracuse.

Year of the flood 1998. B. Chr.

UPON *Dion's* death the city was involved in greater miseries than ever : *Calippus* usurped the supreme power ; but after ten months was driven out by *Hipparinus*, the brother of *Dionysius*, who, arriving unexpectedly with a numerous fleet, possessed himself of the city, and held it for the space of two years. *Syracuse* and all *Sicily* being thus divided into parties and factions, *Dionysius*, taking advantage of these troubles, assembled some foreign troops ; and, having defeated *Nysseus*, who was then governor of *Syracuse*, reinstated himself in the possession of his dominions, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His past misfortunes, instead of softening his fierce temper, served only to inflame it, and render him more savage and brutal than ever. The better sort of the citizens, not being able to brook so cruel

a servitude, had recourse to *Icetas*, who was by birth a *Syracusan*, but at that time tyrant of *Leontini*: they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themselves to his conduct, not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but because they had no other resource. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*^b, thinking this a very favourable opportunity to seize upon all *Sicily*, sent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity the *Syracusians* had recourse to the *Corinthians*, from whom they were descended, and who, of all the *Greek* nations, were the most professed enemies of tyranny, and most generous assertors of liberty. *Icetas*, who had nothing else in view but to make himself master of *Syracuse*, and had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, seemed to approve these measures, and even sent his deputies along with those of the *Syracusians*; but, in the mean time, was contriving how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from sending any forces into the island, which, according to his late treaty with the *Carthaginians*, was, after the expulsion of *Dionysius*, to be divided between him and them. The *Syracusan* ambassadors met with a very kind reception at *Corinth*, where, in a general assembly, it was resolved that succours should be sent into *Sicily*, and that *Timoleon* should be forthwith dispatched to *Syracuse*, and there take upon him the command of the *Syracusan* forces against *Dionysius* and the *Carthaginians*^c.

The *Syracusians* recur to the *Corinthians*.

Timoleon sent into *Sicily*.

TIMOLEON had led a retired life for twenty years, without ever interfering in public affairs, and expected nothing less than to be employed, or even thought of, on such an occasion. He was sprung from one of the most illustrious families of *Corinth*, and had, on all occasions, signalized himself in the defence of his country against the unjust pretensions of foreign as well as domestic tyrants. He had an elder brother, by name *Timophanes*, whom he tenderly loved, and had saved in a battle, by covering him with his own body. But his country was still dearer to him. *Timophanes* was suspected to entertain thoughts of seizing on the sovereignty, which *Timoleon* being informed of, used all possible means to divert him from so wicked an attempt; but, finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that neither kindness, friendship, affection, nor even menaces, could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be put to death in his presence by two of his intimate friends. This action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of *Corinth*; but highly blamed by others, who reproached him as an abominable parricide, who would not fail of draw-

Account of him.

^b PLUT. in *Timol.*

ing the vengeance of the gods upon himself and his country. His mother, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and, when he came to comfort her, she caused the doors to be shut against him, not being able to bear the sight of one who had murdered her son. This struck him with such horror, that, considering *Timophanes* no longer as a tyrant, but only as a brother, he resolved to put an end to his unhappy life, by abstaining from all nourishment. But his friends having with the utmost difficulty dissuaded him from this fatal resolution, he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for several years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most solitary and desert places, abandoned to excessive grief and melancholy. After he had passed near twenty years in this condition, he returned to *Corinth*; but lived there quite private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration. As he had, by the death of his brother, given a remarkable instance of his aversion to tyranny and tyrants, the *Corinthians* chose him as the most proper man to be sent into *Sicily*, which at that time abounded with tyrants above all other countries, there being scarce a city in the whole island, which was not held in slavery by some unjust usurper. It was not without great difficulty that *Timoleon* was prevailed upon to accept the command offered him; but at last his duty getting the better of his inclination, he complied with the request of his friends, and began to raise forces for the intended expedition ¹ (K).

¹ PLUT. *ibid.*

(K) *Diodorus* varies in the circumstances of this fact from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed. He tells us, that, *Timoleon* having killed his brother in the public market-place with his own hand, a great tumult arose among the citizens, some being of opinion, that he should suffer according to law for having imbrued his hands in the blood of a citizen; and others extolling him as the deliverer of his country, and worthy of the greatest rewards. To appease this tumult, an assembly was

convened, and the case of *Timoleon* taken into consideration. In the height of the debates the *Syracusan* ambassadors arrived, demanding a general to command their forces. Whereupon they unanimously agreed to send *Timoleon* into *Sicily*, but let him first know, that, if he discharged with fidelity the trust reposed in him, he should be treated as one who had killed a tyrant; but, if he did not answer their expectation, he should, on his return, be condemned as the murderer of his brother (37).

IN the mean time *Icetas*, who intended to possess himself *Icetas en-* of *Syracuse*, under colour of assisting the inhabitants against *deavours* *Dionysius*, foreseeing that *Timoleon* would defeat his measures, *to binder* dispatched ambassadors to the *Corinthians*, acquainting them, *the arri-* that the *Carthaginians*, apprised of their design, were wait- *val of Ti-* ing to intercept their Squadron with a great fleet; and that *moleon.* their slowness in sending him succours had obliged him to call in even the *Carthaginians* to his aid, and employ them against the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any farther levies, or exhausting their treasures in great, but useless expences, since he could, with the assistance of his allies the *Carthaginians*, drive out *Dionysius*, and restore *Syracuse* to its antient liberty. The speech of the ambassadors, and the letters which they delivered from *Icetas*, only served to hasten the departure of *Timoleon*, who was now fully convinced, that *Icetas* acted treacherously, and aspired at the sovereignty. He therefore immediately embarked his men, who were in all but a thousand, on board ten gallies, and, putting to sea, arrived safe on the coast of *Italy* (L); where *Timoleon* news was brought him, that *Icetas* had defeated *Dionysius*, *arrives on* and, having made himself master of the greatest part of the *the coast of* city, had obliged the tyrant to shut himself up in the citadel. *Italy.* At the same time *Timoleon* was informed, that *Icetas* had given orders to the *Carthaginians* to prevent his approach, and destroy his Squadron as soon as it appeared on the coasts of *Sicily*. This gave him great uneasiness; however, he advanced with his small fleet to *Rhegium*, where he found ambassadors from *Icetas*, who were charged to acquaint him, that he should be kindly received at *Syracuse*, provided he dismissed his troops; but otherwise the *Syracusians*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into their city. At the same time twenty *Carthaginian* gallies arrived in the port of *Rhegium*, sent by *Icetas* to prevent the *Corinthians* from approaching *Syracuse*. In this nice conjuncture *Timoleon* demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the chief commanders of the *Carthaginian* Squadron, in the

(L) *Diodorus* tells us, that during the whole time *Timoleon* was at sea, a light, like a burning torch, went before him in the night, till the fleet arrived safe on the coasts of *Italy*; and adds, that, before he set sail, he had been told by the priests of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, that the goddesses had appeared to them,

and promised to sail along with him to the island that was consecrated in a peculiar manner to them. This greatly encouraged *Timoleon*, who consecrated the best gally of his Squadron to the goddesses, calling it the sacred ship of *Ceres* and *Proserpine* (38).

(38) *Idem ibid.*

presence

presence of the people of *Rhegium*. He pretended to be willing to return home, but said, that he would first hear the *Rhegians*, and do it by their advice, that he might; on his return to *Corinth*, have wherewithal to justify his conduct. The magistrates of *Rhegium* were of intelligence with him, and desired nothing more than to see the *Corinthians* in possession of *Sicily*. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themselves only to the affair in hand.

Timoleon THE assembly being met, long speeches were made, and deludes the debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, on Carthagi- purpose to gain time. While the *Carthaginians* were busy in nians, and the council, nine *Corinthian* galleys, according to the orders arrives in they had received from *Timoleon*, set sail, and were suffered Sicily. to pass, the *Carthaginians* believing their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who were in the city. When *Timoleon* was privately informed, that his galleys were at sea, he slipped out of the assembly, and, making to the gally that was left, embarked, and rejoined the rest of his squadron. The *Carthaginians*, thus deluded, pursued him; but, as he had got far before them, the assembly not having broke up till it was dark, he arrived safe at *Taurominium*.

UPON the unexpected news of *Timoleon's* arrival in *Sicily*, *Ictas* put the *Carthaginians*, who had a fleet of an hundred and fifty galleys, in possession of the harbour of *Syracuse*, and dispatched an express to *Mago* the *Carthaginian* general, desiring him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time *Timoleon*, leaving *Taurominium*, *Ictas* de- marched to *Adranum*, where he attacked a *Carthaginian* de- feated by tachment commanded by *Ictas* in person, and put them to Timo- slight, though they were above four times his number. As leon. victory naturally begets friends, not only *Adranum*, but several other cities, opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. So that he now boldly advanced to the relief of *Syracuse*. On his arrival he found the *Syracusians* in a most deplorable condition, *Ictas* being master of the city, the *Carthaginians* of the port, and *Dionysius* of the citadel. The latter, seeing himself besieged on all sides, without any hopes of relief, sent privately ambassadors to *Timoleon*, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would suffer him to retire unmolested. *Timoleon*, taking the advantage of such an offer, willingly agreed to the terms, and detached *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, with four hundred men, to take possession of that important place. *Dionysius* received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike stores and provisions,

provisions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with seventy thousand complete suits of armour, and two thousand regular troops, which *Timoleon* incorporated among his *Corinthians*. After this, *Dionysius*, taking with him some of his friends, and part of his treasures, embarked on a small vessel, and repaired, unperceived by the troops of *Icetas*, to the camp of *Timoleon*. There he appeared for the first time as a private man and a suppliant, after he had been, near twelve years, lord of one of the most wealthy kingdoms then known. *Timoleon* sent him to *Corinth* with one galley only, and without a convoy; however, he escaped the *Carthaginian* vessels which lay in wait for him, and arrived safe. He was at first greatly pitied by the *Corinthians*; but his manner of life soon changed their compassion into contempt. He passed whole days in perfumers shops, or with actresses and singers, disputing with them on the rules of music, and the harmony of airs. Some believed, that he behaved thus out of policy, not to give umbrage to the *Corinthians*, or betray any thought of recovering his dominions. Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty, to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a school at *Corinth*, where, says *Tully*, he exercised that tyranny over children, which he could no longer practice over men. *Dionysius*, thus reduced to beggary, and, of a powerful king, become a contemptible schoolmaster, ought to warn all persons in exalted stations not to rely too much on prosperity, or think the gifts of fortune, as *Valerius Maximus* expresses it, entailed upon any of the human race¹. *Philip* king of *Macedon* meeting one day *Dionysius* in the streets at *Corinth*, asked, how he came to lose so powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father. *Dionysius* answered, that his father indeed had left him a rich kingdom, but not the fortune, which had preserved both him and his kingdom^m.

BUT to return to *Syracuse*; after the retreat of *Dionysius*, *Icetas* laid siege to the citadel, which was defended only by the four hundred *Corinthians* left there by *Timoleon*, under the command of one *Leon*, an experienced and brave officer. *Timoleon*, who had withdrawn to *Catana*, sent the garrison frequent supplies of provisions; but they were, for the most part, intercepted by *Icetas*, who kept the place closely blocked up on all sides. When they were reduced to the last extremity, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them by conveying into the place, in spite of all opposition, a great quantity of corn. Whereupon *Icetas* and *Mago*, being well apprised, that they could not become masters of the citadel so long as *Timoleon* was in that neighbourhood, resolved to leave part of the army in *Sy-*

* CIC. Tusc. quæst. l. iii.
PHALER. de eloc. l. l. viii.

¹ VAL. MAX. l. vi.

^m DEMET.

Messana
reduced by
Timoleon.

Mago re-
turns to
Carthage.

Timoleon
master of
Syracuse.

Demolishes
the citadel.

racuse, and, with the rest, either drive *Timoleon* from *Catana*, or break him up in that city. They were scarce gone, when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, observing that those, who were left to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, made a sudden sally, killed a great many of them, put the rest to flight; and, having possessed himself of the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and, by works of communication, joined it to the citadel. This bad news soon brought back *Mago* and *Ictas*; but they could not drive the enemy from *Acradina*. In the mean time a supply of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, sent from *Corinth*, landed safe in *Sicily*, having deceived the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* squadron posted to intercept them. *Timoleon*, encouraged with this new reinforcement, marched against *Messana*; and, having made himself master of that city, advanced to *Syracuse*. As he approached the city, his first care was to send emissaries into the enemy's camp, and artfully spread among the *Syracusians*, and other *Greeks* who served under *Ictas* and *Mago*, that *Timoleon's* only design was to restore them to their antient liberty; that it was shameful for *Greeks* to fight under the standard of a tyrant; and that, if they joined *Timoleon*, the war would be soon at an end, and not only peace, but liberty, restored to the whole island. Such discourses being spread throughout the camp, and even reaching *Mago's* ears, whose army was mostly composed of mercenary *Greeks*, that general began to be very uneasy; and, as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he gave out, that his forces were going to betray him; and, without hearkening to the intreaties and warm remonstrances of *Ictas*, he weighed anchor, and set sail for *Africa*, shamefully abandoning the conquest of *Sicily*. On his arrival at *Carthage*, he laid violent hands on himself, to prevent the punishment which his cowardice deserved.

THE next day *Timoleon* appeared before the city, with his army in line of battle, and assaulted it in three different quarters with such vigour, that the troops of *Ictas* were everywhere driven from the walls; and that part of the city, which they held, taken by storm. *Timoleon* no sooner saw himself master of *Syracuse*, and all the forts which had been built by the tyrants, but he caused a proclamation to be made by sound of trumpet, inviting all the citizens to come the next day with necessary tools, and demolish with their own hands the citadel, and other castles, which he called the nests of tyrants. The *Syracusians*, looking upon that day as the first of their true liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which they soon demolished, together with the forts, and the tyrant's pa-

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 11. & 12. PLUT. in Timol.

laces, breaking open at the same time their tombs, and overturning every monument of tyranny. The citadel being quite raised, *Timoleon* caused public edifices to be erected, in the spot where it stood, for the administration of justice. He found the city in a most miserable condition ; for, many having perished in the wars and seditions, and others fled to avoid the evils attending tyranny, that once so wealthy and populous a place was become almost a desert ; inasmuch that the horses grazed on the grass that grew in the very market-place. The other cities of *Sicily* were, in the same manner, abandoned and desolate. *Timoleon* therefore wrote to *Corinth*, desiring the magistrates to send a new colony to repeople *Syracuse*, which could no otherwise recover its former splendor. The *Corinthians*, pitying the sad condition of a city which they themselves had founded, sent to all the sacred games of *Greece*, and public assemblies, and caused proclamations to be made by heralds, declaring that the *Corinthians*, having abolished the tyranny of *Syracuse*, and expelled the tyrants, restored *Syracuse* to its former liberty ; and invited all those, who had withdrawn from their native country, to repair thither again, and take possession anew of their lands and estates. At the same time they dispatched couriers into *Asia*, and the neighbouring islands, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, exhorting them to hasten to *Corinth*, where they should be supplied with vessels, and, at the expence of the public, conveyed to their own country.

WHEN it was publicly known, that *Syracuse* was delivered from the oppression of tyrants, and that *Corinth* received all the fugitives, in order to transport them to their native city, great numbers flocked thither from all parts ; but, as they were not sufficient to repeople that great city, they intreated the *Corinthians*, and other cities of *Greece*, to spare them some of their inhabitants ; and, their request being granted, they embarked for *Syracuse*, being in all above ten thousand. At the same time great multitudes of people from *Italy*, and other parts of *Sicily*, joined *Timoleon*, who distributed the lands among them gratis, but sold the houses, and, with the money arising from the sale, established a fund for the support of the poor and needy.

TIMOLEON, having thus raised *Syracuse* in a manner from *Timoleon* the grave, undertook the delivery of all *Sicily*, and the extirpating of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities. He began with *Leontini* tyrant of *Leontini*, whom he compelled to renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*, demolish his forts, and resign the sovereignty. *Leontini* tyrant of *Engya* from their tyrants.

• PLUT. in TIMOL.

and *Apollonia*, being closely besieged, surrendered himself to the conqueror, who spared his life, and sent him, with several other tyrants, to *Corinth*, where he lead a private life. Afterwards he possessed himself of *Entella*, and put to death all those who adhered to the *Carthaginians*. The fame of his victories being now spread all over the island, the *Greek* cities every where submitted to him, and were by him restored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewise of the *Sicani* and *Sikuli*, subject to the *Carthaginians*, sent ambassadors to him, desiring to be admitted among his confederates.

Appoints
new ma-
gistrates
at Syra-
cuse.

The am-
phipolus.

TIMOLEON, having thus cleared *Sicily* of the many tyrants who held the people in subjection, and set the whole island at liberty, returned to *Syracuse*, where, in conjunction with *Cephalus* and *Dionysus*, two legislators sent from *Corinth*, he instituted such laws as were most proper for the democracy. Among other wise institutions, he appointed a chief magistrate to be chosen yearly, whom the *Syracusans* called the *amphipolus* of Jupiter Olympius : and the first *amphipolus* was *Callimenes*. Hence arose the custom among the *Syracusans* to compute their years by the respective governments of these magistrates, which custom continued in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, that is, in the reign of *Augustus*, above three hundred years after the office of *amphipolus* was first introduced.

Timoleon
makes war
upon the
Carthagi-
nians.

TIMOLEON, having thus reformed the government of *Syracuse*, and, by many wise laws, settled the city in peace and tranquillity, began to entertain thoughts of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of the island. With this view he sent a strong detachment, under the command of *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus*, into the neighbouring countries subject to the *Carthaginians*, injoining them to plunder all those cities which refused to renounce their alliance with *Carthage*, and join them. By this means he got a vast sum of money, which served to pay his soldiers their arrears, and make the necessary preparations for the war he designed. The *Carthaginians*, suspecting his design, sent over into *Sicily* *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, two experienced commanders, with an army of 70,000 men, 200 ships of war, and 1000 transports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horses, and all sorts of provisions. They no sooner landed at *Lilybaeum*, but *Timoleon* advanced against him, though his army consisted only of 7000 men. On his march, one of his mercenaries, by name *Throcius*, cried out, that *Timoleon* was not in his right senses : else with such an handful of men he would never attempt to oppose so numerous an army ; that he was leading them to certain and un-

avoidable destruction ; and that, if he was not distracted, he could propose nothing else than the sacrificing of their lives, perhaps because he was not able to pay them their arrears. By this speech he prevailed upon a thousand of the mercenaries to return to *Syracuse*, and not follow *Timoleon* in so desperate an expedition. This did not dishearten *Timoleon*, who, having by fair words, and large promises, brought back the other mercenaries to their duty, continued his march to the banks of the river *Crimissus*, where the enemy was encamped. His unexpected arrival occasioned no small confusion in the *Carthaginian* army, which he improving to his advantage, attacked them with great vigour and resolution. Ten thousand of the enemy's forces, who had already passed the river, were defeated, and put to flight, before the rest could come up to their assistance. But, in the mean time, the whole army having gained the opposite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful ; but, while the *Carthaginians* were fighting with great resolution, and endeavouring to hem in, and surround on all sides, *Timoleon's* small army, there arose on a sudden a violent storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, which, beating on the faces of the *Carthaginians*, put them into such confusion, that they were not able to stand their ground any longer. As soon as they began to retire, the *Greeks*, encouraging one another with shouts of joy, pressed them so vigorously, that the whole army was driven into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned in that throng and confusion. The sacred cohort or brigade, as the *Carthaginians* called it, which consisted of two thousand five hundred citizens of *Carthage*, all men of experienced valour, fought with great resolution, and stood their ground till they were cut off to a man. Of the rest, ten thousand were slain, and above fifteen thousand taken prisoners ; all their baggage and provision, with two hundred chariots, a thousand coats of mail, and ten thousand shields, fell into the enemy's hands, and were either sent to *Corinth*, and there dedicated to *Neptune*, or hung up in the temples of *Syracuse*. The spoil, which was exceeding rich, and consisted of gold and silver plate, and other furniture of great value, he divided among the soldiers, retaining nothing for himself but the glory of so famous a victory.

Timoleon, after this victory, returned to *Syracuse*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and attended to his house by the magistrates, and chief citizens, the people, as he passed through the streets, throwing flowers upon him, and paying him such honours as were due to heroes or demigods. Soon after his arrival, he banished the thousand mercenaries, who had deserted him, ordering them

The Carthaginians defeated.

Their baggage and provisions taken.

to leave *Syracuse* before sun-set. This was all the punishment^a he inflicted upon them^a.

Peace con-
cluded
with the
Carthagi-
nians.

As soon as the news of this overthrow reached *Carthage*, the people there were seized with such terror, that they immediately dispatched ambassadors into *Sicily*, with orders to strike up a peace upon any terms whatsoever. As several new tyrants had already started up, and formed a powerful alliance against *Timoleon*, he thought it adviseable to conclude a peace with the *Carthaginians*, and turn his arms against those unjust usurpers. A peace was accordingly settled on the following terms: that all the *Greek* cities should be set free; that the river *Halycus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls it, the *Lycus*, should be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities subject to the *Carthaginians* should be allowed to withdraw, if they pleased, to *Syracuse*, with their families and effects; and lastly, that *Carthage* should not for the future give any assistance to the tyrants against the *Syracusians*.

All the Si-
cilian ty-
rants ta-
ken, and
put to
death.

TIMOLEON, having now nothing to fear from the *Carthaginians*, marched against the tyrants, determining to root them quite out of the island. *Ietas* had already taken the field, but was easily routed by *Timoleon*, who, following his victory, made him, his son *Eupolemus*, and the general of his host, prisoners, and put them all to death. His wife and daughter fell likewise into his hand, and were sent to *Syracuse*, where they were sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people of *Syracuse* thus revenging the death of *Dionysius* and his sister, whom *Ietas* had caused to be thrown into the sea, as we have related above. *Mamercus* tyrant of *Catana*, *Hippocleas* tyrant of *Messana*, and all the other tyrants of *Sicily*, met with the like fate, being first overcome by *Timoleon*, and then put to death by those whom they had tyrannically oppressed. Thus *Timoleon*, having intirely purged *Sicily* of the tyrants, who had long infested it, given *Syracuse* wife laws, every-where re-established peace and tranquillity, re-peopled the cities, and supplied them with means to recover their ancient splendor, resigned his authority to live in retirement. The *Syracusians* had out of gratitude bestowed upon him the best house in the city, and another very magnificent and pleasant one in the country, whither he retired with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from *Corinth*. In this retirement he passed the remainder of his life, enjoying the satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such numbers of people, indebted to him for their happiness. He was tried in his old-age with a very sensible affliction, which was the loss of his

Timoleon
resigns his
authority,
and leads
a retired
life

^a PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi supra.

fight. In this condition the *Syracusians* gave him great instances of their gratitude, paying him frequent visits, and carrying all strangers of distinction to salute their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to be examined in the assembly of the people, they never failed to invite him thither, and religiously to follow his advice. He generally

Gratitude, shown by the Syracusians to their deliverer.

He was in a chariot, and was attended from the gates of the city to the place of the assembly by the whole city, and reconducted in the same manner beyond the gates with loud shouts and acclamations. He lived in this retirement eight years, and was, after his death, honoured as a god. He was buried with great pomp and magnificence, the people of *Syracuse* having decreed, that two hundred minas should be laid out on that occasion; but the tears that were shed, and the blessings uttered by every-body in honour of his memory, were the chief ornament of his funeral. It was also enacted by a special decree, that annually, on the day of his death, public sports should be celebrated, with horse-races and gymnastic games; and that, whenever the people of *Syracuse* should be engaged in a war with the barbarians, they should send to *Corinth* for a general.

Timoleon dies.

THE *Syracusians* enjoyed, for the space of twenty years, the fruits of *Timoleon's* victories. But it was impossible, that a nation, which neither knew how to govern, nor how to be governed, should be long free from tumults and sedition. Great calamities daily arising, the citizens were again involved in the same calamities, from which *Timoleon* had with so much trouble delivered them. A new tyrant started up among them, who exceeded all those who had gone before him, in cruelty, and all other vices. This was *Agathocles*, of whose birth and parentage *Diodorus* gives us the following account. He was the son of one *Carfinus*, who, being banished from *Rhegium*, his native city, settled at *Thermæ* in *Sicily*, at that time subject to the *Carthaginians*. There he married a woman of the

The parents of Agathocles.

people, who, being troubled with strange dreams while she was with child of *Agathocles*, imparted them to some *Carthaginians* who were going to *Delphi*, desiring them to consult the oracle in her name about the child she was big with. The *Carthaginians* complied with her request; and the oracle returned this answer, that the child would bring dreadful calamities upon the *Carthaginians*, and all *Sicily*. The father, terrified with this prediction, exposed the child, as soon as it was born, in the open fields, charging one of his friends to watch it till it died. As the infant continued several days alive, the person placed there to guard it grew weary, and

His mother troubled with strange dreams.

His education.

retired home; which the mother having notice of, immediately repaired to the place, and, carrying the child to the house of her brother *Heracles*, intrusted it with him, calling it, after her father's name, *Agathocles*. When he was seven years old, *Carfinus* was invited by *Heracles* to a solemn feast and sacrifice; and on that occasion seeing *Agathocles*, he was greatly taken with his beauty; for he is said to have been one of the handsomest men of his age. His wife, laying hold of that opportunity to put him in mind of his son, told him, that the child he had exposed would have proved as fine a child as that he so much admired, had he not been so barbarously murdered. At these words the father burst out in tears, and said, that he heartily repented what he had done. Hereupon the mother ventured to discover to him the truth of the whole matter; whereat he was greatly overjoyed; but soon after, out of fear of the *Carthaginians*, removed with all his family to *Syracuse*, where, as he was by trade a potter, he brought up his son to the same business. After *Timoleon* had routed the *Carthaginians* on the banks of the *Cremissus*, he promised to make all those, who should join him, free of *Syracuse*; and on this occasion it was that *Carfinus* and his son *Agathocles* were enrolled among the *Syracusan* citizens. *Carfinus* died soon after; but *Agathocles* being recommended by his beauty to one *Demas*, a rich, but voluptuous and lewd nobleman of *Syracuse*, he was plentifully supplied by him with money, and whatever else he had occasion for. *Demas* was soon after created general of the *Agrigentines*, when he did not forget his favourite, but advanced him to the dignity of a chiliarch, that is, gave him the command of a thousand men. He had some time before served as a common soldier, and was even then very remarkable for his dexterity in performing the military evolutions, and the great strength of his body, wearing in the usual exercises such heavy armour as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he was raised to the post of a chiliarch, he distinguished himself on all occasions above the other commanders, being quite void of fear, and as ready to expose his own life to the greatest dangers, as the lives of those he commanded. In the mean time *Demas* dying, and leaving his whole estate to his wife, *Agathocles* married her, and by that means became at once the most wealthy citizen in *Syracuse*.

He is driven from Syracuse.

He was not suffered long to enjoy his good fortune in *Syracuse*, being driven from thence by *Sassistratus*, who, having usurped the supreme power, and made himself absolute master of *Syracusa*, banished all those who gave him any umbrage.

Agathocles retired to *Italy*, where he had acquired a great reputation in the war which the *Crotonians* had waged with the *Brutians*. He settled at *Crotona*, where he was kindly entertained; but, forgetting the favours shewn him by the *Crotonians*, he attempted to make himself lord of their city, and was on that account obliged to save himself by flight from the fury of the incensed multitude. From *Crotona* he withdrew to *Tarentum*, but was soon driven from that city too, being there convicted of the like practices. After this, no city would receive him: whereupon, having got together a band of exiles and robbers, he plundered the country, and lived upon rapine. In the mean time *Sosistratus* having crossed over into *Italy*, and laid siege to *Rhegium*, *Agathocles* attacked him unexpectedly, forced his camp, and obliged him to embark his men, and drop that enterprize. *Sosistratus*, soon after this unsuccessful expedition, was forced to abdicate the sovereignty, and quit *Syracuse*. With him were driven out above six hundred of the chief citizens, who were suspected by the populace to have formed a design of abolishing the democracy, and introducing in its room oligarchy. *Sosistratus*, and the exiles, had recourse to the *Carthaginians*, who readily espoused their cause. Hereupon the *Syracusians*, recalling *Agathocles*, appointed him commander in chief of their forces, which trust he discharged with more valour than integrity; for, having defeated the united forces of *Sosistratus* and the *Carthaginians*, on which occasion he received seven wounds, he began to exercise a sovereign power over his fellow-citizens, and take such measures as plainly shewed, that he aspired the monarchy. Wherefore the *Syracusians*, not daring to trust any of their own citizens, had recourse anew to the *Gorinthians*, who sent them one *Acestorides* to take upon him the command of their forces. *Acestorides* was no sooner vested with this power, but he formed a design of dispatching *Agathocles*, being sensible that *Syracuse* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity so long as *Agathocles* was alive. But, as he was afraid his death might occasion some disturbance in the city, he commanded him to retire from *Syracuse* in the close of the evening, and placed on all the roads soldiers, with private orders to put him to death in the night, and bury his body. But *Agathocles*, suspecting some treachery, chose a young man, who resembled him both in stature and features; and, having privately delivered to him his horse, arms, and garments, sent him before, injoining him to keep the public road. He was scarce out of the gates, when the guards, mistaking him for *Agathocles*, killed him, and buried the body; nor were they undeceived, till news was brought some time after, that *Agathocles*, who had escaped by private ways, was raising troops in the

Attempts
the sovereignty of
Crotona
and of Tarentum.

Agathocles appointed
him commander in chief of
the Syracusan forces.
But soon divested of his command.

Saves his life by a stratagem.

*Is recalled
to Syra-
cuse.*

heart of *Sicily*. The *Syracusians* were not a little alarmed, when they heard, that he was not only alive, but had already got together a considerable army, and was preparing to come against the city. They therefore sent ambassadors to him ; and, to avoid the evils of a civil war, offered to recall him home; provided he disbanded his forces. *Agathocles* agreed to the proposal ; and, on his return, being conducted by the citizens to the temple of *Ceres*, he swore there, according to custom, in the most solemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the democracy :

*Courts the
favour of
the people.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the solemn oath he had taken, he no sooner saw himself restored to his country and estate, but he began to court the favour of the populace, and espouse their cause against the senate, which consisted of six hundred of the chief citizens, with no other view but to sow divisions, and raise new disturbances, by means of which he hoped to have an opportunity of overturning the government, and making himself master of the city. He pretended to protect the people against the oppressions and overgrown power of the senate, and was, on that account, in spite of the senate, created commander in chief of the forces which were then raising to be sent against the city of *Erbita*, which had revolted from *Syracuse*. *Agathocles*, seeing himself again at the head of an army, resolved to get rid of all those who were in a condition to thwart his designs. Having therefore appointed his troops

*Is again
vested
with the
chief com-
mand of
the army.*

to meet him early in the morning at a place near *Syracuse* called *Timoleonium*, he there told them, that, before they employed their arms against the inhabitants of *Erbita*, they must clear *Syracuse* of the six hundred tyrants, who were far more dangerous enemies than either the inhabitants of *Erbita*, or the *Carthaginians* themselves; that *Syracuse* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity so long as one of them was left alive ; that it was not enough to dispatch the tyrants, unless at the same time all those, who sided with them, underwent the same fate. This was encouraging his soldiers, who were, for the most part, the scum of the populace, to murder the whole body of the nobility at once. For their further encouragement, he gave them leave to plunder the houses, and seize on all the wealth, of those they should put to death. When he had ended his speech, the soldiery shewed an eager desire to be led against the tyrants, as they called them, and to deliver *Syracuse* from the oppressions it groaned under. *Agathocles* then, entering the city, commanded the trumpets to sound the charge

*He massa-
cres all
the nobles
and chief
citizens.*

whereupon the soldiers, falling upon all those they met with, murdered them without distinction of rank, sex, or age ; plu-

dered their houses, and committed all sorts of cruelties. In a few hours four thousand and upwards were killed, and the streets covered with dead bodies. But this was not enough for *Agathocles*; his design was not only to dispatch the nobles, but to leave few of the other citizens alive to oppose him. Wherefore, when the slaughter was once begun, he encouraged his men to pursue the bloody massacre, giving them free liberty to plunder, ravish, murder, and commit what enormities they pleased for two whole days and nights. The third day he summoned an assembly of the few who had outlived the general slaughter; and told them, that, for the violent distemper with which the state had been long affected, he had been obliged to administer a no less violent remedy; that he had nothing else in view but to restore the democracy, and rescue the city from the cruel oppressions of a few tyrannical magistrates; and that, for the future, he would lead a private life, free from further cares and toils. This he did to have the crown placed upon his head, as it were, by force; for he knew that he had left none alive fit to govern; and, on the other side, was well assured, that those who had assisted him in spoiling and murdering their fellow-citizens, would never suffer him to resign his authority, having no hopes of impunity but in vesting him with the supreme power, at whose instigation they had committed so many enormities. He therefore had no sooner ended his speech, but they all with one voice proclaimed him king; and decreed, that he should thenceforth govern with an absolute and uncontrouled power.

Pretends a design to lay down his command, and retire.

Is proclaimed king.

BEING thus raised to the throne, the first law he enacted was, that all former debts should be made void, and the lands equally divided among the rich and the poor. By this unjust decree he gained the affection of the common people, and so weakened the opposite party, that the very few nobles, who had outlived the general slaughter, were now upon a level with the meanest of the people. *Agathocles*, having thus triumphed over all his enemies, began to change his behaviour, and treat his subjects with a great deal of humanity and moderation, allowing every one to come freely into his presence, and hearing patiently their complaints, which, when it lay in his power, he never failed to redress. He likewise published several wholesome laws, seeking by all means to gain the love of his subjects, that he might be able to turn his arms against the other cities of *Sicily*, having a design to make himself master of the whole island. His subjects seemed disposed to second his ambitious views, which encouraged him to make war first on the neighbouring states, and afterwards to carry his arms into the

Cancels all debts, and divides the lands equally.

Reduces the greatest part of Sicily.

very heart of the island, which, in the space of two years, he brought intirely under subjection, except a few cities that were held by the *Carthaginians* *.

WHEN news was brought to *Carthage* of the progress *Agathocles* made in *Sicily*, *Amilcar* was immediately dispatched with a numerous fleet, and a mighty army, to put a stop to his conquests. The fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, in which *Amilcar* lost sixty ships of war, and two hundred transports, with a great number of men. However, being joined on his arrival by such of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, his army was in a few days increased to the number of forty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. With these he took the field, and encamped near the city of *Himera*, where *Agathocles* attacked him, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches, and cut most of his army in pieces. But, while the *Syracusians* were busy in plundering the camp, a powerful supply arrived unexpectedly from *Carthage*; which revived the courage of those who had fled, to such a degree, that they returned to the charge; and, finding the *Syracusians* in disorder, attacked them in front, while the new supplies fell on their rear. Thus was the fortune of the day changed, and *Agathocles*, who thought himself sure of the victory, obliged to save himself first in *Gela*, and afterwards within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the *Carthaginians* pursued him, and laid close siege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would have put them in possession of the whole island.

Agathocles defeated by the Carthaginians. Syracuse besieged.

Agathocles resolves to transfer the war into Africa.

AGATHOCLES, being reduced to such straits, and abandoned by all his allies in *Sicily*, from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, formed a design of so bold, and, in appearance, so impracticable a nature, that nothing but the success, with which it was attended, could justify the undertaking of it. This design was, to transfer the war into *Africa*, and besiege *Carthage*, at a time when he himself was besieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in *Sicily*. He communicated his design to no person whatsoever, but only told the *Syracusians* in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the losses they had sustained to that day. He then chose the most daring and intrepid among the soldiers and citizens of *Syracuse*, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the first call, and the horsemen to carry each along with him, besides his arms, a saddle and a bridle. He set at liberty all the slaves, who were able to bear arms, and incorporated them among his troops. Having embarked all his forces, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuse*, with

* *Idem ibid.*

men and provisions sufficient to hold out a long siege; and, taking with him his sons *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*, he went last on board himself. His fleet consisted of sixty galleys; but the *Carthaginian* Squadron, far more numerous than his, blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that he was obliged to wait for some favourable opportunity to set sail. After he had attended a long time, and was ready to drop his design, a large fleet of transports appeared laden with corn, and other provisions, for *Syracuse*. To intercept these, the *Carthaginians* put to sea; and *Agathocles* no sooner saw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewise hoisted sail. The *Carthaginians* at first imagined, that the enemy's fleet was sent to defend the transports; and therefore, tacking about, prepared to engage. But *Agathocles* continued his course towards *Africa*, being closely pursued by the *Carthaginians*, till, night coming on, they lost sight of him. In the mean time the transports, unexpectedly escaping the danger, plentifully supplied the city with corn, and all other provisions. The *Carthaginian* admiral, finding, that, by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed them both, and that *Agathocles* did not return, resolved to pursue him close, and to prevent him from kindling the war in some other place. Having therefore sailed six days and six nights, steering his course towards *Africa*, he at last came up with the *Syracusan* fleet, and engaged them. But, as his men were quite tired out with rowing, the *Syracusians* gained the victory; and, having dispersed the enemy's fleet, landed safe on the coast of *Africa*, at a place called the quarries.

AGATHOCLES, having thus landed his men in the heart of the enemy's country, assembled his troops, and acquainted them in a few words with his design, and the motives which had prompted him to it: he told them, that the only way to divert the enemy from the siege of *Syracuse*, and drive them quite out of *Sicily*, was to carry the war into their own country; that he led men inured to the hardships of war against an enemy softened and enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, who hated the *Carthaginians*, by whom they were treated rather like slaves than allies, would join them on the first news of their arrival; that the boldness of the attempt would strike the *Carthaginians* with terror, who were altogether unprepared to engage an enemy at the very gates of their metropolis; finally, that from no other enterprize they could reap more advantage and glory than from this, which would put them in possession of the whole wealth of *Carthage*, and transmit their names and

* DIODOR. l. xx. c. 1. JUSTIN. l. xii.

Takes a
bold resolu-
tion.

same to the latest posterity. The soldiers fanned themselves already masters of *Africa*, and applauded this speech with loud shouts of joy and acclamations. *Agathocles*, finding his soldiers so well disposed, resolved to set fire to his fleet, and burn all his ships, except one or two for the carrying of dispatches. Many reasons determined him to so bold, or, as as our historian calls it, so desperate an action. He had not one good harbour in *Africa*, where his ships could lie with safety: wherefore, as the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, they would not fail to possess themselves of his own fleet, which was no ways in a condition to cope with theirs. As he had but a small army, if he divided it, leaving troops sufficient to defend the ships, he would not be strong enough to encounter the enemy, and thereby be deprived of all the advantages of this unexpected diversion. But what chiefly inspired him with this resolution was, that the fleet being once destroyed, his men would be under a necessity of conquering, having no other hopes of safety remaining, save only in victory. Having therefore gained over beforehand such of the officers as were intirely at his devotion, he assembled the soldiery, and appeared among them in his royal robes with a crown on his head, as if he were going to perform some religious ceremony. Then, addressing himself to the assembly, he told them, that, when they left *Syracuse*, and were warmly pursued by the enemy, in that fatal danger he applied himself to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, the tutelar goddesses of *Sicily*, and promised to burn all the vessels of the fleet in their honour, if they delivered his men from the enemy, and helped them to land safe in *Africa*. Aid me therefore, O fellow-soldiers, said he, to discharge this vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice. Having uttered these words, he took a torch in his hand, and led the way, flying on board his own ship, and setting it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole shore echoed with joyful shouts, and loud acclamations. The soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on what they were doing, being hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardor; but, when they had leisure to weigh every particular, and were apprised of the danger they were in, being separated from their own country by a large sea, and in the midst of the enemy's, without the least hopes or means of escaping, a sad and melancholy silence succeeded that transport of joy, and those acclamations, which but for a moment before had been so general in the army.

Burns his
ships.

HERE again *Agathocles* left no time for reflection; but, *Reduces* to revive the drooping spirits of his soldiers, he led them *and plun-* against an important place called the *Great City*, which was *dars some* subject to *Carthage*. The country through which they *cities in* marched, offered the most agreeable prospect imaginable. On *Africa*. either side were spacious meadows covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houses built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues planted with all sorts of fruit-trees; delicious gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with all possible care and elegance, &c. This prospect reanimated the soldiers, who were again willing to run any danger, in hopes of obtaining so pleasant and wealthy a country as a reward of their toils and labour. They marched full of courage to the *Great City*, took it by storm, and enriched themselves with the plunder, which was intirely abandoned to them. Thence they advanced to *Tunis*, which they likewise took sword in hand, and plundered. The soldiers were for garisoning these two cities, that they might have some place to retire to in case of any misfortune; but *Agathocles*, that they might have no hopes of safety but in victory, caused them both to be leveled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields *.

IN the mean time the news of this unexpected descent, *Carthage* reaching *Carthage*, threw the whole city into the utmost *in the ut-* terror and confusion. They all concluded, that their army *most ter-* before *Syracuse* was intirely cut off, and their fleet lost. The *ror and* people hastened with trembling hearts to the market-place, *confusion*. while the senate assembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might save the city, which the victorious enemy was, with long marches, advancing to besiege. They had no army in readiness to make head against the enemy, and their present danger did not allow them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. It was therefore resolved, *The citi-* after long debates, that the citizens should be armed; and *zens take* accordingly, in a few days, they had assembled an army of *arms, and* forty thousand foot, and a thousand horse, with two hundred *form a* armed chariots. They appointed *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* to *numerous* command the forces, notwithstanding the antient grudges *army*. that still subsisted between their families, hoping that they would strive to outvie one another in the defence of their common country, and by that means turn their private quarrels to the public advantage. The generals immediately took the field, and, possessing themselves of an eminence not far from the city, drew up their troops in battle-array. *Agathocles* had only fourteen thousand men, and was therefore

* Idem ibid. OROS. l. iv. c. 6. POLYB. l. xxii. ATHEN. l. iii. c. 2.

By what
stratagem
Agathocles encouraged his
men.

Hanno,
one of the
Carthagi-
nian gene-
rals, killed.

The Car-
thaginians
defeated
by the
treachery
of Bomil-
car.

not a little surpris'd, when he saw so numerous an army ready to engage him. However, he dissembled his fear; and, in order to encourage his men, who were quite despirited, and under great apprehensions of the enemy's horse and chariots, he let out several owls, which he had before prepared for that purpose. These, flying about the camp, and lighting on the soldiers shields, so raised their spirits, that of their own accord they began to advance against the enemy, not doubting but by the assistance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird was sacred, and therefore looked upon by all the *Greeks* as a good omen, they should gain a complete victory. *Agathocles* willingly seconded their ardor, and, putting himself at their head, charged the *Carthaginians* with incredible vigour. *Hanno* with the *Sacred cohort*, which consisted of the flower of the troops, sustained a long time the fury of the *Greeks*, and even put them in disorder; but, being overwhelmed with showers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell bravely fighting to the last. *Bomilcar*, understanding that his rival was slain, looked upon this as a favourable opportunity of possessing himself of the sovereignty, at which he had long aspired; but, as he was sensible, that he could not accomplish his design, if the army of *Agathocles* were destroyed, but might easily put it in execution, if the enemy conquered, he resolv'd to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting but he should be able to get the better of *Agathocles* whenever he pleas'd. Accordingly, acquainting his men with *Hanno's* death, he order'd them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill; as the only means to escape the fury of the victorious enemy; but, as their retreat look'd like a flight, the *Greeks* pursu'd them so close, that they put them in disorder, and gain'd a complete victory. The *Sacred cohort* fought with great bravery, even after the death of *Hanno*, and courageously advanced over the dead bodies of their fellow-soldiers, till they saw themselves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being surrounded by the enemy. They then retir'd in good order, and gain'd an eminence, where they halted, and anew made head against those who pursu'd them; but, not being supported by *Bomilcar*, they were either cut off, or forc'd to save themselves by flight, after having distinguished themselves in a very eminent manner. Two hundred *Greeks* were slain in this battle, and a thousand, or, according to some, six thousand *Carthaginians*; so that the slaughter on neither side was considerable. *Agathocles*, after having pursu'd the enemy some time, return'd, and allow'd his soldiers to plunder the *Carthaginian* camp, where they found twenty thousand pair of fetters and manacles, which

the enemy had provided, not doubting but they should take many prisoners^a.

THE Carthaginians, now giving up all for lost, dispatched Amilcar messenger after messenger to Amilcar in Sicily, with the recalled news of what happened in Africa, and express orders to from Sicily hasten over to the relief of his country. When the messengers ly. arrived, Amilcar commanded them not once to mention the victory of Agathocles; but, on the contrary, to noise it He falsly abroad in the camp, that he had been intirely defeated, his gives out, forces all cut off, and his fleet taken by the Carthaginians: that Aga- The senate of Carthage had sent to Amilcar by the messengers thocles all the beaks of the Syracusan ships, that this report might and his more easily gain credit; for it was by their orders that he army were caused it to be spread abroad. Amilcar therefore immediately cut off. dispatched ambassadors to Syracuse with the beaks of the ships, summoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, since their army and fleet in Africa were utterly destroyed. This sad news was commonly believed, and the Syracuse whole city thrown into the utmost confusion; but the leading in the ut- men, to prevent the mischiefs that might attend so general most confu- a consternation, not only dismissed the messengers without sion. any answer, but drove out eight thousand of their citizens, who seemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. Amilcar entertained the exiles with great kindness, and, understanding from them the miserable condition the city was in, he re- solved to assault it on all quarters at once; but first sent new deputies, promising to spare Antandrus, and all those who sided with him, if he delivered the city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was summoned, when Antandrus, who was very unlike his brother, was for capitulating; but Eurymnon the Etolian, whom Agathocles had left to assist his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the rest to hold out till they had certain intelligence of the truth. The af- The news ssembly was scarce dismissed, when a gally, with thirty ships, of the vi- arrived from Africa, and brought the agreeable news of Aga- tory of thocles's victory, which immediately flew through the city, Agatho- and restored life and resolution to the inhabitants. Amilcar cles made a last effort to storm the city; but, being repulsed with brought to loss, he raised the siege, and sent five thousand men to the Syracuse. relief of his distressed country. All his forces he thought it The siege needful to send, and still entertained hopes of obliging Aga- raised. thocles to quit Africa, and return to the defence of his own kingdom. He spent some time in reducing such cities as sided with the Syracusans; and, after having brought all their allies under subjection, he returned again to Syracuse, hoping

The Carthaginians surprised the city by attacking it in the night. But the Carthaginians, having timely notice of his design, made a fallacious defeat, unexpectedly, routed his army, which was an hundred and in Sicily twenty thousand men strong, and took Amilcar himself Amilcar prisoner. We are told, that Amilcar dreamt the night before, taken, and that he should sup the next day in Syracuse: his dream put to a cruel death.

much to his satisfaction; for those, whose parents and relations he had barbarously murdered, led him in chains about all the streets of the city; and, after having vented their rage on their miserable captive by all sorts of torments, struck off his head, and sent it into Africa, a welcome present to Agathocles, who, advancing to the enemy's camp, and shewing them the head of their general, struck them with such terror, that their commanders with the utmost difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to Carthage ^b.

AGATHOCLES had already reduced all the cities subject to the Carthaginians, and was preparing to besiege Carthage itself; but, before he ventured upon so difficult and hazardous an enterprize, he sent ambassadors to all the princes of Africa, inviting them to join in the common cause, and lend him their assistance in overturning that imperious republic, which with so much haughtiness lorded it over them. His chief design was to gain over Ophellas prince of the Cyreneans, who had been one of Alexander's captains, and at that time had on foot an army of ten thousand regular troops, and was contriving how he might enlarge his dominions. The ambassadors sent to him were charged to flatter his ambition, by promising him, in their master's name, the sovereignty of all Africa, which Agathocles had invaded with no other view but to oblige the Carthaginians to quit Sicily: Ophellas, allured by this promise, set out at the head of twenty thousand men; and, after two months march, mostly through sandy

Agathocles dispatches ambassadors to the prince of the Cyreneans:

Who joins him; but is by him treacherously murdered.

deserts, at last joined Agathocles. As that prince did not scruple to commit the most enormous crimes to promote his interest, Ophellas had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than by the blackest perfidy he caused him to be murdered; and by fair words, and large promises, prevailed upon his army, now destitute of a leader, to serve under him, and be intirely at his devotion. Such of the Cyreneans as he found unfit to bear arms (for many of them had brought along with them their wives and children) he put on board some transports, and sent them to Syracuse, where few of them arrived, most of the ships being cast away near the Pithecusian islands. Agathocles, seeing himself now at the

^b Ibidem ibid.

head of a numerous army, assumed the title of king of *Africa*; and, as *Carthage* was the only city which still held out, he invested it on all sides, with a design to reduce it by famine.

WHILE he was lying before *Carthage*, news was brought him, that, after the defeat of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, and death of *Amilcar*, most of the cities, whether subject to the *Carthaginians* or *Syracusans*, had taken up arms, and entered into an association in defence of their liberties. As his affairs in *Africa* were in a very flourishing condition, he thought he might safely return for a while into *Sicily*. Having therefore built some open vessels, with fifty oars apiece, and put two thousand men on board, he set sail for *Sicily*, leaving his son *Archagathus* commander in chief of his *African* army. Before him flew the fame of his victories, and the news of his arrival struck the confederates with such terror, that many cities submitted of their own accord; others were reduced by dint of arms; and in a short time the whole island, except some few cities subject to the *Carthaginians*, acknowledged the sovereignty of *Agathocles*. Having thus settled affairs in *Sicily*, he returned to *Africa*, where he found the face of things quite changed by his absence. His son *Archagathus* had lost a battle, and his army was ready to revolt for want of provisions; the *Carthaginians* had recovered their courage, and were encamped in an advantageous post, whence it was no easy matter to dislodge them; all the avenues to the enemy's camp were guarded by strong detachments, and no pass was left open for the conveying of provisions to *Agathocles's* army, which was already in the utmost distress. In this critical juncture *Agathocles* attacked the enemy's camp, but was repulsed with the loss of three thousand men. After this unsuccessful attempt, all the *Africans* in his army deserted him. Whereupon, not having a sufficient force to contend with the *Carthaginians*, he resolved to leave *Africa*. But, as he could not possibly transport his army, both for want of ships, and because the *Carthaginians* were masters at sea, he determined to slip away privately, taking along with him only a few of his friends, and his younger son *Heracides*; for, as *Archagathus* was a daring young man, he had always entertained some jealousy of him. But *Archagathus*, being apprised of his design, discovered it to the officers and commanders of the army, and these to the soldiery, who, immediately running to their arms, seized on *Agathocles*, and committed him to custody. The army being now without an head, there was nothing in the camp but tumult and confusion. The ensuing night, a report being spread, that the

Agathocles returns to Sicily.

Sets sail again for Africa.

Is defeated.

*Deserts
his army
in Africa.*

enemy was advancing to attack them, they were all seized with a panic fear; and, having none to command them, every one was preparing to save himself by flight, though they knew not whither to fly. In this confusion, *Agathocles* with a small attendance stole away, and, embarking on board a small vessel, put to sea leaving, his children to the wild fury of the disappointed soldiers, who, immediately putting his two sons to death, chose leaders from among themselves, and concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*, upon the following terms: That the *Greeks* should deliver up all the places they held in *Africa*, receiving for them three hundred talents; that such of them as were willing to serve under the *Carthaginians* should be kindly treated, and receive the usual pay; that the rest should be transported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation. These articles were agreed to, and punctually observed, by the *Carthaginians*. Our historian observes, that *Agathocles* lost both his army and his children, the same month, and the same day of the month, on which he treacherously murdered *Ophellus*, and brought over to himself his army ^d.

*Cruelties
in Sicily.*

AGATHOCLES was no sooner landed in *Sicily*, but, sending for part of his forces, he marched against the *Egestines*, who had revolted in his absence; and, having taken the town by storm, he put all the inhabitants to death, without distinction of sex or age. The nobles he caused to be first tortured with the most exquisite torments rage or malice could invent. When news was brought him of the death of his children in *Africa*, he ordered his brother *Antandrus*, governor of *Syracuse*, to put all those to death, who were any ways related to such of the *Syracusians* as had attended him in the *Carthaginian* expedition. His orders were put in execution with such cruelty, that the sea was dyed a great way with blood. Such an inhuman butchery had never before been heard of even in *Sicily*, all those who were related to any of the *African* army, from the great grandfather to the sucking child, being barbarously murdered by the tyrant's orders ^e.

*Reduced to
great
streights
by Dinocrates.*

THIS inhuman cruelty raised him many enemies, who, joining *Dinocrates*, whom the tyrant had banished, reduced him to such streights, that he was fain to court the friendship of the *Carthaginians*, and purchase a peace with them at a very dear rate; for he restored to them all the cities, which they had formerly possessed in *Sicily*. He even sent ambassadors to *Dinocrates*, offering to resign the sovereignty, provided two strong-holds, which he named, were left in his hands for the greater security of his person. These proposals

^d DIODOR. l. xx. c. 3.

^e Idem ibid.

were rejected by *Dinocrates*, who aspired himself to the supreme power, and had then under his command above twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, which he must have disbanded, and submitted to the democracy, if *Agathocles* had abdicated the tyranny. *Agathocles*, finding he could not upon any terms obtain a peace, resolved to put all to the issue of a battle; and, attacking *Dinocrates* in his camp, put him to flight, and gained a complete victory with five thousand foot only, and eight hundred horse. The remains of the shattered army retired to a neighbouring eminence, whence they sent deputies to capitulate with the conqueror, who promised to spare their lives, provided they delivered up their arms. But they were no sooner disarmed, than the tyrant caused them to be hemmed in, and all to a man put to the sword. As for *Dinocrates*, who was a man of the same stamp with himself, he received him into his friendship, and ever after entrusted him with his most weighty affairs. After this victory *Agathocles*, in two years time, brought the whole island under subjection, save those cities only, which, by the late treaty, he had restored to the *Carthaginians* §.

Gains a complete victory over him.

Brings the whole island under subjection.

AGATHOCLES, having nothing more to do in *Sicily*, passed over into *Italy*, where he subdued the *Brutii*, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From *Italy* he passed over to the *Lipari* islands, and obliged the inhabitants, who lived in perfect peace and security, to pay him an hundred talents of gold. After he had received this sum, which was all they had, he plundered the sacred treasure, stripped the temples, and then set sail for *Syracuse*, with eleven ships laden with the gold and spoils of the temples; but, a violent storm arising, all the vessels were cast away, except one galley, on which he himself escaped to suffer a more miserable end. He was poisoned by one *Mænon*, whom he had unnaturally abused, at the instigation of his grandson *Archagathus*. It was the tyrant's custom always after his meals to pick his teeth with a quill, which *Mænon* having dipped in poison, his teeth and gums putrefied, and his whole body was tortured with most racking pains, in the height of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile, and burnt, while he was still alive, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and ninety-fifth of his age. He was a man of great boldness and resolution, but of a most cruel and savage temper; for he is said to have put more persons to death in the three last years of his life, than all the tyrants before him during the whole time of their respective reigns. He never forgot his

Reduces the *Brutii*, and the islands of *Lipari*.

His death. Year of the flood 2059. Bef. Chr. 289.

His character.

§ Idem ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxii. OROSIUS, l. vii. c. 6. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. ii.

mean extraction, but rather gloried in the contemptible of a potter, which he had followed in his youth, saying, that it set off with more lustre the high station to which his own valour had advanced him; nay, even in public entertainments, while his guests were served in gold and silver plate, he used to eat in earthen ware, saying, that though he wore a diadem, yet he was still a potter (M). From the meanness of his condition *Polybius* endeavours to prove his capacity and talents, in opposition to *Timæus*, who tells us, that his rise was intirely owing to fortune, and not to any parts of his own. *Scipio Africanus* agrees with *Polybius*; for that illustrious Roman, being asked who, in his opinion, were the most prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and most judiciously bold in the execution of their designs, answered, *Agathocles*, and *Dionysius the elder* *. The descent of *Agathocles* into *Africa* prompted *Scipio* to make the same attempt; wherefore in his answer to *Fabius*, who did not approve of his design, he did not forget to mention *Agathocles* as an instance in favour of his enterprize, and to shew, that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, but by carrying the war into his country. But, how great soever *Agathocles's* parts may have been, they were far exceeded by his cruelties, which have rendered his memory execrable, and obscured the glory of his greatest conquests.

Messana
seized by
the Ma-
mertini.

It was after the death of *Agathocles*, that the *Mamertini* treacherously seized on *Messana*, and, by degrees, possessed themselves of a considerable part of the island. According to the *Latin* writers, the *Mamertini* were originally *Campanians*; and assumed a name or *Mamertini*, that is, invincible warriors, from the word *Mamers* or *Mavors*, signifying *Mars* the god of war. they were a bold and resolute nation, they were invited into *Sicily* by *Agathocles*, to assist him in his conquests; but, being disbanded after his death, they retired to *Messana*, with a design to return into their own

* POLYB. I. xv.

(M) This is elegantly expressed by *Anionius* in the following verses:

*Fama est scitilibus cœnâsse Agathoclea regem,
Atque abacum Samio sæpe onerâsse luto.
Fercula gemmatis cum poneret borrida vasis,
Et misceret opes pauperiemque simul,
Quærenti causam respondit, Rex ego qui sum
Sicania, figulo sum genitore satius.
Fortunam reverenter habe, quicumque repente
Dives ab exili progrediere loco.*

country.

The inhabitants of *Messana* admitted them into the city, and entertained them with great kindness, which was ill requited by them; for, being charmed with an habitation, which greatly resembled their native country, they resolved to settle there, seize on the city, and form themselves into a republic. Accordingly they fell unexpectedly upon the antient inhabitants, put all the men to the sword, and married their wives and daughters. Being masters of the city, they not only maintained themselves in their usurpation, but reduced most of the neighbouring states, and extended their dominions to the middle of the island. *Sicily* was at that time a prey to numberless tyrants; and the *Mamertini* were powerfully assisted by the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, where a *Roman* legion had settled, by following their example in murdering the citizens who had called them to their assistance.

BUT to return to *Syracuse*; that unfortunate city under-
went many revolutions after the death of *Agathocles*. *Mænon*, *stratèd* who had poisoned him, usurped the supreme authority; but, *state of* being driven out by *Hycetas*, he had recourse to the *Cartha-* *Syracuse.*
ginians, which gave rise to a new war, wherein *Hycetas*, having gained several victories over the joint-forces of *Mænon* and the *Carthaginians*, at last seized on that authority of which he had deprived his rival, and governed *Syracuse* with an absolute sway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himself with that of prætor. In the ninth year of his command, the *Agrigentines* having revolted, he left *Syracuse*, and marched out against *Phintias*, who was at the head of the rebels, and *Syracusan* exiles. In his absence one *Tænon* possessed himself of the sovereign power; but, being opposed by *Sosistrates*, who had the same aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city; *Tænon* held the island, and his rival the other quarters of the city. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, taking advantage of these divisions, reduced most of the cities subject to *Syracuse*, and invested the capital itself with a mighty fleet, and an army of fifty thousand men. A regard therefore to their mutual good *Pyrrhus*
united the two competitors *Tænon* and *Sosistrates*. They *invited*
were tired of a war, which could only end in their common *into Sicily.*
ruin; and therefore joined together in inviting *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to put an end to the troubles, which threatened the state with utter destruction. Many reasons prompted them to have recourse to *Pyrrhus*, rather than to any other of the many sovereigns, who reigned at that time in *Europe* and *Asia*. *Pyrrhus* had married *Lanessa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, and had by her a son, whom the *Syracusians* thought it reasonable to place on the throne of his grandfather, since they could not by any other means rid themselves of
their

their domestic tyrants ; besides, he had already given signal proofs of his courage, and therefore seemed the best qualified of any to make head against the *Carthaginians*, and stop the great progress they were making towards the reduction of the whole island. The *Leontines* and *Agrigentines* joined with *Tæmion* and *Sossistrates* in pressing the king of *Epirus* to come and take upon him the defence of their respective states, offering to deliver up the cities into his hands. *Pyrrhus*, who wanted but an honourable pretence to withdraw from *Italy*, where he was engaged in a war with the *Romans*, willingly complied with the request of the *Sicilians* ; and, leaving a strong garison in *Tarentum*, embarked for *Sicily*, where he landed among the acclamations of a numberless multitude, which on the news of his approach had flocked to see him. *Tæmion* and *Sossistrates* immediately put him in possession of the city, the fleet, and public treasure. All the cities on that coast followed the example of *Syracuse*, the name of *Pyrrhus* resounding every-where, as if victory had landed with him. His insinuating and affable behaviour, at his first arrival, gained him the hearts of all the *Sicilians* ; and, as he had an army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, with a fleet of two hundred sail, he drove the *Carthaginians* from place to place, till he divested them of all their acquisitions in the island, except the two important places of *Eryx* and *Lilybæum*. The former he took by assault, and was himself the first man who mounted the wall, after having killed a great many of the *Africans* with his own hand. The *Mamertini* likewise felt the effects of his courage, being defeated by him in a pitched battle, driven from all the places they possessed, and shut up within the walls of *Messana*. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, sent ambassadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantageous terms ; but he, puffed up with his great success, answered them, that the only means to obtain what they desired was to abandon *Sicily*, and let the *Libyan* sea be the boundary between *Carthage* and *Greece*. He depended so much on the reduction of the whole island, that he filed his son by the daughter of *Agathocles* king of *Sicily*, and caused him to be acknowledged as such by the *Syracusians*, and their confederates. Having thus put his son in possession of the kingdom of *Sicily*, he began to entertain thoughts of sailing over into *Africa*, and making war on the *Carthaginians* in their own territories, though they were still masters of *Lilybæum*, which was a key to the whole island. This design was no-ways agreeable to the *Sicilians*, who were sensible, that they could not enjoy a perfect tranquillity, so long as the *Carthaginians* had any footing in the island ; besides, *Messana* was

Willingly
complies
with the
invitation.

His con-
quests in
that
island.

Makes his
son king of
Sicily.

was still in the hands of the *Mamertini*, who, as they were a warlike people, would not fail to take advantage of the king's absence, and raise new disturbances. They therefore did all that lay in their power to dissuade him from his *African* expedition. But, notwithstanding their remonstrances, he persisted in his new resolution, and began to make the necessary preparations for the conquest of *Africa*, which he hoped to subdue with as little trouble as he had done *Sicily*^b.

PYRRHUS had ships enough of his own for this expedition; but, as he wanted seamen, he obliged the maritime cities in his interest to furnish him with sailors and mariners, and even forced into the service persons of rank, who had any experience in maritime affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. However, the *Sicilians* bore these outrages with patience, as they carried some appearance of zeal for the public welfare. But the king, who could bear no contradiction, taking offence at their opposing his new scheme, began to treat them more like an arbitrary tyrant, than a prince who was come to deliver them from the oppressions they groaned under; which soon drew upon him the hatred of the whole nation. In defiance of the customs of the country, he conferred the first dignities, and the governments of the cities, on foreigners, and continued them in their employments as long as he thought proper, without any regard to the time prescribed by law. As to judicial proceedings with respect to private property, and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary sentence, or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whose sole views were to enrich themselves. A conduct so different from that by which he had at first succeeded so well in all his enterprizes, could not but estrange the minds of the people from him; and, when he plainly saw, that he was universally hated, and that the *Sicilians*, not able to brook his arbitrary government, were contriving how to shake off the yoke, he placed in most of the cities such garrisons as he knew to be intirely at his devotion, under pretence that the *Carthaginians* were preparing to renew the war. He likewise seized the most powerful and illustrious citizens of each city, and, charging them with treasonable practices, either put them to death, or banished them the island. Full of jealousy, as all tyrants are, he would have forced *Sosistrates* to attend him into *Africa*, not thinking it safe to leave him in *Syracuse* during his absence. But *Sosistrates*, to avoid complying with his commands, revolted from him, and retired from his native city.

^b PLUT. in *Pyrrh.* PAUSAN. l. i. JUSTIN. l. xviii. DION. HALIC. in excerpt.

As for *Tæmion*, he was more complaisant, and continued with the king; but, while he believed himself one of his chief favourites, he was by his order cruelly assassinated. *Tæmion* had crowned him king of *Syracuse* on his first landing, and contributed more than any other person to the reduction of *Sicily*; but all the important services he had rendered the king were not sufficient to exempt him from the cruel effects of his jealousy. Such tyrannical proceedings put an end to the success of *Pyrrhus* in *Sicily*. The aversion which the cities conceived against him, was so great, that some of them entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines* his avowed enemies. His troops were soon reduced to his *Epirot* phalanx, the *Sicilians* daily deserting in crowds, and increasing the enemies forces. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raised all over *Africa*, and a numerous army sent into *Sicily*, to recover the antient conquests of the *African* republic; whilst a mighty fleet cruised round the island, to prevent *Pyrrhus* from making his escape.

He abandoned *Sicily*, and returns to *Italy*.

Year of the flood
2073.
Bef. Chr.
275.

His fleet destroyed by the *Carthaginians*.

THIS was the situation of *Pyrrhus's* affairs, when deputies came to him from the *Samnites*, *Tarentin*, *Brutians*, and *Lucanians*, whom he had abandoned to pursue new conquests in *Sicily*. They represented to him the dangers they had been in, and the losses they had sustained, since his departure; and demonstrated, that, without his assistance, their cities and liberties must fall a sacrifice to the *Romans*, who had already dispossessed them of all their lands, and shut them up within their walls. This embassy furnished him with an honourable pretence for his departure: he was glad to have an opportunity of making the world believe, that he had abandoned *Sicily* not out of fear of the enemy, but to comply with the requests of his allies. He therefore seemed at first to deliberate what part to choose, being, as it were, divided between *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy*. But *Italy* prevailed; and he began to prepare for his voyage, from which his new subjects in *Sicily* did not offer to divert him. When he was on the point of setting sail, he cried out, at the sight of that wealthy country which he was abandoning, *What a fine field of battle do we leave to the Carthaginians and Romans!* A prediction, which was soon fulfilled. He embarked on the ships which he had brought with him from *Italy*; but was met at sea by the *Carthaginians*, who, attacking him, sunk seventy of his galleys, and dispersed or took the rest, so that he saved himself in the ports of *Italy* with only twelve vessels, the poor remains of a fleet of two hundred sail. Nor was this all: the *Mamertines* no sooner heard of his departure, but they de-

to the body of eighteen thousand men to harass him after his landing. These, having passed the streights before him, posted themselves in the road which *Pyrrhus* must take in marching by land to *Tarentum*, and, lying concealed among the woods and rocks, attacked him unexpectedly, and with great resolution. But *Pyrrhus* behaved himself on this occasion with his usual bravery. The attack being made on his rear, he hastened thither; and, at the head of his men, made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, till a wound he received on the head obliged him to retire. But he soon returned to the charge with fresh fury. As he was supposed to be disabled by his wound, a proud *Mamertine* of an extraordinary size, and shining in bright armour, advanced out of the ranks, and with a loud voice challenged the king of *Epirus*, if he was yet alive, to a single combat. *Pyrrhus* immediately turned about, and, making a dreadful appearance by reason of the blood which ran down his face, flew upon this new champion, and discharged such a blow on his head, that he cleaved him in two, one part of his body falling to the right, and the other to the left. This feat, which has been since ascribed to other warriors, perhaps with as much truth as to *Pyrrhus*, filled the *Mamertines* with terror, who suffered the *Epirots* to continue their march to *Tarentum* ^k.

Is attacked
by the Ma-
mertines.

His gal-
lant beha-
viour.

UPON the departure of *Pyrrhus*, *Hiero* was appointed to command the *Syracusan* forces, and make head against the *Carthaginians*, who had regained most of the places which they possessed before the arrival of the *Epirots*. *Hiero* was the son of *Hierocles*, one of the descendents of *Gelon* the first king of *Syracuse*, of whose glorious reign and exploits we have already given a full account. His descent was not so honourable by the mother's side; for she was a slave, and of a very mean extraction. Wherefore *Hierocles*, or, as *Justin* calls him, *Hieroclytus*, thinking it beneath him to take care of the education of a son, who was the fruit of an unlawful intercourse, caused him, according to the barbarous custom of those days, to be exposed, soon after his birth, in a forest, where a swarm of bees is said to have nourished him some days with their honey. Upon the report of this prodigy, *Hierocles* consulted the soothsayers, who told him, that this son of his would one day mount the throne of his ancestors, and restore his family to its antient splendor. The father, being pleased with this answer, owned him, and caused him to be brought up in a manner suitable to his birth. When he came to man's estate, he distinguished himself by his courage, prudence, and address in all military exercises. He made his first campaigns

Hiero ap-
pointed
general of
the Syra-
cusan
forces.
His birth
and edu-
cation.

Prognostics of his future grandeur. under *Pyrrhus*, who had a great value for him, and rewarded him with such rewards as generals used to bestow on those who excelled the rest in valour. In his first campaign an eagle is said to have perched upon his helmet, and an owl upon his lance: and these two birds, the former being the symbol of valour, the latter of wisdom, seemed to confirm the first prediction.

And indeed young *Hiero* did not bely those prognostics: he so improved in the art of war, under the direction of so great a master as the king of *Epirus*, that he was looked upon as the best commander in the army, when he was but twenty-five years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour, gained him more honour than his military exploits. He seemed to have been born for virtue, and to be governed by no other passion but the love of glory. *Justin* draws the following picture of this brave youth: He was exceeding handsome, of a robust constitution, and extraordinary strength. His affability in conversation, equity in the management of affairs, and moderation in the government of the people, were such, that he wanted nothing but a crown to be a great king. And this his high merit soon procured him, as we shall see anon.

Is chosen one of the generals. WHEN *Pyrrhus* had left *Sicily*, the city of *Syracuse*, being destitute of a governor, fell into the greatest disorders. To put a stop to this confusion, the troops chose *Hiero* and *Artemidorus* for their commanders; and the two generals had nothing more at heart than to re-establish good order in the capital.

Gains the affections of the Syracusians. With this view they entered the city at the head of the army, and *Hiero* on this occasion first discovered an uncommon talent and genius for governing. By the arts of insinuation and address, without shedding of blood, or hurting one single citizen, he calmed the minds of the people, reconciled the factions, and so gained the hearts of all, that the *Syracusians*, though highly dissatisfied with the soldiery for assuming the right of choosing their own generals, yet unanimously confirmed him in the command, investing him with all civil and military power during the interregnum¹.

Hiero, being now at the head of the army, began to take such measures as should prevent any further disturbances in the city. He observed that the generals and troops no sooner left the city to take the field, but *Syracuse* was involved in new troubles by seditious spirits, and lovers of novelty. He thought it therefore necessary to have some person of merit and rank, upon whom he might rely for retaining the city in its duty, during his absence, and that of the army. *Leptines* seemed

very fit for this purpose, being a man of great interest and authority among the people. In order therefore to attach him to his interest, he married his daughter; and always left his father-in-law governor of the city, when he took the field; by which means he secured both himself, and the public tranquillity. Another thing that gave *Hiero* great uneasiness, and raised frequent disturbances, was the ungovernable temper of the mercenaries in the service of the republic. They had no respect for their commanders, nor affection for a state of which they were no part; and therefore always ready to revolt, and even join the enemy, when their unjust demands were not complied with, and their hopes of gain not answered. They were so united among themselves, that *Hiero* could not by any means get the better of them; if he undertook to punish the most criminal among them, the whole corps took his part; so that the general was rather governed by them, than they by him. He therefore concluded, that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occasioned, was utterly to extirpate that seditious body, whose licentiousness, and rebellious disposition, could only corrupt others, and incline them to the same pernicious practices. Accordingly he came at last to this resolution, which was contrary to his natural inclination, but judged by him necessary for the tranquillity of his country, and safety of his own person. He took the field, under pretence of marching against the *Mamertines*; but, when he came within sight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one composed of *Syracusians*, the other of mercenaries; he ordered the latter to begin the charge, putting himself at the head of the former, as if he designed to support them. The mercenaries fell upon the enemy with the utmost fury, but, being abandoned by the *Syracusians*, were all cut in pieces. The *Syracusan* troops he brought back safe to the city, having taken care to post them so, as to have a river between them and the enemy ^m.

Marries the daughter of one of the first and best citizens.

Gets rid of the seditious mercenaries.

HIERO, having thus purged his army of those mutineers, ^{Revives} revived the military discipline among the *Syracusians*, took ^{the militia-} other mercenaries more tractable into his service, and, by ^{disci-} degrees, rendered his army formidable both to the *Carthaginians* ^{plint.} and *Mamertines*. He first made trial of their valour against the latter, who, elated with the advantage they had gained over the mercenaries, marched into the territories of *Syracuse*, destroying all before them with fire and sword. Hereupon *Hiero* took the field, engaged them in the plains of *My-*

Defeats the Mamertines, and takes their general prisoner. *læ* (N), utterly defeated them, and took their general by name *Cios*, prisoner. *Cios*, being carried to the *Syracusan* camp, saw there the horse which his son had rode in the battle, and, taking it for granted that he was killed, resolved to live no longer; and accordingly, loosening the ligatures of his wounds, he soon after expired. By his death, the *Mamertines* being destitute of an head, *Hiero* invaded their territories, and possessed himself of the cities of *Mylæ*, *Amasela*, *Alæsa*, and *Abacænum* (O); and then returned, loaded with glory and

Hiero declared king of Syracuse. booty, to *Syracuse*, where he was declared king by the unanimous consent of the citizens, and soon after acknowledged as such by all the allies. This happened seven years after he had been invested with the command of the army ⁿ.

Year of the flood 2083. Bef. Chr. 205. SOME time after his accession to the throne, he again worsted the *Mamertines*, and reduced them to such streights, that they began to entertain thoughts of surrendering their city to him. Accordingly they sent ambassadors, inviting him to a parly; wherein it was agreed, that the city of *Messana* should be put into his hands, and that he should maintain the inhabitants in the possession of their antient rights and privileges, and protect them against any foreign invasion. But, as *Hiero* was advancing to take possession of the place, he was deceitfully prevented by *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* forces, in *Sicily*. The cunning *African* came, as it were, to congratulate *Hiero* on his late victory, and amused him till some troops, which he had kept concealed in the *Li-*

■ JUSTIN. & POLYB. *ibid*.

(N) *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*, was formerly a colony of the *Tyndaritani*, who settled in that part of *Sicily*. It was situated in a peninsula in the north point of the island, and had a very convenient harbour. *Pliny* speaks of a fountain near *Mylæ*, which dried up in winter, and was full of water during the hottest part of the summer (39). *Faxellus* tells us, that he observed the same thing. The situation of the city of *Amasela* is altogether unknown.

(O) *Abacænum* stood in the north part of *Sicily*. *Cluverius* places it near the little city of

Tripio. As for the city of *Tyndaris* it was not far distant from *Abacænum*; and the name of it is still preserved in the place called at present *Santa Maria di Tyndaro*. It was originally a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, who are supposed to have given it the name of *Tyndaris* from *Tyndarus* the father of *Leda*. In this city was antiently a temple dedicated to *Mercury*, and a statue of that god, which was looked upon as a masterpiece of art. *Pliny* tells, that a great part of *Tyndaris* was swallowed up by the sea (40).

(39) *Plin. l. xxxi. c. 4.*

(40) *Plin. l. ii. c. 92.*

~~His~~ friends, drew near *Messana*, The officer, who commanded that detachment, assured the *Mamertines*, that he came as a friend ; and that his only design was, to assist them against the *Syracusians*, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy's hands. The *Mamertines*, seeing themselves supported with a new reinforcement, summoned an assembly, to deliberate on the measures they should take in so critical a juncture. The members of the assembly were divided in their opinions ; some were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others for surrendering to *Hiero*, with whose mild government, and strict honour, they were well acquainted ; but the greatest part were for calling the *Romans* to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally *Italians* °.

THE *Mamertines*, before they fought the last battle with *Hiero*, had sent deputies to *Rome*, imploring the assistance of the *Roman* senate and people against the invasions of their neighbours ; and the people, at the instigation of the consuls, had promised to comply with their request. But the senate, having more regard to honour and equity than the people, were not yet come to any resolution. They considered, that the *Sicilians* were only endeavouring to recover a city which the *Mamertines* had taken by the blackest treachery ; and thought it altogether unworthy of the *Roman* virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors, who were guilty of the same perfidy which they had lately punished in the *Rhegians* with the utmost severity. The senate therefore could not be prevailed upon to come into the measures of the people, so long as the *Mamertines* had no enemies to contend with, except the *Syracusians*. But, when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Carthaginians* had entered *Messana*, and offered to defend it, the conscript fathers changed their minds. They were sensible, that *Carthage* undertook the defence of that important place only with a design to seize it for herself ; and therefore, as they did not care to be so near neighbours to that powerful republic, they forgot the strict regard they had hitherto had to probity, came readily into the people's measures, and agreed to send the consul *Appius Claudius* to attempt the deliverance of *Messana*, and stop the progress of the *Carthaginians* P.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS did not go at first in person to *Messana*, but sent thither one of his military tribunes, who was also named *Claudius*, in his stead. The tribune was a man of extraordinary boldness, and at the same time of great prudence and address, fit for the carrying on of any great enterprise, and incapable of being terrified at the greatest dangers.

The *Mamertines* call in the *Romans*.
Year of the flood 2085.
Bef. Chr. 263.

° POLYB. l. i. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 8.

P POLYB. *ibid*.

He immediately set out for *Rhegium*; and his first care was, to get together what vessels he could, in order to cross over into *Sicily*. But, before he ventured to sea with the few triremes he had under his command, he thought it advisable to discover first the disposition of the *Mamertines*; and accordingly, going on board a fisher-boat, he passed undiscovered through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and arrived safe at

Which he *Messana*, which he found possessed by the *Carthaginians*, who *finds in the* had entered it with the consent of some of the inhabitants, *possession of* and contrary to the inclinations of others. The tribune convened the *Mamertines*, in the place where they usually met, in order to acquaint them with the motives of his coming among them. But at first the clamours of the *Carthaginians*, who *the Carthagi-* assisted at the assembly with the inhabitants, prevented him *nians.*

His speech from being heard. However, he obtained at last a moment's *to the as-* silence, and then he addressed the assembly thus: "*Mamer-*
sembly of "*tines*, I come hither as a deputy from the *Romans*, to offer
the Ma- "*you the assistance you have desired. The senate and people*
mertines, "*concur in granting it, and have nothing more at heart than*
and their "*to defend* *Messana* from the oppression which threatens her.
answer. "*We engage our words, that we will withdraw our forces*

"as soon as your city and fortunes are safe." These few words made a deep impression on their minds; but, as they had already introduced the *Carthaginians* into their city, they were no longer their own masters, and therefore returned such an answer as would have discouraged any one less bold than *Claudius*: It is a great pleasure to *Messana*, they replied, to be able to spare the *Romans* the trouble of assisting her. *Carthage* is beforehand with them, and her protection is sufficient.

Wherefore, if you have no other proposals to make, you may withdraw. Every free city has a right to call in to her assistance whom she pleases. A free city! replied *Claudius*: Are you not in the power of the *Carthaginians*? Are you not, even in this place, besieged by a foreign force? Does not *Carthage* already lord it over you, and make you feel the weight of that yoke, which you must, if not relieved by us, bear for ever? Answer me, if you dare. Upon these words, the *Mamertines* held their peace, for fear of the *Carthaginians*; and the *Carthaginians* were struck dumb with the truth of the tribune's speech: who taking advantage of this general silence,

His intre- You *Carthaginians*, said he, know not what to answer, be-
pidity and cause you are conscious of your own injustice: and you, *Ma-*
resolution. *mertines*, are dumb, because you dare not speak. If fear had not shut your mouths, I am confident you would not reject my offers, and therefore I interpret your silence as a tacit consent to my proposal. Upon these words a murmur arose in the assembly; and *Claudius*, crying aloud, *Mamer-*
tines,

time. I understand your meaning; you implore the assistance of the *Romans*; we will comply with your request; left the assembly, and the city, without further delay; and returned to *Rhegium*.

UPON his report the senate judged, that the *Mamertines* The Ro- were disposed to receive succours from *Rome*, and ordered the same tribune to set sail with his fleet to *Messana*. His fleet mans undertake was no-ways in a condition to cope with that of *Carthage*, the *Romans* having at that time only a few triremes, and their of *Messana* men being quite ignorant of sea-affairs; whereas the *Carthana*. *ginians* were masters at sea; had numerous fleets cruising off the coasts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and were furnished with expert mariners. However, the tribune, despising all danger, had the boldness to weigh anchor, and steer his course to *Messana*; but, being met by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral in the Their streights between *Rhegium* and *Messana*, some of his ships were small fleet taken by the enemy, others by a violent storm dashed in pieces lost, or against the rocks on the coast of *Italy*; inso-much that he was dispersed. obliged to return to *Rhegium*, after having lost the best part of his fleet. *Claudius*, not at all discouraged by his bad success, began to refit his fleet, in order to put to sea again, saying, that he did not expect to learn the art of navigation, without paying dear for it. Before he set sail, the *Carthaginians* sent him back the ships which they had taken in the late engagement, hoping, by means of this artful present, either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, and so divert them from sending succours to *Messana*, or at least to lay the whole blame of a rupture upon them. When *Hanno's* deputies restored the ships, they reproached the *Romans* with having infringed the treaties agreed on by both republics; and pretended that the streights belonged to *Carthage*. This so incensed *Claudius*, that he rejected the present with indignation, and pursued his former resolution with more vigour than ever. *Hanno's* deputies, before they left *Rhegium*, told *Claudius* in an imperious stile, that *Carthage* would not suffer a *Roman* even to wash his hands in the streights. But this served only to make *Claudius*, who was undaunted in the greatest dangers, more eager to force out of the neighbourhood of *Italy* so proud and encroaching an enemy. Soon after the departure of the deputies, he set sail again; and timed his enterprize so well, that he eluded the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* admiral, and arrived safe in the port of *Messana*. *Hanno*, who had Claudius changed the command of the fleet for that of the land-forces arrives at *Messana*, upon the arrival of the *Romans*, retired into the *Messana*. citadel, abandoning the city to *Claudius*, who immediately de-

¹ POLYB. l. i. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 8. AVDOR vit. illustr. vir.

fired the *Mamertines* to call an assembly, and invite *Hanno* to it. It was not without the utmost difficulty that *Hanno* prevailed upon to leave his citadel, and trust himself among the *Romans* and *Messanians*. However, he came at last; but, hard words arising between him and *Claudius*, the bold *Roman*, who no longer appeared as an envoy, but was backed by his legionaries, was so provoked, that he ordered his soldiers to seize him; and kept him under confinement, till he prevailed upon him, by menaces, and fair promises, to deliver the citadel up to the *Romans*, and evacuate the city. This piece of cowardice cost him dear; for he was tried by his countrymen, found guilty, and condemned to be crucified.

Hiero enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians against the Romans. *HIERO* king of *Syracuse* had already made the necessary preparations to besiege *Messana*, which city he looked upon as a sure conquest, after the victory he had gained over the *Mamertines*. But, when he heard, that it was defended by the *Romans*, thinking himself too weak to enter the lists against two such warlike nations as the *Romans* and *Mamertines*, he sent ambassadors to the *Carthaginians*, offering to join them, provided they would assist him in the siege of *Messana*, and help him in driving out the *Romans*. Such an embassy was, as we may well imagine, very acceptable to the *Carthaginians*, who were determined to venture all, rather than suffer the *Romans* to get any footing in *Sicily*. A treaty therefore was immediately concluded between *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, whereby they were to assist each other in driving the *Romans* quite out of the island; *Messana* was to be delivered up to *Hiero*, and some places subject to *Syracuse* were to be put into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. Great preparations were

A mighty fleet and army sent by the Carthaginians into Sicily.

Hanno summons the Romans to leave Sicily.

carried on both at *Syracuse* and *Carthage*, new forces were raised, and a mighty fleet sent from *Africa*, under the command of another *Hanno*, the son of *Hannibal*, who was charged with the whole management of the war. This fleet put in at *Lilybæum*, whence the land-forces marched to *Agri- gentum*, and encamped there, while their general went to *Agri- gentum*, and caused the fortifications of that place to be repaired. The *Carthaginians* and *Syracusians* being now ready to enter upon action, *Hanno*, before he began hostilities, sent an herald to the *Romans*, summoning them to leave *Sicily*, and surrender up *Messana* to him, or to the king of *Syracuse*, if they desired to live in amity with their respective republics. *Claudius* answered, that he was determined to defend the place, and the allies of the people of *Rome*, to the last drop of his blood. Hereupon the *Carthaginian* and *Syracusan* armies

Joseph and invested *Messana*. The *Carthaginians* posted *Messana* themselves near cape *Pelorus*, and lined the coast, whilst *Hiero*, besieged by his troops, blocked up the city on the land-side, and the *Carthaginians* encamped round mount *Chalcis*; so that *Messana* was surrounded on all sides, and no succours or provisions could be conveyed into it either by sea or land.

As soon as the tribune *Claudius* had refused to quit the place, *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* general ordered all the *Italians*, who served in his army, to be massacred. When the murder of these unfortunate men was heard at *Rome*, the consul *Appius*, who had not appeared yet in this dispute, set out with all speed, and went to *Rhegium*, with a design to cross over into *Sicily*. Upon his arrival at *Rhegium*, he sent deputies to king *Hiero*, conjuring him, by his antient friendship to the *Romans*, not to persist in the siege of *Messana*, which alone could create a quarrel, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him. *L. Genucius* was the first of the *Romans* who began a correspondence with *Hiero*. *Genucius* was consul, and charged with the siege of *Rhegium*, which was held by the rebellious *Campanian* legion. While the consul carried on the siege, his provisions falling short, he applied to *Hiero*, who not only supplied him with what he wanted, but moreover sent him some *Sicilian* forces; and this was the first time the *Romans* had any troops in their service from beyond-sea. *Claudius*, mindful of his former kindness to the *Romans*, proceeded at first with him in a friendly manner. But *Hiero*, taking it very much amiss, that the *Romans* should undertake the defence of a city, which must have otherwise fallen into his hands, broke out into invectives against the ingratitude of a republic, which he had assisted in her distress. As he was himself a man of strict equity, he thought it surprising, that the *Romans*, who had lately punished with the utmost severity one of their legions for treacherously seizing on *Rhegium*, should now protect those, who in the very same manner had made themselves masters of *Messana*. He therefore answered the deputies sent to him by the consul *Claudius*, that the events of war were indeed uncertain; but should he, in his attempt against the rebellious city, prove unsuccessful, all men would agree, that though the ambition and power of the *Romans* prospered, yet *Hiero* fell in a just and honourable cause. The *Romans* themselves were very sensible, that his integrity was the only motive which prompted him to take up arms against the *Mamertines*. But, as he had joined the *Carthaginians*, the consul was little affected with his answer; and only said, that good king *Hiero* was not aware of the intention of his new

The consul
Appius
Claudius
arrives at
Rhegium.
His mes-
sage to
Hiero.

Hiero's
answer.

allies, since their design in seizing *Messana* was only thereby to pave themselves a way to the conquest first of *Sicily*, and then of *Italy*.

The consul
Claudius
passes over
into Sicily.

CLAUDIUS, finding the king of *Syracuse* determined to carry on the siege of *Messana*, resolved to sail thither in person; but, as the *Carthaginian* fleet watched all his motions, he dissembled his design, and gave out, that it was not in his power to make war upon *Hiero* without fresh orders from the senate; and that he must therefore return to *Rome*, and lay the matter before the senate and people. This report soon reached *Messana*, and the *Carthaginians*, hearing it, left off cruising in the streights; whereupon *Claudius*, having first ordered his troops to repair to several ports of *Italy*, and be there in a readiness to sail, went on board a gally built unskilfully, and in great haste, pretending only to coast along the shore, in order to return to *Rome*. But, as soon as he was out of sight, he tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached the nearest shore in the island, and landed the few troops he carried with him, without being observed by the enemy. The *Romans*, who were then unexperienced in sea-affairs, thought this so glorious an action, that they gave the consul the surname of *Caudex*, a *Latin* word signifying a boat unskilfully built ^u.

And de-
feats Hie-
ro.

THE consul, having landed his forces, resolved to advance against *Hiero*, who blocked up *Messana* on the side of mount *Chalcis*, in hopes of surprising him. When the king saw the enemy marching up to attack his camp, he very imprudently left his trenches, and went out to meet them, not doubting but he should get the better of them in the open field, which he thought far more glorious than to fight behind a rampart. The *Syracusians* charged with such fury and resolution, that the *Roman* cavalry was put in disorder at the first onset; but the legions fought with so much bravery, that the *Syracusians* could not with their utmost efforts break through them; nay, they were themselves, after a long and obstinate dispute, forced to give way, and leave the *Romans* an open passage into the city. The consul, overjoyed at his gaining the first victory which *Rome* had ever obtained out of her continent, entered *Messana* in triumph, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who now began to entertain hopes of being soon delivered from a siege, which had already reduced them to great streights. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; *Hiero* could not continue any longer before the place after his overthrow, being distressed for want of provi-

^u *Iidem* *ibid.* ^u *ZONAR.* *ibid.* *FRONT.* in stratag. l. i. c. 4.

sions ; and, besides, he thought himself betrayed by the *Carthaginians* ; for, if they had guarded the freights, the *Romans* could never have attacked him so unexpectedly, nor even ventured out of the ports of *Italy*. He could not help thinking, that the *Carthaginians* had suffered the *Romans* to enter the island on purpose to destroy him ; and, full of his distrusts, he decamped hastily in the night, and retired to *Syracuse* ^{Who retires to Syracuse.}.

APPIUS, having now but one enemy to contend with, *Claudius* sallied out of the city, and attacked the *Carthaginian* camp ; attacks but, as it was in a very advantageous post, and strongly fortified, he was obliged to withdraw his legions, and retire into *Messana*, after having sustained a considerable loss. His retreat looked like a flight, and this encouraged the *Carthaginians* to quit their trenches, and pursue him ; but the legions, unexpectedly facing about, fell upon the pursuers, put them in disorder, and made a dreadful havock of the broken troops. Thus the advantages of the day were equal ; but *Claudius*, not thinking it advisable to attempt the enemy's camp a second time, laid waste all the neighbouring country, and made excursions to the very gates of *Syracuse* itself. *Hiero*, finding that the *Carthaginians* were not in a condition to protect his dominions, began to entertain some thoughts of abandoning them, and siding with the *Romans* ; but the sudden departure of the consul *Claudius* for *Rome* prevented him for the present from entering into any treaty with that republic. ^{but is repulsed with loss.}

NEXT year early in the spring both the *Roman* consuls, *Both the Manius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Manius Otacilius Crassus*, were ordered to transport their legions into *Sicily*, and carry on the war against *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*. They both landed *Sicily* without meeting with the least opposition from the *Carthaginian* fleet, and then parted, *Valerius* undertaking to dislodge the *Carthaginians* from their advantageous post, where they kept *Messana* blocked up, and *Otacilius* advancing into the heart of the country, to spread the terror of the *Roman* arms. What success attended the former, we find no where mentioned ; but the surname of *Messana*, which was given him on this occasion, and afterwards by corruption changed into that of *Messala*, as some writers inform us ^{Progress of the Roman arms in Sicily.}, is a convincing proof, that he signalized himself by some gallant action. As for *Otacilius*, he advanced to the foot of mount *Ætna*, and possessed himself of all the cities in that fruitful country : *Adranum* and *Centuripe* were taken by assault ; but many

^w ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. EUTROP. l. ii. POLYB. l. i. ^{* SE-}
NEC. de brev. vitæ. MACROB. Saturn. l. i.

other cities, and among the rest *Alafa*, submitted of their own accord to the conqueror. Afterwards the two consular armies sometimes joined to fight the united forces of the *Syracusans* and *Carthaginians*, and sometimes separated to extend their conquests the wider; the enemies were everywhere vanquished; and, as they took the cities subject both to the *Syracusans* and *Carthaginians*, without distinction, they reduced in a few months time no fewer than sixty-seven places; of which number were *Taurominium* and *Catana*, two cities of great importance. As they drew great reinforcements from these cities, their armies were soon so increased, that they thought themselves in a condition to undertake the siege of *Syracuse*, the capital of the whole island, and at that time one of the greatest and strongest cities in the world. *Hiero*, being intimidated at the danger he was in, and now more sensible than ever, that an alliance with *Rome* would be less disadvantageous to him than one with *Carthage*, lost no time in endeavouring to save his stately metropolis from impending ruin. As soon as the two consular armies appeared before it, he sent out deputies to treat with the *Romans* of a peace, who on their part were no ways averse to it, knowing that, by keeping up a friendly correspondence with *Hiero*, the *Carthaginians* would be reduced to their own forces only, and the *Roman* armies plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, for want of which they had been greatly distressed the year before. A treaty therefore was soon concluded on the following terms: that the *Romans* should receive *Hiero* into the number of the friends and allies of their republic, and protect his capital and dominions, particularly the cities of *Acra*, *Leontini*, *Megara*, *Elorum*, *Netum*, and *Taurominium*, from all hostilities whatsoever; and, on the other hand, that *Hiero* should deliver up the prisoners he had taken without ransom, pay the republic an hundred talents of silver, and cultivate her friendship by a faithful observance of the treaty. This agreement was drawn up by the king and consuls, and afterwards ratified at *Rome* first by the senate, and then by the people, at the motion of *Cn. Attilius Calatinus*, then a tribune of the people. It was at first only a truce for fifteen years; but the conditions were so faithfully performed on both sides, that it lasted as long as *Hiero* lived.

Syracuse
invested
by the two
consular
armies.

Hiero
concludes
an alliance
with the
Romans.

Year of
the flood
2087.

Bef. Chr.
261.



Hiero's
constant
attach-
ment to
the Ro-
mans.

FROM thenceforth *Hiero* saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other share in it, but that of sending from time to time supplies of provisions to his allies the *Romans*, who gratefully acknowledged his generosity, and with great care protected his dominions from the insults of their common

enemy. During the space of above fifty years he lived after his accession to the throne, while the whole country around him was in flames, occasioned by the cruel wars, which the two most powerful republics in the world made upon each other, he was only a spectator, and heard the noise of the arms, which shook all the neighbouring regions, himself and his people enjoying the sweets of a profound peace and tranquillity. The Romans perceived, on several occasions, during the first *Punic* war, and especially at the siege of *Agrigentum*, with which it was begun, how necessary it was for them to cultivate the friendship of *Hiero*; for that prince abundantly supplied them with provisions, when without his aid they had been obliged by famine to quit the island, their convoys from *Italy* being often intercepted by the enemy's fleet, which guarded the streights ².

THE interval between the end of the first *Punic* war, and His happy the beginning of the second, which was about five-and-twenty reign. years, was to *Hiero* a time of tranquillity, in which his actions are not mentioned by the historians. *Polybius* only informs us, that the *Carthaginians*, in the war which they were obliged to support against the mercenary troops that had served under them in *Sicily*, had recourse to king *Hiero*, who kindly assisted them, fearing perhaps lest the mercenaries, getting the better of the *Carthaginians*, should carry their victorious arms into *Sicily*, which island they were perfectly well acquainted with. *Hiero's* sole application, during this long interval, was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the many evils, which the tyrannical government of *Agathocles*, and the intestine divisions arising upon his death, had occasioned. Before his reign the state had been divided into two factions, the one of the citizens, the other of the soldiers; and their differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, kept up the spirit of division in the republic, and gave birth to numberless disorders. But *Hiero*, by his prudent and impartial conduct, so rooted out all seeds of discord and misunderstanding, that, during a reign of fifty years, no revolt or sedition ever arose, or the least commotion either in the army or the city. Both soldiers and citizens looked upon him rather as their common father and protector, than as their lord and sovereign; and were fully convinced, that he was infinitely averse from doing any thing that could in the least prejudice their fortunes or liberty. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which he looked upon as the certain means to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom: he did not think it unworthy of the sove-

² POLYB. l. xviii.

*His wife
and equi-
table regu-
lations.*

reignty to study that art, and even compose a book on that subject, of which we ought much to regret the loss. As the chief riches of the country, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to him, *Hiero* made such wife and equitable regulations on this head, that they became, in a manner, the fundamental laws of the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the *Romans* had reduced the city and dominions of *Syracuse* under their obedience, they imposed no new tributes, but only decreed, that all things should be regulated according to the laws of *Hiero*.

*Gives
proofs
of his
sincere at-
tachment
to the Ro-
mans.*

In the second *Punic* war *Hiero* gave signal proofs of his attachment to the *Romans*. As soon as he received advice of *Hannibal's* arrival in *Italy*, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet *Tiberius Sempronius* at *Messina*, and assured him, that, advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the *Roman* people, as he had done in his youth, if they thought it necessary, that he should put himself at the head of his troops, and cross over into *Italy*. He supplied the consul's legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence, and was preparing to attend him into *Italy*, when *Sempronius*, receiving the news of the advantage gained by the *Romans* over the *Carthaginian* fleet, thanked the king for his advantageous offers, but made no use of them at that time.

*His pre-
sents to the
Romans
in their
distress.
The speech
of his
ambassa-
dors in the
senate.*

HIERO's sincere affection for *Rome* appeared still more conspicuous after the victory gained by *Hannibal* at the lake *Thrasymenus*. The *Romans* had already lost three battles, and were abandoned by many of their allies. In this mournful conjuncture *Hiero* sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of *Ostia*. The ambassadors, who came with the present, being introduced to the senate, told the conscript fathers, "That *Hiero*, their master, had been as sensibly affected with their misfortunes, as if he had suffered them himself; that, though he knew the grandeur of the *Roman* people displayed itself more in times of adversity than after the most signal successes, yet he had taken the liberty to send them, as a faithful ally, a *Victory* of massy gold, weighing three hundred pounds, which the king hoped they would vouchsafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of his vows for their prosperity; that they had also brought three hundred thousand modii of wheat, two hundred thousand of barley, and were charged by their master to acquaint them, that, if they wanted more, he could cause

* POLYB. l. i. CIC. orat. in VER. de frum. n. 15.
l. xxi.

* LIV.

" what

“ what quantity they pleased to be transported to such places
 “ as they should appoint ; that he knew the *Romans* em-
 “ ployed no strangers in their armies, except light-armed
 “ troops ; and therefore he had only sent a thousand archers
 “ and slingers, whom they might oppose to the slingers of
 “ the *Balearic* islands, and the *Numidians* in the *Cartha-*
 “ *ginian* army.” To his presents *Hiero* added a wholesome
 piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who should be
 sent to command in *Sicily*, might cross from thence over into
Africa, and by that means divert the *Carthaginians* from
 sending any succours to *Hannibal* in *Italy*. *Rome* was touched
 with the affection good king *Hiero* shewed her, thanked him
 for his presents and advice, and sent him this obliging letter :
You have ever been a constant and generous friend. No change
of times has altered your affection and generosity towards us.
We received with pleasure the Victory from your hands. It is
a pledge of your friendship, which we will carefully preserve ;
and, in order to keep her among us, and prevent her ever leaving
us, we will shut her up in the strongest place of Rome. We
will place her on the capitol our citadel, and even in the temple
of Jupiter. The gods grant, that she may be as faithful and
friendly to us as you ! All the corn and barley on board the
 ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls.
 They likewise sent, pursuant to *Hiero*’s advice, from the
 ports of *Italy*, a reinforcement of twenty-five quinqueremes
 to *T. Otacilius*, who commanded the armies in *Sicily*, im-
 powering him to carry the war into *Africa*, if he thought
 proper ^b.

*The letter
from the
senate to
Hiero.*

VALERIUS MAXIMUS observes here the noble and po-
 lite liberality of *Hiero*, who did not offer the *Romans* three
 hundred pounds weight of gold in specie, as being well ac-
 quainted with their delicacy in that point ; but under the
 form of a *Victory*, which they dared not refuse, on account
 of the good omen it seemed to bring along with it. It is
 uncommon to see a prince, whose dominions were so exposed
 to the insults of the enemy, continue unalterably faithful
 to his former allies, even when they were on the brink of ruin.
 But nothing could shake *Hiero*’s attachment to *Rome* : tho’ it
 was also his interest to act as he did ; for, had the *Cartha-*
ginians intirely ruined, or even weakened the *Romans* too
 much, *Syracuse* must have fallen a prey to the conquerors.
 That city was situated over-against *Carthage*, and lay very
 convenient for securing its commerce, and gaining the em-
 pire of the sea. Wherefore, as *Syracuse* must have necessarily
 fallen after *Rome*, it was absolutely requisite for the king of

*The polit-
ness of
Hiero’s li-
berality.*

^b Liv. l. xxii. c. 37.

Syracuse to hazard every thing, and either save *Rome*, or fall with her.

His generosity to the Rhodians.

NEITHER did king *Hiero's* generosity extend to the *Romans* alone : *Polybius* informs us, that he sent an hundred talents to the *Rhodians*, with other rich presents, after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down the famous colossus. He moreover caused two statues to be erected in the market-place at *Rhodes*, representing the people of *Syracuse* placing a crown on the head of the *Rhodians*, as if, says our historian, *Hiero*, after having made the people magnificent presents, believed himself indebted to them. So great was the modesty with which his presents were always attended ^c.

Charge of *avarice* *unjust*, and *ill-grounded*. HOWEVER, there is a pastoral in *Theocritus* ^d bearing the name of *Hiero*, wherein that poet seems to reproach the king, as if he had not acknowledged, in an handsome manner, the verses made in his commendation. But the mean manner, in which he claims, as it were, a reward for his poetry, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more justice on the poet than the prince, whose generosity is extolled by all the historians who mention him.

His public works.

THOUGH *Hiero* seemed intirely employed in maintaining the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, yet he did not neglect matters relating to war, knowing that the surest means to preserve the public quiet, was to hold himself always ready to make war upon such as should attempt to disturb it. To him *Syracuse* was indebted for those amazing machines of war, which the *Syracusians* made use of when besieged by the *Romans*, as we shall see anon. The public buildings, such as palaces, temples, arsenals, &c. which were erected in *Syracuse* by his order, and under the direction of *Archimides*, were the greatest ornaments of that stately metropolis. He caused also an infinite number of ships to be built for the exportation of corn, in which the whole riches of the island consisted. We are told of a gally built by his order, which was looked upon as one of the wonders of that age. *Archimedes*, who was the overseer of the work, spent a whole year in finishing it, *Hiero* daily animating the workmen with his presence. This ship had twenty benches of oars, three spacious apartments, and all the conveniencies of a large palace. The floors of the middle apartment were all inlaid, and represented in various colours the stories of *Homer's Iliad*. The cielings, windows, and all other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermost apartment there was a spacious

Wonderful gally built by his order.

^c POLYB. l. v.

^d Theocrit. idyll. xvi.

gymnasium,

gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks, with gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in wonderful order. Pipes, some of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refresh them. But the finest of the apartments was that of *Venus*, the floors being inlaid with agats, and other precious stones, the inside lined with cypress-wood, the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing vessel made of one single stone of various colours, and containing two hundred and fifty quarts. It was supplied with water from a great reservoir at the head of the ship, which held an hundred thousand quarts. The vessel was adorned on all sides with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimensions, two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle. Round these towers were parapets, whence stones might be discharged against the enemy's vessels when they approached. Each tower was constantly guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. To the side of the vessel was fastened an engine made by *Archimedes*, which threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of eighteen feet, the distance of a stadium, or an hundred and twenty-five feet. Though the hold of this vessel was exceeding deep, a single man could soon clear it of water with a machine invented for that purpose by *Archimedes*. An *Athenian* poet having composed some verses on this magnificent vessel, *Hiero*, who understood the value of verse, rewarded him with a thousand medimni, that is, six thousand bushels of wheat, which he caused to be carried to the *Pyreæus*, or port of *Athens*. *Hiero* made afterwards a present of this great vessel to *Ptolemy*, probably *sent to Ptolemy king of Egypt*. *Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, and sent it to *Alexandria*. As there was at that time a great famine in *Egypt*, good king of *Egypt*. *Hiero* sent along with it several other ships of less burden with three hundred thousand quarters of corn, ten thousand great earthen jars of salt-fish, twenty thousand quintals of salt-meat, and an immense quantity of other provisions.

Hiero's fidelity to the *Romans* was put to a severe trial after the battle of *Cannæ*, which was followed by an universal defection of their allies. The *Carthaginians*, having landed a great many troops in *Sicily*, made a dreadful havock in the territories of *Syracuse*. But nothing could shake the king's constancy. He was only concerned to see some, even of his own family, favour the *Carthaginians*. He had a son named *Gelon*, who married *Nereis* the daughter of *Pyrrhus*, and had by her several children, and amongst others *Hiero-*

Hiero
dies.

Year of
the flood

2137.

Bef. Chr.

211₄

Designed
to restore
the Syra-
cusians to
their an-
tient li-
berty.

Is divert-
ed from it
by his
daughter.

nymus, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak. *Gelon*, despising his father's wholesome advice, and looking upon the *Romans* as already subdued by *Hannibal*, openly declared for the *Carthaginians*. He had already armed the multitude, and stirred up the allies of *Syracuse* to join him; but his measures were broken by a sudden and unexpected death, which happened so seasonably, that his father was suspected to have been privy to it ^f. *Hiero* did not survive his son long. After he had continued faithful to the *Romans* for fifty years together, he died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fifty-fourth of his reign, infinitely regretted by his subjects, and no less by the *Romans*, who lost in him the most constant friend they had ever had.

THERE was none to whom *Hiero* could leave his crown, except *Hieronymus* the son of *Gelon*, on whom he could not depend as to his conduct, the young prince being but fifteen years old at his grandfather's death. The good old king therefore, who had more at heart the happiness of his people, than the aggrandizing of his family, had formed a design of abolishing monarchy, and restoring the *Syracusians* to their antient liberty. He had two daughters, both married to the greatest lords of the kingdom, *Demarata* the elder to *Andranadorus*, and *Heraclaea* to *Zoippus*, a man of a quiet disposition, and who had served *Hiero* with great fidelity, but was in his heart a zealous republican. Wherefore his wife *Heraclaea*, whom he suffered to go but very seldom to court, never attempted to divert her father from reinstating the *Syracusians* in their antient rights. But her sister, at the instigation of her ambitious husband, used her utmost endeavours to engage *Hiero* not to deprive his grandson of a crown, which was due to him by right of inheritance. The private views of *Demarata* and her husband were to govern the kingdom, during the minority of *Hieronymus*, and to wait for a favourable opportunity of placing the crown upon their own heads. It was not easy for an old man of ninety to hold out against the careles, tears, and intreaties of a daughter, who belieged him day and night. So that he at last gave way to the repeated instances of an ambitious woman, made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandson. To prevent as far as possible the evils he apprehended, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council, earnestly desiring them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the *Romans*, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, to teach the young prince to abstain from pomp and ostentation,

^f Liv. l. xxiv. c. 4, & seqq.

tation, and to instil into his mind the same principles by which he had acted during his whole reign.

HIERO's eyes were no sooner closed, but the guardians, Hieronymus, summoning the people, read the king's will in the assembly.

As the tastes of the *Syracusians*, and their views, were different, so were their opinions with relation to the things established by the king. Some did not like the monarchical government; others took umbrage at the crown's being settled in one family; the greatest part were dissatisfied at the perpetual alliance to be made with *Rome*, already half-subdued by *Hannibal*. In short, the will was liked only by a very few, who were gained over by the court, and artfully placed in several parts of the assembly, to shew their approbation of it by shouts and acclamations. However, none had courage enough to protest against it; and therefore the assembly broke up, without either openly contradicting or accepting the will. The king's obsequies were celebrated with great pomp by the citizens, to whom his memory was dearer than to his relations. A few days after *Andranodorus*, thinking the young prince securely seated on the throne, because he saw no open opposition, began to take such measures, as plainly discovered his intentions, and increased the number of the enemies of the monarch and monarchy. Hiero's chief aim, in appointing fifteen guardians, was to engage so many of the greatest lords in his dominions to be defenders of his crown and family. But *Andranodorus*, out of a selfish view, deprived *Hieronymus* of his chief support, by removing all the other guardians, under pretence that the king was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands. By this means that wicked minister, who had gained a great ascendant over the young prince, united in his own person all the power which had been divided among them. The best of princes, succeeding a king so greatly beloved by his subjects, would have found it very difficult to maintain himself on the throne; whereas *Hieronymus*, under the direction of *Andranodorus*, became quite the reverse of his grandfather. He seemed to take pleasure in increasing the sorrow of the people for the loss of Hiero; and they, by comparing the vices of the successor with the virtues of his predecessor, began to conceive a great aversion from the new king. They saw the throne no longer filled with a prince, who was affected with all the misfortunes of his subjects; and gave the meanest of them a free access to him, being distinguished from the rest of the people, only by the great respect and veneration they all paid him. *Hieronymus* resumed the purple and diadem, and never appeared in public but in a chariot drawn by white horses, and surrounded by a troop

*Is univer-
sally hated
by his sub-
jects.*

*His fa-
vourites.*

*Thraſo,
who fa-
voured the
Romans,
unjuſtly
accuſed
and put to
death.*

a troop of guards. His whole conduct was ſuitable to this equipage. He was difficult of acceſs, never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often added ſevere jeſts to his denials. Even his guardians were with great difficulty ſuffered to approach him. He had no confidants, but the miniſters of his pleaſures, giving himſelf up to all manner of debauchery. His cruelty was no-ways inferior even to that of *Agathocles*, and ſeemed to have extinguished all ſenſe of humanity in him. This raiſed an univerſal alarm both among the people and nobles, inſomuch that ſome of thoſe, who had been appointed his guardians, laid violent hands on themſelves, to avoid ſeeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew from their country &c.

ONLY three men of diſtinction continued at court; *Andranodorus*, *Zoippus*, both *Hiero's* ſons-in-law, and *Thraſo*, furnamed *Charcarus*. The latter was a true courtier, that is, a ſlaviſh flatterer, and a mere tool; but at the ſame time a cunning ſtateſman, and one who indeed readily complied with all the inclinations of the prince, but underſtood better than any other his maſter's true intereſt. The king often took pleaſure in engaging him in diſputes with *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* about ſtate-affairs. *Thraſo* was a zealous advocate for the *Romans*; but the two others, believing the *Romans* could never recover after the dreadful overthrows they had received, openly declared for *Carthage*; and their ſpeeches had the moſt weight with the young prince. However, the reaſons alleged by *Thraſo* kept him in ſuſpenſe, till a melancholy accident determined him to chooſe the worſt part. One, named *Solis*, a man of a mean condition, and who had ſerved the king from his infancy in the loweſt offices, diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt the king; but could name none of the conſpirators, except *Theodotus*, who was delivered up to *Andranodorus*, and tortured, in order to make him diſcover the whole plot, and the names of the conſpirators. Being in the utmoſt agony, he confeſſed the crime, as to himſelf; but, inſtead of naming his accomplices, he accuſed all the king's beſt friends, though innocent, and amongſt others *Thraſo*, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize; adding, that they ſhould never have engaged in it, if they had not been countenanced by one in favour with the king, and who had free acceſs into the palace. His depoſition was believed, and all the intereſt *Thraſo* had at court could not ſave his life. As for *Theodotus*, he perſiſted to the laſt breath in accuſing the innocent, in order to ſave the guilty; and his accomplices depended ſo much on his ſecrecy, that none of them

left the city, or absconded, during the whole time he was kept in prison and racked ^h.

UPON the death of *Thraso*, who was the sole support of the Hieronymus alliance, *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* easily brought the mus proposing into their measures, who immediately dispatched embas- poses an sadors to the Carthaginian camp in Italy. *Hannibal* received aliance with the them with great demonstrations of kindness, and sent an em- Cartha- bassy to the young king of *Syracuse*, at the head of which he ginians. put a young officer of great distinction at *Carthage*, named also *Hannibal*, hoping that the conformity of age and inclinations would make him agreeable to *Hieronymus*. With him he sent two persons advanced in years, who were both great statesmen, and experienced commanders; one was called *Hippocrates*, and the other *Epicydes*; they were born at *Carthage*, but originally *Syracusians*, their grandfathers having been banished *Sicily* in the time of the tyranny of *Agathocles*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the Roman prætor in *Sicily*, took umbrage at the arrival of these ambassadors, and immediately sent deputies to the court of *Syracuse*, to renew the alliance made with king *Hiero*. But the *Carthaginians*, having already had audience of *Hieronymus*, had given him such high notions of *Hannibal's* victories and reputation, that he had sent away young *Hannibal* to *Carthage*, to prepare that senate for the receiving his ambassadors, when they should come to conclude a treaty of alliance with them ⁱ.

IN this situation of affairs the envoys of the Roman prætor *He're-* were not received at *Syracuse* with the respect due to their *civiles* the character. They began their speech with explaining the motives Roman of their deputation: "We are come, said they, to renew that al- embassa- liance and good understanding, which the wise king *Hiero* main- dors with tained for so many years with *Rome*." But *Hieronymus*, who contempt. was naturally given to raillery, replied, "I will ask you but one question: Who were conquerors at *Cannæ*, you or the " *Carthaginians*? I am told such surprising things of that " battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of " it." This severe reproach put the *Romans* out of humour; however, they only made him this reply, that, when he would please to be serious, they would desire another audience. They accordingly had one some days after, and spoke to the king with as much haughtiness as if they had been conquerors, advising him not to determine upon the choice of his allies from doubtful accounts, nor change sides too rashly, lest he should soon have occasion to repent of the measures he had taken. To this the king replied with an insulting air: "Yes, indeed, I suppose it was out of pure friendship that the *Ro-* mans, upon a false report of my grandfather's death, brought

^h *ATHENÆVS*, l. xxiv. c. 5. ⁱ *LIV.* l. xxiv.

" their

“ their fleet in sight of *Syracuse*. Did they design to make
 “ themselves masters of my dominions, or to protect them ?”
 This reproach was wholly founded on an ill turn, which the
 enemies of *Rome* had given to a step of the *Romans*. A re-
 port being spread of king *Hiero*’s death, the *Roman* fleet had
 advanced as far as cape *Pachynum*, to assist the grandson of
 their faithful ally. But, as soon as they understood, that *Hiero*
 was still alive, the fleet returned to *Lilybæum*. Hence the
 friends of *Carthage* took occasion to persuade the king, that
 the design of the *Romans* was to seize on his dominions, and
 keep them for themselves. The ambassadors endeavoured to
 undeceive him ; but he, with an air of raillery, only replied,
 “ Since, then, you could tack about, give me leave, in my
 “ turn, to take advantage of the wind, from what point so-
 “ ever it blows : it is now set for *Carthage*, and I thither
 “ shall sail.” Upon this, the deputies withdrew, without re-
 turning any answer ; and informed the prætor, who had sent
 them, of all that had passed ^k.

*Enters
 into an al-
 liance
 with Car-
 thage.
 The condi-
 tions of
 the treaty.*

FROM this time *Rome* looked upon the king of *Syracuse* as
 her enemy. And truly that prince, soon after the departure
 of the ambassadors, sent three deputies to *Carthage*, to ratify
 the alliance he had made with *Hannibal*. The conditions of
 this treaty were ; first, that the *Carthaginians* should send a
 fleet and a land-army, to assist *Hieronimus* : secondly ; that,
 after they had, with their joint-forces, driven the *Romans*
 quite out of the island, they should divide it into two equal
 parts, the river *Himera* (Q) being the boundary of the *Syra-
 cusan* on one side, and of the *Carthaginians* on the other.
 Such a treaty could not meet with any difficulty from the se-
 nate or *Carthage*, since the whole end of it was first to draw
 off *Hieronimus* from his alliance with the *Romans*, and then
 to sacrifice him to their ambition. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*
 were sensible of this ; and therefore, as they had more at
 heart the interest of *Syracuse* than that of *Carthage*, they open-

^k Liv. *ibid*.

(Q) There were two rivers
 in *Sicily* known by the same
 name of *Himera*. The smaller
 fell into the *Tyrrhenian* sea,
 near the present city of *Ter-
 mini*. The larger, after having
 watered the middle of the island,
 discharged itself into the *Libyan*

sea. Both these rivers rise on
 mount *Nebroda*, now *Madonia*.
Solinus, *Mela*, and some other
 geographers, make these two but
 one river, which afterwards di-
 vides itself into two branches
 (42).

(42) *Solin. c. 13. Pompon. Mela, l. ii. c. 3.*

ed the young prince's eyes, and gave him to understand how prejudicial the second article might prove to him. "Your right to all *Sicily*, said they, is indisputable. You are the son of *Nereis*, the daughter of *Pyrrhus*; and who does not know, that *Pyrrhus* was, by the unanimous consent of all the *Sicilians*, declared king of the whole island?" Though this discourse was no-ways conclusive, yet, the young prince's eyes being easily dazzled with discoveries that favoured his ambition, he immediately dispatched a new embassy to *Carthage*. The former proposals he had made were just upon the point of being signed; and the *Carthaginians* were not a little surprised to see the king change his mind. The ambassadors, satisfied after a long preamble, wherein they endeavoured to prove their master's right to all *Sicily*, and to shew, that he could not divide it without wronging himself, confirmed the alliance with *Carthage* to mutual assistance. "The king of *Syracuse*, said they, will assist *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and *Carthage* shall assist him in *Sicily*." As it was of the utmost importance for *Carthage*, to separate *Syracuse* from the *Romans*, and to recover a footing in *Sicily*, the senate consented to the new proposals of *Hieronimus*, and began to raise an army, and equip a fleet, to be sent into that island. Half *Sicily* was at that time in the hands of the *Romans*, and had been a *Roman* province ever since the treaty, which put an end to the first *Punic* war; for, by that treaty, the island was divided into two parts; the one was possessed by the *Romans*, and the other by *Hiero*; so that at this time the *Romans* were in a condition to give *Hieronimus* great trouble. However, they could make no impression on the king, who returned them only this unpolite and provoking answer, "Let the *Romans* restore all the gold, presents, and corn, that they drew from my grandfather, and consent that the river *Himera* be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the antient treaties with them."

THE *Roman* prætor, being exasperated at these proceedings, took the field, and began hostilities in the territory of *Syracuse*, before the arrival of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. On the other hand, *Hieronimus*, leading his troops to *Leontini*, on the confines of his dominions, fixed his residence there. His army amounted in all to about fifteen thousand men, of which he detached two thousand, under the command of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, to dislodge some *Roman* garisons from the posts they possessed.

IN the mean time the conspirators, whose names *Theodotus* and *Hieronimus* had concealed even in the midst of torments, after having long

¹ Liv. l. xxiv. c. 6.

Year of 2140. watched an opportunity of putting their design in execution, at last appointed a day for the dispatching of a tyrant, whose cruelties, and other vices, they could no longer bear. They posted themselves in a narrow street, through which the king, during his residence at *Leontini*, used to ride every day, on his return from the forum to the palace. His guards always attended him; but one of them, by name *Dinomanes*, was in the number of the conspirators, and agreed with the rest to make the guards halt, and by that means give them an opportunity of falling upon the king, while he was at some distance from his attendants. Accordingly *Dinomanes*, who was at the head of the guards, stopped, as it were to tie the strings of his buskins: upon this signal the conspirators, rushing out of their ambush, stabbed the king in several places, before he could receive any assistance: for *Dinomanes*, facing about upon his fellow-soldiers, stood their onset, and, though dangerously wounded, did not retire till the king was dead. When the guards saw the prince wallowing in his blood, and the conspirators advancing to attack them, they betook themselves to flight. When the king's death was known in the army, which was encamped under the walls of *Leontini*, the soldiers cried out, that the conspirators ought to be all sacrificed to the manes of *Hieronymus*. But the sweet name of liberty, with which the conspirators filled the city and camp, soon appeased their resentment. Hopes were also given them, that the king's treasures should be divided among them; and that they should soon be headed by more able generals, than the late unexperienced young prince. They were also put in mind of the public crimes, and private vices, of the late king, which, being artfully represented, and in the worst light, filled them with such horror, that they left the dead body to rot in the public street. A remarkable instance of the little dependence that is to be had on the zeal of an inconstant multitude^m.

Andranodorus
seizes on
the citadel,
and the island
of Ortygia.

THE king was no sooner dead, but *Sosis* and *Theodotus*, two of the conspirators, hastened to *Syracuse*, to prevent the attempts of *Andranodorus*, and the others of the king's faction. But, notwithstanding their diligence, *Andranodorus* had notice of what had happened before their arrival, and taken his precautions accordingly. He had already seized on the citadel, and the island of *Ortygia*, and filled them with troops and officers in whom he could confide. Some writers are of opinion, that the Roman prætor *Claudius* was not intirely unconcerned in a plot, which was so useful to his republic. But, however that be, he did not fail to give the senate immediate advice of

^m Liv. *ibid.*

all that had passed, and to take the necessary steps for the preserving of that part of *Sicily*, which belonged to the *Romans* ^a.

WHILE *Andranodorus*, supported by the king's faction, *Disturb-*
was fortifying himself in *Ortygia*, *Sofis* and *Theodotus* entered *ances in*
that quarter of *Syracuse* called *Tyche*. The sun was set, before *Syracuse*.
they reached the city; but still there was light enough to see the king's diadem, and bloody robes, which the conspirators carried in their hands, and shewed to the people. This sight drew crouds of the inhabitants round them, whom they invited into *Acradina*, which was, as it were, the heart of the city, to take there proper measures for the recovery of their liberty. Hereupon all the city sided with the conspirators; lights were seen in all parts; some took to their arms; and those who had none in their houses, ran to the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, where the arms of the *Gauls* and *Illyrians* were hung up, which the *Romans* had presented to their good ally king *Hiero*. Such citizens as were armed posted themselves in all the avenues leading to the citadel, and there kept guard all night. *Andranodorus* attempted to possess himself of the public granaries; but the soldiers, whom he employed on this occasion, revolted from him, and delivered them up to the magistrates of the city. In this manner the first night was spent after the murder of *Hieronymus* ^o.

THE next morning, as soon as it was light, all the inhabit- *Polyæ-*
ants of *Syracuse*, some armed, and some unarmed, crouded nus's
into *Acradina*, where the senate was assembled, which had *speech to*
not been convened, nor consulted upon any affair, since *Hie-*
ro's death. *Polyænus*, an illustrious citizen, spoke to the people with great freedom and moderation: "*Syracusians*,
" said he, I am not at all surpris'd to see you up in arms,
" in order to recover your antient liberty. The sense you
" have of your past slavery, and the calamities you have suf-
" fered under a tyrannical government, have inspired you
" with this generous resolution. But, after all, you have
" heard from your fathers, that civil discord is likewise at-
" tended with great evils, and that *Syracuse* has suffered more
" from domestic than foreign wars. I commend your readi-
" ness in taking arms, but should think you still more worthy
" of commendation, if you only used them in the last ex-
" tremity. It is my opinion, that you send deputies to
" *Andranodorus*; and that you first try by gentle methods,
" whether you can prevail upon him to open the gates of the
" citadel, to put the island into the hands of the magistrates,
" and to withdraw his garisons. If he submits, violence is
" useless; but, if he persists in maintaining himself upon a

^a LIV. *ibid.* c. 23.

^o LIV. *ibid.* c. 24.

Deputies
sent to An-
dranodo-
rus.

“ throne to which he has no right, his crime is greater than
“ that of *Hieronimus*, and deserves a more severe punish-
“ ment.” This discourse had the desired effect; deputies
were sent to *Andranodorus*, who entered into a conference
with them. He was sensible, that it would be very difficult
for him to maintain himself in his usurpation, against the un-
animous consent of the people. *Ortygia* was already partly pos-
sessed by the citizens; and the public granaries, on which he had
depended, were in the power of the magistrates. These con-
siderations gave him just apprehensions; but his wife *Denga-
rata*, *Hiero*’s daughter, an haughty and ambitious woman,
taking him aside, put him in mind of the famous saying of
Dionysus the tyrant, *that no man ought to quit a throne, till
he is dragged from it by the heels*: she advised him to demand
time to consider, and in the interim to bring the troops from
Leontini, and endeavour to gain them by promising them half
the king’s treasures ^P.

His an-
swer to
them.

ANDRANODORUS did not intirely reject this counsel, nor
think proper to give into it without reserve. He chose a mean
between both, and resolved to submit to the senate, in ex-
pectation of a more favourable opportunity to bring his de-
signs to bear. He therefore answered the deputies, that he
would open the gates of *Ortygia* the next day, come into
Acradina, and give the assembly an account of his conduct.
Accordingly he threw open the gates the next morning; and,
repairing to the market-place of *Acradina*, where the people
were assembled, he mounted the tribunal of harangues, and,
after excusing his silence from the apprehensions he had been
under of being involved in the tyrant’s punishment, he de-
clared that he was come to put his life and fortune into the
hands of the senate. Then, turning to *Soss* and *Theodotus*, “ As
“ for you, said he, illustrious avengers of the public wrongs, do
“ not imagine, that the glorious work of establishing your liberty
“ is yet accomplished. What you have done hitherto is but
“ a sketch of what ought to follow. An unrestrained popu-
“ lace is as dangerous in a republic as a persecuting tyrant.”

Andrano-
dorus sub-
mits to the
senate.

Andranodorus, having spoken these words, laid down the keys
of *Ortygia*, and of the king’s treasures, at the feet of the two
chiefs of the conspiracy. The whole city was highly rejoiced
on this occasion, and the rest of the day spent in feasting, and
returning thanks to the gods for so happy a change.

He is
chosen one
of the
chief ma-
gistrates.

THE next day the people assembled to elect the chief ma-
gistrates to govern the state, when *Andranodorus* was one of
first chosen; and, with him, the chief conspirators; among the
rest, *Sospater* and *Dinomanes*, though then at *Leontini*. They

had there seized on the money, which *Hieronymus* had with him to pay the troops, and had caused it to be removed to *Syracuse*, where treasurers were chosen to take care of all the effects of the late king. And, lastly, as a sign of their having intirely recovered their liberty, they caused the wall to be beat down between *Acradina* and the island *Ortygia*, which was the retreat of the kings.

In the mean time *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles*, *Hannibal's* two agents, whom *Hieronymus* had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured to conceal the king's death from them, and caused those to be assassinated who first spread the report of it in the camp. But all was to no purpose; they were abandoned by the greater part of the troops, and obliged to quit the field, and repair to *Syracuse*, in order to carry on there the same negotiations with the republic, which they had begun with the king. But, finding that the change of government had changed the dispositions of the *Syracusians*, when they were introduced into the senate, they spoke thus: "We came into *Sicily*, being sent by *Hannibal* as ambassadors to *Hieronymus* his friend and ally. We have only obeyed the commands of our general; and, if our abode in the island gives you any umbrage, allow us at least a free passage to our army. *Locri* is the place where we desire to be set ashore in *Italy*. Both sea and land are infested by the *Romans*: we beg therefore you would give us a guard to escort us to that port." The *Syracusians* were not sorry to part with those two strangers, who were of a turbulent and factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. But, as the senate was too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure, and the guards to escort them, they found means to form a party against the senate of *Syracuse*, and against *Rome*. They had commanded the king's forces, and therefore, being well known to the soldiers, they assembled as many of them as they could in their lodgings, and, by seditious speeches, stirred them up to rebellion; telling them, that the senate designed to deliver up the state to the *Romans*, and sacrifice the public good to their private ambition. *Andranodorus* was not a stranger to these plots, but favoured them underhand, in hopes of turning them to his own advantage. The seditious *Demarata* was continually spiring him up to re-establish monarchy, and place himself on the throne. "The time is come, said she, for placing *Hiero's* daughter on the throne of her father. All is quiet in *Syracuse*, but the public not yet well settled; the soldiers, who are used to receive the king's pay, are not yet dispersed, nor have they imbibed the republican spirit: two great generals, disciples of *Hannibal* in the art of war, are ready to lend us their assistance

The Carthaginian ambassadors beg leave to depart.

A plot formed by them.

Demarata stirs up her husband to re-establish monarchy.

“ ande ; they are acquainted with the troops, and esteemed by
 “ them. Let us then seize this happy moment, and not delay
 “ till *Hippocrates* and *Epicycles* are forced from *Syracuse*, and
 “ we deprived of their concurrence &c.”

The plot
discovered.

Andranodorus and
Themistus
put to
death.

THIS discourse of *Demarata* made no small impression on *Andranodorus* ; however, he did not think fit to embark in so dangerous an enterprize, till he had communicated his design to *Themistus*. This nobleman had married *Harmonia* the late king's sister, and therefore shewed a great readiness to enter into the plot, being well apprised, that, if the republican state were restored, he should be reduced to a private station. Thus the design for usurping the throne was formed, and measures taken for the putting it in execution ; but an indiscreet confidence disconcerted the whole. *Themistus* was very intimate with one *Aristo*, a man of no mean birth, but by profession an actor, which was not deemed dishonourable among the *Greeks*, men of distinction appearing sometimes on the stage, and acting parts in tragedies. As soon as *Aristo* was informed by his friend, that the conspirators had resolved to put the magistrates to death, and re-establish the monarchy, he thought it his duty to prefer the interest of his country to the laws of friendship ; and accordingly discovered the conspiracy to the chief magistrates, or prætors ; by whom, after he had been examined, sentence of death was privately passed upon *Andranodorus* and *Themistus*, upon his deposition alone ; for *Aristo* was known to be a man of great honour and probity. The sentence was to be executed at the door of the senate-house, when these two chief conspirators should come to the senate ; and guards were placed at the entrance, with private orders to kill them as soon as they appeared. The guards, pursuant to their orders, fell upon them as they were entering the senate, and the two conspirators fell down dead on the spot, pierced with many wounds. Their death struck the rest of the senators with terror ; for they were quite strangers to the motives of that execution : but the prætors, when the tumult was quelled, introduced *Aristo*, who unriddled the whole secret to them, lamented the unhappy fate of his friend *Themistus*, and discovered the designs of the conspirators. He told them, that the *Iberian* and *African* mercenaries, whom *Hieronymus* had kept in his pay, were to have been the instruments of this new revolution, and to have been employed in cutting off the chief citizens of *Syracuse* ; that their estates were to have been the rewards of the assassins ; and that the due preparations were made for the seizing of *Ortygia* again in the name of *Andranodorus*. He then entered into a detail of all the circumstances

of the conspiracy, and named the persons, who were to have executed each part of that black design. As his evidence carried with it all the appearance of truth and sincerity, the senate passed a decree, declaring, that the death of *Andranodorus* was as just as that of *Hieronimus*.

IN the mean time the populace, not knowing for what reason two citizens of distinction had been so unexpectedly put to death, threatened to revenge the violence offered them. But the sight of the dead bodies of the two conspirators, which were dragged out into the porch, appeased the tumult; and then *Sopater*, appointed by the senate to harangue the people, informed them of their pernicious designs, ascribing all the misfortunes of *Sicily* to them, and not to *Hieronimus*, who, being only a youth, had been led astray by their wicked counsels. He insinuated, that the king's guardians and tutors had reigned in his time; that they ought to have been exterminated with the tyrant; that impunity had encouraged them to commit new crimes, and even to aspire to the tyranny; that, not being able to succeed in their design by force, they had made use of dissimulation and perfidy; that neither favours nor honours could get the better of the wicked disposition of *Andranodorus*, whom they had raised to the highest dignities with the deliverers of their country: that, as to *Themistus*, he had been inspired by his wife, as well as his accomplice, with the ambition of reigning. These furies are the occasion of all our misfortunes, said *Sopater*; these the first authors of the present conspiracy. At these words, the whole assembly cried out, that none of them ought to be suffered to live; and that it was necessary to root out intirely the race of the tyrants, without any reserve or exception^r. This cruel sentence was no sooner passed by the people, but the prætors, who ought to have checked the fury of the multitude, ordered it to be put in execution. *Demarata*, *Hiera's* daughter, and *Harmonia*, *Gelon's* daughter, the former married to *Andranodorus*, and the latter to *Themistus*, were killed first. The executioners went afterwards to the house of *Heraclea* the wife of *Zoippus*. That virtuous princess was the only person of the royal family, who was not concerned in the conspiracy. Her husband, having been sent on an embassy to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, had remained at *Alexandria* to avoid seeing the vices and ill conduct of *Hieronimus*. During his abode there, *Heraclea*, whom he had inspired with noble sentiments, spent her days in retirement, wholly employed in the education of the two young princesses her daughters. When she heard, that the executioners, after having murdered her sister and niece, were

Sentence of death passed on all the royal family, and cruelly put in execution.

^r Liv. *ibid.* c. 24, 25.

come to her, she took refuge, with her two daughters, in the most remote part of her house, where she worshiped her gods. But the murderers found her out ; and *Heraclea*, seeing those who were to imbrue their hands in her blood, went to meet them, and with her hair disheveled, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition most proper to move compassion, conjured them, in the name of *Hiero* her father, not to involve an innocent woman in the guilt of *Hieronimus* : she represented to them, that the king, whom they had so much reason to hate, had done nothing for her, but increase her affliction, by separating her husband from her ; that, not having any share in the designs of her sister and niece, she ought to have none in their punishment ; that her husband had always declared for a republican state, and would return with joy to *Syracuse*, if he knew of the death of *Hieronimus*, and the present revolution. “ But, alas ! said she, how will his hopes be disappointed ! he will find his zeal for his country rewarded with the murder of his wife and children. Tell me, at least, what my crime is. What have you to fear from me, in the forlorn condition to which I am reduced, or from my daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or support ? We are indeed of the blood-royal, and, if that gives you umbrage, banish us. At *Alexandria* I shall find a kind husband, and my daughters a tender father .”

*Heraclea
and her
daughters
cruelly
rewarded.*

HER speech made no impression on the minds of the executioners ; they drew their swords to sacrifice those innocent victims : and then *Heraclea*, forgetting her own danger, interceded only for her daughters ; but her intreaties and tears were to no purpose ; they first abused her in the sight of her daughters, and then with invincible wounds dispatched them already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. They were scarce dead, when an order came from the people to suspend the execution ; but, when they understood, that the innocent princesses were already executed, they exclaimed with the utmost rage and fury against the magistrates, who had been so ready to put that cruel sentence in execution, without allowing them time to reflect on the injustice of it. The death of *Andranodorus* and *Themistus* had occasioned two vacancies in the college of prætors, and the people took hold of this pretence to come to a new election. The day was fixed for the assembly, and all the *Syracusians* met in the public market-place to give their suffrages. Compassion for the unfortunate *Heraclea* had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party ; insomuch that *Hannibal's* ambassadors, who had always been zealous for the late king, did not despair

of being elected. They were originally *Syracusians*, highly esteemed by the soldiery, and, besides, had gained over to their interest such among the people as were most touched with compassion for the death of *Heraclea* and her daughters. They had also the address to place some among the croud, whom they had hired to act and speak in their favour; and these, when the people came to vote, cried out, some *Epicyles*; and others *Hippocrates*, whose names being repeated in several places, the assembly took these scattered votes for the unanimous consent of the multitude. The prætors indeed were for bringing the cause before the senate, but were prevented by the clamours of the people; so that *Epicyles* and *Hippocrates* were declared duly elected.

HANNIBAL was at the bottom of all these disturbances, and had good grounds to hope, that they would both secure his conquests in *Italy*, and give *Carthage* an opportunity of recovering her antient dominions in *Sicily*, where *Rome* would find it more difficult to maintain a war, than in her own neighbourhood. The *Romans*, who had been put in possession of the greatest part of this island at the end of the first *Punic* war, had divided their dominions there into two provinces under the government of two prætors. *Appius Claudius* ruled in that which bordered on the territories of *Syracuse*; and *Cornelius Lentulus*, at the head of two legions, commanded in the province, which was nearest to *Lilybæum*. Besides, *Ota-cilius* was cruising on the coast with a fleet of an hundred sail, and ready to act according to the resolutions that should be taken at *Syracuse*. However, the forces of the two prætors were not thought sufficient by the senate of *Rome* to oppose the *Syracusians*, when supported by the numberless troops, which in all likelihood would be sent into the island from *Africa*. It was therefore resolved, that *Marcellus* should transport the army he commanded at *Nola*, into *Sicily*, and assist *Claudius* and *Lentulus*. As *Hannibal* was no longer so formidable as he had been, *Marcellus*, though just recovered from a fit of sickness, set out for *Sicily* on the first orders; leaving *Fabius* to keep the *Carthaginian* in awe on the continent. The greatest part of the *Syracusan* prætors were still inclined to keep up a good understanding with *Rome*, and had sent deputies to *Claudius*, to renew the antient treaties which had been violated by *Hieronimus*. But *Claudius*, who knew that the consul *Marcellus* would soon arrive in *Sicily*, came to no conclusion with them, referring the whole matter to the consul; who, upon his arrival, having heard their proposals, and finding them advantageous to his republic, dispatched an embassy to *Syracuse*, to confirm the treaty. But the ambassadors found the state of affairs much altered. A

report had been industriously spread by the emissaries of *Hannibal*, that a *Carthaginian* fleet appeared off cape *Pachynum*, and this report gave new confidence to the enemies of *Rome*. Besides, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* omitted no artifice to inspire the populace with an aversion to the *Romans*. By means of the mercenaries, and *Roman* deserters, they spread a report, that *Syracuse* was to be delivered up to the *Romans*; and that this design was carrying on by the prætors, who had sold themselves to *Rome*. These suspicions were confirmed by the approach of some ships of *Otacilius*, which *Appius* had ordered to draw near to *Syracuse*, to encourage the party in the *Roman* interest. Nay, the populace, at the instigation of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, had already taken up arms, to oppose the pretended descent of the *Romans*.

Apollonides exhorts the Syracusians to join the Romans.

IN this confusion the wisest among the prætors thought proper to summon an assembly of the people. Hot debates arose; and, there being reason to fear some sedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the occasion. He represented, that never city was nearer its destruction or preservation, than *Syracuse* was at that time; that, if they unanimously joined either the *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, they might escape the dangers that threatened them; but, if they were divided, the war would not be more cruel and bloody between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, than between *Syracusians* and *Syracusians*, as having different troops and commanders within the narrow compass of their own walls; that it was therefore absolutely necessary in the first place to agree among themselves, and then to consider which of the two alliances was to be preferred, since they could not possibly stand neuter, while the two rivals were making war under the very walls of *Syracuse*. "As for me," said *Apollonides*, "if I may be allowed to declare my private opinion, the love I bear my country inclines me to the *Romans*, who have shewed us a steady friendship, and protected us for fifty years together. *Hiero* sided with the *Romans*; and how happy were we during the whole time of his long reign! *Hieronymus* entered into an alliance with *Hannibal*, and hence his untimely end, and our present disturbances. In what, then, have the *Carthaginians* deserved the preference?" He added to this one very material consideration; which was, that, if they declared against the *Romans*, they would have the war immediately upon their hands; whereas, on the side of *Carthage*, the danger was more remote. This discourse made no small impression on the minds of the people, who ordered, that a certain number of mili-

tary officers should be joined in commission with the prætors, and the chief men in the senate, to deliberate on the matter. Accordingly the council was held; and, after long and warm debates, it appeared that *Syracuse* had no just reason to break with *Rome*. So that it was declared, that the treaty of peace concluded with the *Romans* should be continued, and an embassy sent to *Marcellus* to renew it. But the consul would not accept of the alliance, unless *Leontini*, and the other cities which had been subject to the kings, were included in the treaty: *Hippocrates* and *Epiclydes* were overjoyed to hear, that the signing of the treaty was put off, being resolved to imbroider matters, and create a misunderstanding between *Rome* and *Syracuse* on the first opportunity: and one offered in a few days. The *Leontines*, being harassed by their neighbours, sent to demand aid of the *Syracusians*, who willingly granted them their request, thinking this a favourable opportunity to discharge their city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and to remove their no less dangerous leaders. *Hippocrates* was therefore charged to march at the head of the mercenaries and *Roman* deserters, to the number of four thousand men, into the territory of *Leontini*, and cover their borders against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. *Hippocrates* was not at all displeased with his new commission: he immediately left *Syracuse*; and, not content to defend the *Leontines*, and ravage the territories of their enemies, made incursions into the *Roman* province, and laid waste the lands belonging to *Rome*, which bordered on the country of the *Leontines*. In this he acted contrary to the orders he had received; but his only view was, to provoke the *Romans*, and oblige them to commit hostilities in the territories of *Syracuse*, wherein he succeeded; for *Appius Claudius*, who was then the *Roman* prætor in that part of *Sicily*, not being able to bear the insults of *Hippocrates*, marched his troops to the frontiers of his province, and there posted them in different places, with orders to oppose the *Syracusan* prætor, and repel force by force. This was what *Hippocrates* wanted; and accordingly, pretending that the *Romans* were come to attack him, he fell upon one of *Appius's* detachments, and cut the whole body in pieces. *Marcellus*, upon advice of these proceedings, sent deputies to *Syracuse*, injoining them to declare before the senate and people, that no alliance was to be expected with *Rome*, so long as these two enemies to the *Roman* name continued in *Sicily*; and therefore to insist upon their being banished the island. The *Syracusians* shewed a great readiness to comply with the consul's request; and orders were given for the apprehending of *Epiclydes*, *Hippocrates* being at that time in the territory of the *Leontines* at the head of an army. But *Epiclydes*, having

The Syracusians offer to renew their alliance with Rome.

Hostilities committed against the Romans by Hippocrates.

which the Syracusians resent.

Hippocrates and Epicydes stir up the Leontines against the Syracusians.

timely notice of the design of the *Syracusians*, made his escape, and took sanctuary in *Leontini*, where he hoped to create new troubles. He was there received by his colleague, and both together used their utmost endeavours to embroil the *Leontines* with the *Syracusians*, by stirring them up to resume their antient liberty. The city of *Leontini* had been always subject to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*, but, in more antient times, an independent state; and was now inclined to throw off the yoke, and recover its antient rights and privileges. This disposition of the people *Epicydes* made use of to attach them to his interest, openly declaring, that neither he, nor his colleague *Hippocrates*, would ever abandon them, till they were as free as *Syracuse* herself. "What!" said he, "shall *Leontini* be in a worse condition than *Syracuse*? Shall that imperious city shake off the yoke of her kings, and at the same time keep you in slavery? That liberty, which *Syracuse* is so proud of, took birth within your walls: the blood of *Hieronymus* was shed here: the cry of liberty was first heard among you. What then prevents you from procuring that freedom for yourselves, which *Syracuse* found in your city? *Hippocrates* and I will assist you to the utmost of our power; and promise you in the name of our republic, and in that of the great *Hannibal*, that you shall be soon in a condition to act as independently of *Syracuse*, as that city has done of you." The name of liberty was so agreeable to the *Leontines*, that with one consent they declared *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* their generals; protesting, that whatever measures *Syracuse* might take, they would enter into none, but such as were approved of by their new commanders. Hence, when the *Syracusians* sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the *Romans*, and to demand, that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* should be expelled *Sicily*, neither their complaints nor demands were heard. They received only this proud answer, That the republic of *Leontini* had not impowered that of *Syracuse* to comprehend her in their alliance with the *Romans* ^u.

Hippocrates and Epicydes elected generals of the Leontines.

Marcellus marches against the Leontines.

THE *Syracusan* deputies informed the consul of the revolt of the *Leontines*; and not only left him at liberty to declare war against them without any infraction of the treaty made with their republic; but even offered to assist him in so just a war, on condition that the *Leontines*, when subdued, should again be subject to the *Syracusians*, their antient masters. *Marcellus* immediately took upon him the command of the troops which served under *Appius* the prætor, whom he appointed his lieutenant, and marched against the city of *Leontini*. The legionaries were so enraged at the remembrance of the unexpected massacre of their companions

by *Hippocrates*, that they took the place at the first assault. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had time to save themselves in the city taken by *dél*, whence they withdrew the night following, and retired *Marcellus* to *Erbeffus*, or *Herbeffus*, on the river *Anapus*, near the frontiers of the *Syracusan* territories. In their retreat they were informed, that a body of eight thousand men was marching from *Syracuse*, under the command of *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, to join *Marcellus*. Whereupon the two cunning partisans of *Hannibal* hired men of their faction to meet those two commanders on the road, and to pretend, that they had escaped from the general slaughter at *Leontini*, where the *Romans* had put all the inhabitants to death, and burnt the city to the ground. *Marcellus* indeed had caused all the *Roman* deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, to be beheaded; but had treated both the inhabitants, and the mercenary troops, with his usual clemency; nay, he was busy at that very time in restoring the inhabitants their goods; and scarce any thing had been taken out of their houses, but what the soldiers had seized in their first fury. However, this false report made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not prevail upon them to march any farther, but were forced to lead them to *Megara*, a city in that neighbourhood. There they had a more certain account of what had passed at *Leontini*; and, having discovered the cheat *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had put upon them, they resolved to be revenged, and pursued them to *Erbeffus*. The two chiefs of the *Carthaginian* party, hearing that the *Syracusians* were on full march to *Erbeffus*, and dreading the resentment of the two commanders, whom they had exasperated with the false reports which had caused a tumult in the army, took this desperate step. Remembling that they had formerly acquired great reputation among the *Syracusan* troops, that had served under them in the time of *Hieronymus*, and consisted chiefly of foreigners and mercenaries, they resolved to leave their asylum, meet the army, and throw themselves upon the mercy of the soldiers. It happened luckily for them, that a body of *Epicydes* *Cretans*, who were greatly addicted to the *Carthaginians*, were marching at the head of the *Syracusan* army. These *Cretans* had formerly served the *Romans* as auxiliaries; but, being taken prisoners at the battle of *Tirafymenus*, had been kindly treated by *Hannibal*, and sent home without ransom. To them therefore *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* addressed themselves as suppliants; and, presenting them with olive-branches, which were the symbols of peace, “*Cretans*,” said they, “we now expect you will shew us some marks of your friendship and gratitude, not suffering the *Syracusians* to give us up to the fury of the *Romans*.” The *Cretans*, affected with their speech,

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Hippocrates and Epicydes, seeing the disposition of the army, invented a stratagem worthy of Hannibal himself. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to Marcellus, and hired a courier, who was to suffer himself to be taken in the road from Megara to Syracuse. The letter was couched in the following terms : Sosis and Dinomenes to the consul Marcellus, greeting. We are overjoyed to hear, that you have put all the Leontines to the sword, especially the mercenaries, who were commanded by Hippocrates. Our republic will never be at rest, while we have any of these foreigners amongst us. Turn then your arms towards Megara, and deliver Syracuse from the mercenaries we command. It is easy to imagine what effect the reading of this letter must have had on the minds of the soldiers. They immediately cried, *To arms !* and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not saved themselves by flight to Syracuse, whither the calumny followed them. For Hippocrates and Epicydes, having corrupted one of the soldiers, who had been shut up in Leontini, sent him away to Syracuse, that he might appear there as an eye-witness of the pretended cruelties practised by Marcellus at the taking of the city. He exaggerated the inhumanity of the Romans ; and declared, that every thing had been destroyed by fire and sword. This report found credit not only among the common people, but even among some of the magistrates. The informer was brought into the senate, and, being examined, his deposition raised a jealousy among the leading men of the republic, who thought it necessary to shut the gates of Syracuse, and guard the city against the Romans, as an enemy, whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. However, this falsehood did not take with all ; there were but few besides the populace and soldiery, who gave into it ; the rest were undeceived by Sosis and Dinomenes *.

immediately took them under their protection, and promised either to share their danger, or deliver them out of it. Sosis and Dinomenes ordered the two prisoners to be put in irons, as enemies of the state ; but the soldiers refused to obey their orders, protesting that they would stand by them to the last drop of their blood : so that the two generals were forced to let the criminals escape unpunished, and guard, as well as they could, against new intrigues. And now Hippocrates and Epicydes, seeing the disposition of the army, invented a stratagem worthy of Hannibal himself. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to Marcellus, and hired a courier, who was to suffer himself to be taken in the road from Megara to Syracuse. The letter was couched in the following terms : Sosis and Dinomenes to the consul Marcellus, greeting. We are overjoyed to hear, that you have put all the Leontines to the sword, especially the mercenaries, who were commanded by Hippocrates. Our republic will never be at rest, while we have any of these foreigners amongst us. Turn then your arms towards Megara, and deliver Syracuse from the mercenaries we command. It is easy to imagine what effect the reading of this letter must have had on the minds of the soldiers. They immediately cried, *To arms !* and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not saved themselves by flight to Syracuse, whither the calumny followed them. For Hippocrates and Epicydes, having corrupted one of the soldiers, who had been shut up in Leontini, sent him away to Syracuse, that he might appear there as an eye-witness of the pretended cruelties practised by Marcellus at the taking of the city. He exaggerated the inhumanity of the Romans ; and declared, that every thing had been destroyed by fire and sword. This report found credit not only among the common people, but even among some of the magistrates. The informer was brought into the senate, and, being examined, his deposition raised a jealousy among the leading men of the republic, who thought it necessary to shut the gates of Syracuse, and guard the city against the Romans, as an enemy, whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. However, this falsehood did not take with all ; there were but few besides the populace and soldiery, who gave into it ; the rest were undeceived by Sosis and Dinomenes *.

IN the mean time Hippocrates and Epicydes, taking advantage of the absence of Sosis and Dinomenes, made themselves masters of the army, and so incensed them against their generals, that they were for cutting in pieces the few Syracusan troops that served among them, as privy to their design of destroying all the foreigners ; but the two Carthaginians

* Liv. *ibid.* c. 34, 35.

stopped their fury, not so much out of compassion as policy. They were sensible, that the massacre of those innocent men would have provoked the citizens of *Syracuse* against them ; whereas, by protecting them, they secured to themselves both their friendship, and that of their relations. Having taking these precautions, they began their march to *Syracuse* ; and, finding the gates shut, they prevailed upon the officers of Hippo- the guard to open one, declaring, that their only design was crates and to defend the city against the *Romans*. Some part of the Epicydes army was already entered, when the *Syracusan* prætors, hast- enter Sy- ening to the gate, commanded it to be shut ; but the soldiers racle. without, and populace within, conspiring together, the few *Syracusan* troops, that were then under arms, could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and possessing themselves of the quarter called *Tyche*. The prætors retired to *Acradina* ; but, as they had only a handful of young citizens to defend it, that post was soon forced, and all the prætors, who were there, massacred, except *Sosis*, who escaped in the tumult, and took sanctuary in the *Roman* camp. Thus Rule with the two partisans of *Carthage* became masters of *Syracuse* ; an absolute and, having the people and troops at their devotion, ruled sway ; with as absolute and arbitrary a sway, as any tyrants had done before them. And now, foreseeing that *Marcellus* would soon lay siege to the city, they neglected nothing that was necessary to put it in a posture of defence. They gave the slaves their liberty, and inrolled them in the troops. They set free all prisoners, assembled the people to elect new prætors, and prevailed upon the blind multitude to elect them and are only, which was confirming the sovereignty they had usurped. elected

MARCELLUS no sooner heard, that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* prætors. were become masters of *Syracuse*, but he left *Leontini* ; and, at the intreaties of the prætors, who had fled for refuge to his camp, came and invested the city. The *Roman* prætor *Marcellus* Appian still endeavoured to bring about an accommodation, invests and with this view sent two galleys to *Syracuse*, with embaf- Syracuse. sadors to negotiate a reconciliation between the *Romans* and the citizens. But one of the galleys being by a violent storm driven into the port, the *Syracusians* seized it, and by that act of hostility declared war. The other gally, which had the ambassadors on board, returned without landing them, lest the law of nations should be violated in their persons. However, *Marcellus*, who was encamped near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, about a mile and an half from the city, in order to bring the *Syracusians* to reason, sent in a new embassy ; but *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, hearing of their approach, went out to meet them with a numerous attendance, not caring they should come into the city. The *Roman* who

*Proposes
terms for
an accom-
modation ;*

*which are
rejected by
Hippo-
crates.*

*Syracuse
besieged by
Marcel-
lus.*

*Year of
the flood
2146.
Bef. Chr.
202.*

*Archime-
des de-
fends Sy-
racuse
with his
surprising
machines.*

who was at the head of the embassy, addressing the *Syracusians*, told them, that the *Roman* consul was not come as an enemy to deprive them of their liberty, but to rescue them from the oppression they groaned under, and to revenge the death of their murdered prætors ; and that, if they suffered their magistrates, who had sheltered themselves in the *Roman* camp, to return and live at home quietly, if they delivered up into the consul's hands the authors of the late slaughter, and restored the city of *Syracuse* to its antient liberty, the *Romans* would have no occasion to make use of arms, or employ any violence ; but, if they did not comply with these just demands, they should be obliged to treat them as enemies, and make them feel the most dreadful effects of war. To this *Hippocrates* haughtily replied, that, if they intended to besiege *Syracuse*, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between that city and *Leontini* ; and that, as for their demands, they would grant none of them. Having made this short reply, he turned his back upon the deputies, retired into the city with his attendants, and caused the gates to be shut. *Marcellus* therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land, and made the necessary preparations for so great an undertaking *.

WHEN the *Romans* had taken their posts, they hoped to carry the city of *Syracuse* by assault, as they had lately done that of *Leontini*. The attack was general on the side of *Acradina* by sea, and of *Tyche* by land. *Marcellus* took upon him the command of the fleet, leaving the land-forces to be conducted by *Appian*. The city was twenty-two miles in compass, nevertheless *Marcellus* caused machines of various sorts to be raised all round it, in hopes of finding some weak place in so vast a compass of walls ; but, to his great surprize, he found all places equally defended by the wonderful industry of a single man. This was the celebrated *Archimedes*, who, at the request of king *Hiero*, to whom he was related, had framed such engines of war, as quite disconcerted the measures of the *Romans*. That pacific prince had no occasion to make use of these masterpieces of art, during the whole length of his reign ; nor, probably, did he ever imagine, that they would be first used against his faithful allies the *Romans*. But *Hippocrates* and *Epicycles*, finding how useful both the machines and the contriver might prove at so critical a conjuncture, prevailed upon that great mathematician to undertake the defence of his country ; and to his genius alone it was owing that the city, though of so large a compass, held out near three years against the utmost efforts

* LIV. l. xxiv. c. 24. POLYB. l. viii. PLUT. in Marcell.

of a consular army. The immense preparations, which the consul made for the taking of the city by storm, could not have failed carrying it, had it not been defended by *Archimedes*. The *Roman* fleet consisted of sixty quinqueremes, besides a far greater number of other ships. The decks were covered with soldiers armed with darts, slings, and bows, to drive the besieged from the ramparts, which on the side of *Acradina* were washed by the sea, and to facilitate the approach to the walls. But a machine of *Marcellus's* own invention was what he chiefly depended on. He had fastened together side-ways eight galleys of different lengths, which made but one large body, and were rowed only by the oars of the outermost galleys. These eight galleys, thus joined, served only as a basis for a machine, which was raised up higher than the highest towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform guarded with parapets in front, and on each side. This machine was called a *fambuca*, from its resemblance to a musical instrument of that name, not unlike an harp. The consul's design was to bring his *fambuca* to the foot of the walls of *Acradina*; but, while it was at a considerable distance (and it advanced very slow, being moved only by two ranks of rowers), *Archimedes* discharged from one of his engines a vast stone, weighing, according to *Plutarch's* account (R), twelve hundred and fifty pounds, then a second, and immediately after a third; all which, falling

*The fam-
buca in-
vented by
Marcellus*

*Rendered
useless by
Archime-
des.*

(R) It is not easy to conceive, how the machines formed by *Archimedes* could throw stones of ten quintals, or of ten talents weight, as *Plutarch* expresses it (43), at the fleet of *Marcellus*, when it was at a considerable distance from the walls of *Syracuse*. If what *Plutarch* affirms be true, our artillery falls short of those frightful machines. Some have therefore questioned that author's account, and adhered to *Polybius*, who reduces the stones that were thrown by the *balistæ* made by *Archimedes*, to the weight of ten pounds. If we suppose, that each of these stones, or rather rocks, weighed ten quintals, we cannot compute them at less than twelve hundred

and fifty pounds weight each, at the rate of an hundred and twenty-five pounds each quintal or talent, according to the custom of computing received among the antient *Greeks*, and here used by *Plutarch*. *Lévy* seems to agree with *Polybius*, and only says, that the machines of *Archimedes* threw stones of a great weight on the galleys of *Marcellus*. If we reckon the talents mentioned by *Plutarch*, according to the talents used in *Sicily*, the stones will be reduced to the weight of 25 pounds only: nay, some authors infer from various passages of *Suidas*, *Pollux*, and *Festus*, that the talent of *Sicily* scarce weighed ten pounds.

upon the *sambuca* with a dreadful noise, broke its supports, and gave the gallies, upon which it stood, such a violent shock, that they parted, and the machine, which *Marcellus* had raised upon them at a vast trouble and expence, was battered to pieces. At the same time several other machines, which were not visible without the walls, and consequently did not lessen the confidence of the *Romans* in the assault, played incessantly upon their ships, and overwhelmed them with showers of stones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron; insomuch that *Marcellus*, being at a loss what to do, retired with all possible haste, and sent orders to his land-forces to do the same; for the attack on the land-side was attended with no better success, the ranks being broken, and thrown into the utmost confusion, by the stones and darts, which flew with such noise, force, and rapidity, that they struck the *Romans* with terror, and dashed all to pieces before them.

Marcellus, surpris'd, though not discouraged, at this artificial storm, which he did not expect, held a council of war, in which it was resolv'd, the next day before sun-rise, to come up close under the wall, and keep there. They were in hopes, by this means, to secure themselves against this terrible storm of stones and darts, which fell on the ships when at a distance. But *Archimedes* had prepared engines, which were adapted to all distances. When the *Romans* therefore had brought their ships close under the wall, and thought themselves well covered, they were unexpectedly overwhelmed with a new shower of darts and stones, which fell perpendicularly on their heads, and oblig'd them to retire with great precipitation. But they were no sooner got at some distance, than a new shower of darts overtook them, which made a dreadful havock of the men, while stones of an immense weight, discharged from other machines, either disabled, or broke in pieces, most of their gallies. This loss they sustain'd, without being able to revenge it in the least on the enemy. For *Archimedes* had plac'd most of his engines behind the walls, and not only out of the reach, but even out of the sight, of the enemy; so that the *Romans* were repuls'd with a dreadful slaughter, without seeing the hand that occasioned it, as if they had been fighting, to use *Plutarch's* expression, not with men, but with the gods themselves. What most harass'd the *Romans* in the attack by sea, was a sort of crow with iron claws, fasten'd to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the gallies. Then the besieged, by a great weight of lead

Great havock made by the engines of *Archimedes*.

at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the gally, to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. After this the crow letting go its hold all on a sudden, the prow of the gally fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water, and sunk. At other times the machines, dragging ships to the shore by hooks, dashed them to pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls. Other vessels were quite lifted up into the air, there whirled about with incredible rapidity, and then let fall into the sea, and sunk, with all that were in them. How these stupendous works were effected, few, if any, have hitherto been able to understand. Some writers are of opinion, that *Plutarch* and *Polybius*, from whom we have these accounts, had no better authority for their relations than a tradition, founded only on the ignorance of those who handed it down to them. The *Romans*, say they, in the time of *Marcellus*, did not value themselves upon diving into the secrets of mechanism; and therefore, to extol the conqueror of *Syracuse*, took pleasure in magnifying every thing, and making miracles of the most common effects of mechanics. Thus some authors reason, and choose to lessen the credit of venerable writers, and of *Archimedes* himself, rather than honestly confess, that the machines, as described by *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Livy*, were wonders of mechanism, which every man is not capable of understanding.

THE troops, under the command of *Appius*, suffered no less in this second attack than the fleet. In the whole space of ground, which the army, when formed, took up, the last files, as well as the first, were overwhelmed with showers of darts and flints, against which they could not possibly defend themselves. When they had with infinite trouble brought the mantelets and covered galleries, under which they were to work the rams, near the foot of the wall, *Archimedes*, discharged such large beams and stones upon them, as crushed them to pieces. If any brave *Roman* ventured to draw too near to the wall, iron hooks were immediately let down from above, which, taking hold of his cloaths, or some part of his body, lifted him up in the air, and dashed out his brains with the fall. Thus one single man repulsed two *Roman* armies, by mere dint of genius, without having any occasion to make use of the sword. The *Syracusians* were no more than his instruments in managing the machines according to his directions, while he himself was the soul that presided over all their powers and operations. *Marcellus*, though at a loss what to do, could not however forbear expressing him-

self with pleasantry : Shall we persist, said he to his workmen, in making war upon this *Briareus*, upon this giant with an hundred hands ? But the soldiers were so terrified, that, if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they immediately turned their backs, and fled, crying out, that *Archimedes* was going to discharge some dreadful machine upon them ².

Marcellus
reduces
several
cities.

Hamilco
arrives
with a
powerful
fleet and
army.

Hippo-
crates
takes the
field with
part of the
forces.

MARCELLUS and *Claudius*, seeing their troops thus disheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, called a council, in which it was resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, shut up all the avenues to the place both by sea and land, and force it to surrender by famine. But, in the mean time, that so great an army might not continue inactive before one single city, *Marcellus*, leaving *Appius* before *Syracuse* to intercept all convoys to it, put himself at the head of two-thirds of the *Roman* troops, and set out to re-conquer the cities, which, in this general disturbance of *Sicily*, had deserted the *Romans*. *Elorum* and *Herbessus* surrendered of their own accord, and were kindly treated by the conqueror ; but *Megara*, having stood a siege, was taken, and rased to the ground ; which struck no small terror into the *Syracusians*, who now began to fear the like fate. After *Marcellus* had reduced a great many cities without opposition, there being no army in the field to oppose him, at last *Hamilco* entered the port of *Heraclea* with a numerous fleet sent from *Certhage*, and landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner set ashore, but he marched against *Agrirentum*, which he retook from the *Romans*, with several other cities lately reduced by *Marcellus*. Upon the news of his arrival and progress, which were soon known at *Syracuse*, the garrison, which was yet intire, and had suffered no hardships from the siege, was very impatient to take the field, and join *Hamilco*. Accordingly it was resolved, that *Epicycles* should command in the city, during the blockade, and *Hippocrates* march out at the head of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to carry on the war in concert with *Hamilco*, and stop the progress of *Marcellus*. This design was executed in the night without difficulty. *Hippocrates*, at the head of his detachment, broke through the *Roman* lines, and encamped at *Acrille*, a small town to the south of *Syracuse*.

IN the mean time *Marcellus*, after having made a vain attempt upon *Agrirentum*, which was held by *Hamilco*, was returning with his army to *Syracuse*. He did not know that

² PLUT. POLYB. LIV. ubi supra.

Hippocrates had broken out of the besieged city, and was so near him ; but nevertheless marched in good order for fear of a surprize. As he drew near *Acrilla*, he unexpectedly discovered the enemy busy in fortifying their camp, in order to pass the night there ; whereupon he advanced in great haste, and, falling upon them before they had time to draw up, cut eight thousand of them in pieces. ^{Is defeat-} The cavalry, ^{ed by Mar-} cellus, with a small body of infantry, made their escape, under the conduct of *Hippocrates*, to *Acra* (S), a city belonging to *Syracuse* ; and *Marcellus*, after this victory, which kept several cities steady in the interest of *Rome*, pursued his march to *Syracuse*, and kept it more closely blocked up than ever ^a.

WHILE *Marcellus* and *Appius* continued inactive before *Both Syracuse*, succours were brought both to the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, the two republics being resolved to make their and *Romans* utmost efforts in *Sicily*. *Bomilcar* arrived at *Syracuse* with a *mans* fleet of fifty sail, and about the same time a *Roman* fleet *cease* ^{new} brought a whole legion to *Panormus*. This legion *Hamilco* *supplies*. hoped to surprize, before they reached the *Roman* camp ; but they luckily kept along the coast, and arrived safe at cape *Pachynum*, while *Hamilco*, expecting they would have crossed the country, lay in wait for them at a great distance from the shore. At *Pachynum* *Appius* met them with a large detachment, and conducted them to the main body of the army before *Syracuse*. As for *Bomilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, soon after his arrival he put to sea again, and returned to *Carthage*, upon advice that the *Roman* fleet, which was far more strong than his, was advancing to attack him. *Hamilco*, being joined by *Hippocrates*, and the few troops that had escaped the late slaughter, advanced to *Syracuse*, in order to draw *Marcellus* to a battle ; but, finding the *Roman* general kept close in his lines, which were well fortified, he left *Syracuse* ; and, marching about the country, drew several cities off from the *Romans*. *Murgantia* betrayed the *Roman* *Carthagi-* garison into his hands, and surrendered. *Enna*, a city of *nians*.

^a Liv. l. xxiv. c. 35:

(S) *Acra* was built, according to *Thucydides* (44), by the *Syracusians* about the fourth year of the eighth *Olympiad*, seventy years after the foundation of *Syracuse*. *Cluverius* plainly proves from the march which *Hippo-*

crates here takes, and from the old itineraries, that this city stood near the monastery, which the *Sicilians* call *Santa Maura d'Arcia*, between the cities of *Noto* and *Avula*, about twenty-four miles from *Syracuse*.

(44) *Thucyd.* l. vi.

The city of
Enna pre-
served by
Pinarius

great importance, intended to follow the example of *Murgantia*; but *Pinarius*, the commander of the garison, being alarmed at the reports which were spread of the revolt of many cities, after having massacred the *Roman* garisons, kept part of his men under arms night and day; so that all the *Sicilian* artifices to deceive him proved ineffectual. He set and relieved the guards himself, and was ever ready against all events, as if *Hamilco* had been at the gates. The inhabitants therefore, who had promised to deliver up the city to *Hamilco*, finding that *Pinarius* could not be surpris'd, resolv'd to attempt something by open force, and, assembling in crowds, demanded of him the keys of their city. *Pinarius* calmly told them, that he had received the keys of the city, and his commission to guard it, from his general; that it was in vain to apply to him, while the consul was within reach; and lastly, that he could not disobey the orders of his general, without drawing upon himself, and his family, the severest punishments. The *Ennenses* answered, that if he did not, of his own accord, comply with their request, they would deliver themselves from their present slavery by force. To which *Pinarius* replied, that, since they would not be at the trouble of recurring to *Marcellus*, he desired they would at least suffer an assembly of the people to be called, that he might know whether this was the motion of a few only, or of the whole city. This being granted, and the assembly appointed to meet the next day, *Pinarius*, perceiving that the multitude were determin'd to come to some violent resolution, took his measures accordingly. In order to secure himself against their furious attempts, he retired with his garison into the citadel, and there acquainted them with the danger that threaten'd them. The perfidious *Ennenses*, said he, design to put us all to death, and then surrender themselves up to the *Carthaginians*. An assembly of the people is appointed to meet to-morrow. By break of day therefore our fate, or that of the treacherous *Sicilians*, must be determin'd. If we are not by that time masters of their lives and fortunes, they will be of ours. Let us not then suffer them to prevent us. Arm yourselves, and wait for a signal from me. I shall be at the assembly, and, when I give you a signal with my robe, make a great shout, fall on the citizens, and cut them in pieces, without giving any quarter. Having thus spoken, he posted some of his troops in the avenues to the market-place, and others in the theatre, where the assembly was held. As soon as it was day, *Pinarius* came to the place appointed, and represented to the multitude, that he could not surrender the keys without incurring the displeasure of his general, which would prove fatal to him, and

his

his children. Upon this the whole multitude cried out, that he must deliver the keys; and that, as to the incurring the displeasure of his general, that was nothing to them. They then crowded round him, and began to offer violence; when *Pinarius* starting up, Your blood, said he, shall atone for the affront you offer a *Roman* officer; and immediately gave the signal agreed on, and the soldiers; rushing in upon the unarmed multitude, began the slaughter. Some posted themselves at the doors, that none might escape; others, sword in hand, fell upon those who had surrounded their commander. The floor, and seats of the theatre were in an instant covered with blood, and as many were stifled in endeavouring to escape, as fell by the sword. The slaughter in the streets was no less dreadful, the dead and wounded lying every-where in heaps; none were spared, and the city was treated, as if it had been taken by assault, and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Thus *Enna* was kept in the hands of the *Romans*, who excused their conduct on this occasion, by saying, that they had only been beforehand with those, who designed to treat them in the same manner. And indeed *Marcellus*, who was a man of a very mild and humane temper, approved of this action, and even granted the soldiers all the plunder which had been found in the city. But, as the city of *Enna* was consecrated to *Ceres*, and her daughter *Proserpine*, the *Sicilians* were highly offended at the massacre of the *Ennenses*, and their revolts became daily more frequent ^b.

The inhabitants
massacred
by the Roman
garrison.

In the mean time *Marcellus*, having kept all the avenues to *Syracuse* shut up the whole summer, thought it advisable to put his men into winter-quarters in some place near the beleagued city; and accordingly retired to *Leon* (T) in that neighbourhood, to watch there the city, and keep it blocked up till spring. He sent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome*, that prætor intending to ask the consulship against the next year, a dig-

lus retires
to winter-
quarters.

^b Liv. *ibid*.

(T) The town of *Leon* stood north of *Syracuse*, six or seven furlongs from *Hexapylum*, as *Thucydides* informs us (45). *Hexapylum* was a stately building, which served for an entrance into *Syracuse* by the quarter called *Tyche*. *Livy* (46) reckons the distance between *Hexapylum* and *Leon* to be five thousand paces. But this seems very improbable;

for *Marcellus* encamped there with a design to continue the blockade of *Syracuse*. Interpreters, therefore, commonly take for granted, that the text of *Livy* is corrupted; and that we ought to read *Mille & quingentis passibus*, instead of *quinque milia passuum*. By this correction *Livy's* account agrees better with that of *Thucydides*.

(45) *Thucyd.* l. vi.

(46) *Liv.* l. xxiv. c. 37.

nity which he had well deserved. *T. Quintius Crispinus*, one of *Marcellus's* lieutenants, was put in his room; and soon after new consuls being created, viz. *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *Marcellus*, from being consul, became proconsul in *Sicily*, and commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces there.

WHEN the season of the year suffered the proconsul to take the field again, he was at a loss what to do; some of his officers advised him to attack *Hamilco* in *Agrigentum*, and others to return to his trenches before *Syracuse*, and continue the blockade. But the wise proconsul foresaw, that it would be impossible for him to take the city either by force, while it was defended by *Archimedes*; or by famine, while the *Carthaginian* fleet, which was returned far more numerous than before, supplied it with provisions. He therefore thought, that the only expedient was, to try whether he could make himself master of *Syracuse* by some secret intelligence. There were many *Syracusians* in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. *Marcellus* therefore disclosed his scheme to these faithful allies, and impowered them to offer their countrymen their lives and liberties, if they surrendered to the *Romans*. The *Syracusians* in the camp zealously entered into the proconsul's measures; but, as they found it impossible to carry on a correspondence with their friends in the city, they resolved to send into *Syracuse* a trusty slave, as a deserter, to acquaint their friends with the proconsul's proposals. The slave acquitted himself of his charge with great fidelity, and above fourscore persons of distinction, hiding themselves under the nets in a fisher-boat, came successively to the *Roman* camp, and conferred in person with *Marcellus*. But, when the conspiracy was upon the point of taking effect, one *Attalus*, in resentment for not having been admitted into it, discovered the whole to *Epicycles*, who put all the conspirators to death.

MARCELLUS, seeing his scheme thus defeated, found himself involved in new difficulties. Nothing came into his thoughts, but the grief and shame of raising a siege, after having spent so much time in it, and lost great numbers of men and ships. While he was deliberating what to do, an unforeseen accident revived his hopes of gaining at last the place. *Epicycles* had sent one *Damippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, to demand succours of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*. *Damippus* was taken by some ships of the *Roman* squadron, and brought to the camp of *Marcellus*. But *Epicycles*, extremely concerned at his detention, expressed a great desire to ransom the prisoner; and the *Roman* general was not averse to it, *Rome* having

having her reasons to keep up a good understanding with *Lacedæmon* at that time. Conferences therefore were appointed to be held near *Syracuse*, at a place called *Portus Trogilorum* (U), by the foot of a tower called *Galeagra*. As the deputies went to and fro, it came into a *Roman* soldier's thoughts to consider the wall with attention. After having counted the stones, which were all of an equal size, and examined with his eye the measure of each, he found that the wall was not so high as had been imagined, and concluded that it might be scaled with ladders of a moderate size. The soldier therefore, without loss of time, gave the proconsul an account of what he had observed, and *Marcellus* did not neglect the hint; he examined the place himself, and found that the soldier's observations were very just. But the difficulty was, how to come with his men to the place, which indeed was weak, but well defended with *Archimedes's* machines, and guarded with extraordinary care. While *Marcellus* was meditating with himself by what stratagem he might surprize the centinels there on guard, a deserter informed him, that the *Syracusians* were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the festival of *Diana* (W), which lasted three days; and that *Epicydes*, who wanted other provisions, designed to distribute wine in great plenty among the people and soldiers. Upon this advice *Marcellus* resolved to attack the city in one of the nights during the festival, not confining the assault to the weak place, but making it general. To this end he held a council with some tribunes of the army, and chose out a certain number of the most resolute centurions, giving them leave to select a thousand men out of the whole army. These were ordered first to take a repast, and

Marcellus resolves upon a general assault.

(U) *Trogilorum* was a name common both to a suburb and a port near *Syracuse*; both which lay north of *Tyche* and *Acradina*. As to the tower called *Galeagra*, it stood near the *Portus Trogilorum*, where *Tyche* and *Acradina* joined.

(W) This festival was celebrated in honour of *Diana*, under the name of *Artemis*, not only at *Syracuse*, but at *Delphi*, and in most cities of *Greece*. On this occasion they offered to the

goddess a mullet, as being thought to bear some sort of relation to her; because it is said to hunt and kill the sea-hare (47). The bread offered to the goddess was called *lachia*, and the women, who performed the sacred rites, *lombai* (48). The *Greeks* celebrated no fewer than twenty-two festivals in honour of *Diana*; of which *Johnson* in his work, intitled *de festis Græcorum*, gives a minute and distinct account.

(47) *Artenæus*, l. vii.

(48) *Hesychius & Athenæus*, *ibid.*

then to repose till the trumpet called them. In the mean time ladders were prepared, with great secrecy, to prevent the enemy from being informed by their spies. The *Roman* general determined to make his attack, when the townsmen and soldiers, after having drunk plentifully, were in their first sleep. The scaling-ladders were committed to the management of one single *manipulus* or company, consisting of an hundred and twenty men. Those advanced silently to the foot of the wall, to which they applied their ladders, and made themselves masters of the tower *Galeagra*, without meeting with the least opposition, or even being discovered, the soldiers being all asleep after their debauch. When the first had gained the top of the ramparts without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. At length this whole detachment, consisting of a thousand chosen men, got safe and undiscovered into the city. In the mean time another detachment, taking advantage of the enemy's stillness (for they were all either drunk or asleep), beat down one of the gates of *Hexapylum*, and gave a free passage to a great body of *Romans* on that side. Other detachments scaled the walls in different parts, and they all met at *Hexapylum*, which had before been appointed for the place of their general rendezvous. The *Romans* now kept silence no longer, but advanced in order of battle, and made themselves masters of the quarter called *Epipolæ*, which was encompassed with the same common wall as *Ortygia*, *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*; had its own citadel called *Euryalum* on the top of a steep rock, and was, we may say, a fifth city. Here the *Romans* spent the night, making a dreadful noise with their trumpets, in order to strike terror into the enemy. The sound was not heard all over this vast city, but it reached far enough to alarm all *Tyche*, and throw that quarter into the utmost consternation: some of the inhabitants there, thinking the *Romans* already in possession of the whole city, leaped down from the walls into the ditch, while others, falling in with the *Roman* guards, were cut in pieces. Notwithstanding this confusion *Marcellus* waited till day-break; and then, having beat down the stately entrance with six gates, called *Hexapylum*, he entered *Tyche* with his army in battalia c.

At the mean time *Epicydes*, who was quartered in the farthest part of *Ortygia*, at a great distance from the places possessed by the *Romans*, hearing that the enemy had seized on *Epipolæ* and *Tyche*, went out of the island, and crossed *Acradina* at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries, with a

design to drive the *Romans* from their posts, imagining that only a few desperate men had scaled the walls. But when he saw, to his great surprize, all *Epipolæ* full of legionaries, after a slight skirmish, he retired into *Acradina* to allay the people's fears, and prevent a tumult. Then *Marcellus*, marching from *Tyche* to *Epipolæ*, joined the detachment, which had possessed themselves of that quarter in the night. As *Marcellus* was now on the point of becoming master of one of the finest and most opulent cities in the world, his officers did not fail to congratulate him on his success. But he, considering from an eminence the beauty and extent of *Marcellus* that great and stately metropolis, is said to have shed tears, being touched with compassion on the miseries, to which so many inhabitants, formerly rich and fortunate, were going to be reduced. He called to mind the two powerful *Athenian* fleets, which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them; the many wars sustained with so much valour against the *Carthaginians*; the famous tyrant, and kings, who had reigned in that ancient metropolis, *Hiero* particularly, who had signalized himself by the important services he had rendered the people of *Rome*, whose interests had been as dear to him as his own. Moved with these reflections, and his natural inclination to try gentle methods before he used violence, he thought it incumbent upon him to engage the *Syracusan* noblemen of his party to solicit their countrymen to surrender of their own accord, that they might thereby prevent the sacking of the city. The soldiers murmured a little at the general's good-nature, looking upon *Syracuse*, and its immense riches, as a sure booty. Their wishes were but too successful; for the *Syracusians* would hearken to no proposals, though the *Romans* were already masters of a considerable part of the city. *Acradina*, the strongest and best part of the city, was not yet taken; and *Epicydes* had appointed the *Roman* deserters to guard it, who, as they were to die according to the *Roman* laws, though the town were taken by composition, watched all the avenues to it with extreme care. *Marcellus* therefore, leaving *Acradina*, turned his arms against the citadel of *Epipolæ*, called *Euryalum*, which was not yet taken. This fort stood on an eminence, at some distance from the sea, and commanded the great road by which the convoys were brought into the city. The governor was an *Argian*, by name *Philodemus*, and had been entrusted with the defence of the place by *Epicydes*. *Sosis*, who had formerly taken sanctuary in the *Roman* camp, hoped to prevail upon him to capitulate. But the artful *Greek*, having demanded time to consider, put off

Tyche
and Nea-
polis plun-
dered.

The cita-
del of Epi-
polæ sur-
rendered.

The Car-
thaginians
attack at
the same
time the
Roman
camp, and
Marcellus
in the city.

off the surrender of the citadel from day to day, not doubting but *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* would hasten to the relief of *Syracuse* already half taken. Hereupon *Marcellus*, encamping between *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, cut off all communication with *Epipolæ*, hoping to reduce the citadel in a very short time by famine. In this new camp the inhabitants of *Tyche* and *Neapolis* sent deputies to him, intreating him to spare their lives, and preserve their houses from being plundered. Their city had been taken by assault; so that, according to the laws of war, the conqueror was master of their lives and fortunes. However, *Marcellus* shewed them some clemency. The plunder of the place was due to the soldiers, as a reward of their valour, and he could not deprive them of it without injustice; but he enjoined them, under pain of death, not to kill, or any-ways abuse, the inhabitants; and even posted guards in all the avenues, to see that his orders were put in execution. No city was ever plundered with so much order, or less cruelty. The soldiers, breaking open the houses, seized indeed every thing they found; money, moveables, and provisions; but did not offer the least violence to the vanquished. The booty was immense; but it only raised their expectations of a greater, when *Acradina* and *Ortygia* should be taken. During this military execution, *Philodemus*, governor of the citadel of *Epipolæ*, despairing of being able to subsist in the midst of a plundered city, which could not supply him any longer with provisions, came to terms with the proconsul; and, being allowed to march out with his men, and join *Epicydes*, put the citadel into the hands of the Romans. Then *Marcellus*, turning all his efforts against *Acradina*, blocked it up so close, that it could not hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions ^d.

DURING these transactions *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* appeared before *Syracuse*, and their arrival gave the Romans no small apprehension. *Marcellus*, as we have said, was shut up within the walls, being encamped between *Neapolis*, or the *New City*, and *Tyche*, in a place which was almost destitute of inhabitants; *Crispinus* was not yet entered *Syracuse*, but still continued in the old post of the Romans. The two Carthaginian generals, after having taken a view of both camps, resolved to divide the attacks between them. *Hamilco* was to fall upon *Marcellus's* camp, while *Hippocrates* endeavoured to force the trenches of *Crispinus*. The Carthaginian fleet at the same time was drawn up in line of battle along the coast within reach of *Acradina*, so as to cut off all communication between the forces of *Marcellus*, which sur-

^d Liv. l. xxv. c. 23. PLUT. in vita Marcell.

rounded *Acradina*, and *Crispinus*. *Hippocrates* began the attack, and fell with the utmost fury upon the camp of *Crispinus*; but was three times repulsed with incredible bravery. *But are* At the same time *Hamilco* without, and *Epicyles* within the repulsed walls, attacked the posts of *Marcellus*; but were attended with no better success. *Epicyles* was forced to return into great loss. *Acradina* with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by *Marcellus*, who commanded there in person. After these two advantages the Roman general pitched three camps round *Acradina*, and kept it blocked up closer than ever; but durst not draw too near it for fear of the machines of *Archimedes*. The unfortunate *Syracusians* were now in the utmost distress, for want of provisions; and, to complete their misfortunes, a plague broke out among them. The infection began in the country, being occasioned by the excessive heat of the season, and the unwholesome exhalations of the neighbouring marshes. The two camps of *Hamilco* and *Crispinus* were first infected with it, and from the latter it spread to *Marcellus's* army, by means of his communication with *Crispinus*. Soon after it began to rage in *Acradina*; so that, within and without the city, nothing was seen but persons dead or dying. None durst relieve or assist the sick, for fear of being infected by them; and the bodies of the dead were, for the same reason, left without burial, to infect and poison the air with their stench and corruption. Nothing was heard night and day, but groans of dying men; and the heaps of dead bodies continually presented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the same fate. However, the distemper made less ravage in the two Roman armies, than in those of *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates*. As the latter had no place to retire to, and were not inured to the climate, and air of the country, being for the most part but lately come from *Africa*, they died daily in great numbers; and at length *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* themselves were carried off. Upon their death, most of the *Sicilian* troops, which had joined the *Carthaginians*, disbanded, and returned to their respective cities. Thus *Marcellus* was delivered from a great army, which had besieged him as close as he had done *Acradina*. He had now only a small body of *Sicilians* to contend with; for the *Carthaginians*, both officers and soldiers, were all swept off by the plague. The *Sicilians* retired to two small towns, strong by situation, and at a small distance from *Syracuse*; and there waited for a new reinforcement from *Carthage*, whither *Bomilcar* had sailed, to give the senate an account of the death of *Hamilco*, and the utter ruin of his army. He allayed the grief which this news occasioned, by representing, that the *Romans* had imprudently shut themselves

*A plague
breaks out
in Syra-
cuse.*

*Hamilco
and Hip-
ocrates
die of it.*

and re-
turns to
Sicily
with a
mighty
fleet.

selves up in one city to besiege another; that their troops were greatly diminished by the plague; and that it would be no difficult matter to besiege them, and bring them into the same streights, to which they had reduced *Acradina*. His speech revived the hopes of the senate, who gave him the command of an hundred and thirty galleys, with seven hundred transports, which formed a fleet considerably greater than that which the *Romans* had on the coasts of *Sicily*. With this squadron *Bomilcar* set sail from *Carthage*, and had a quick passage. The news of his return raised the courage of the besieged, and greatly disheartened the *Romans*, who were quite tired out with so long and tedious a siege. But, as *Bomilcar* was for several days prevented, by contrary winds, from doubling cape *Pachynum*, *Marcellus* had time to recollect himself, and cause his fleet to be got ready, with a design to engage that of the *Carthaginians*, though far superior in number to his. In the mean time *Epicyles*, fearing lest the *Carthaginians* should be surprised by the *Romans*, took it into his head to leave *Syracuse*, and go to the fleet, which was designed for his relief. On his arrival, he found *Bomilcar* uneasy about the event of a battle, and very backward to engage the *Romans*, of whose preparations he had been already informed. But, nevertheless, he was prevailed upon by *Epicyles* to venture an engagement, and advanced in sight of the *Roman* fleet. *Marcellus*, who commanded it, as soon as the high winds abated, began to prepare for a battle, when all on a sudden *Bomilcar*, doubling cape *Pachynum*, took to the main, and steered his course towards *Tarentum*, after having dispatched expresses to *Heraclea*, with orders to the transports, which lay there, to return to *Africa*. What induced him to take so sudden and unexpected a resolution, was never known. *Epicyles*, being thus disappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into a city already half taken; and therefore fled for refuge to *Agrigentum*; rather with a design to wait the event of the siege in a place of safety, than to make any attempts towards the relief of a city, which he had brought to destruction.

But unexpectedly
sets sail
again for
Africa.

Epicyles
retires to
Agrigentum.

The Syra-
cusians
propose to
capitulate.

WHEN it was known in the camp of the *Sicilians*, that *Epicyles* had quitted *Syracuse*, and the *Carthaginians* *Sicily*, they sent deputies to *Marcellus*, after having founded the disposition of the besieged, to treat of a surrender. It was unanimously agreed, both by the *Sicilians* in the camp, and the *Syracusians* in *Acradina*, to surrender on the following terms; viz. that all the demesnes of the kings of *Syracuse* should be delivered up to the *Romans*; and that *Rome* should suffer the *Syracusians* to live according to their own laws, and enjoy their estates and liberties. *Marcellus* was willing to grant

grant them the terms they demanded, in order to prevent the spilling of blood, and the ruining of so stately a city. But those whom *Epicyles* had entrusted with the government of the city during his absence, opposed the wise measures of the inhabitants. As these were all strangers, they were little concerned for the welfare of *Syracuse*, and still retained some hopes of relief, either from *Epicyles* or *Bomilcar*. But the magistrates, seeing the city already reduced to great straits, for want of provisions, resolved to get rid of their governors, and accordingly assassinated them all; and then, having assembled the people in the market-place, introduced to them the deputies from the camp, who had hitherto treated only for themselves. These, in a speech well calculated for the occasion, represented to the people, that they ought not to impute the calamities they groaned under to fortune, since it was in their power to deliver themselves from them, when they pleased; that the *Romans* had not undertaken the siege of *Syracuse* out of hatred, but out of affection to the inhabitants, having no other view but to rescue them out of the hands of the tyrants; that *Hippocrates* and *Epicyles* had brought all their misfortunes upon them; but, since one of them was carried off by the plague, and the other had deserted them out of fear, what remained but to have recourse to the clemency of the conqueror? The services, said they, of *Hiero*, and his faithful adherence to the *Romans*, are not intirely blotted out of their memories. Only consent to be reconciled to *Rome*, and you will be free and happy. *Marcellus*, out of good-nature, offers you advantageous terms, which if you do not accept, all subsequent calamities will be intirely chargeable on ourselves. Seize therefore the present opportunity, and, since you are delivered from your tyrants, let the first use you make of your liberty be to return to the *Romans*.

THIS discourse was received with general applause; and the assembly thought proper to create new magistrates before the nomination of the deputies, to make the embassy to *Marcellus* more solemn and authentic. Some of the prætors were in the number of the deputies; and the person who spoke, addressed himself to *Martellus* thus; “ You see at your feet the deputies of a people, who have been unfaithful to you against their will. *Hieronymus*, and not we, broke the alliance with *Rome*, wherein he did more hurt to his subjects than to you. When after his death our antient alliance was renewed with *Rome*, it was not infringed by the *Syracusians*, but by the emissaries of *Hannibal*, who did

¹ LIV. l. xxv. c. 24-29.

“ not make war upon you, till they had first made us slaves ;
 “ and it cannot be said, that we have had any times of liber-
 “ ty, which have not been times of peace and alliance with
 “ you. And at this present, as soon as we are become
 “ masters of ourselves by the death of those, who held us
 “ in subjection, we come to deliver up to you our arms,
 “ our persons, our walls, and our city, determined not to
 “ refuse any conditions you shall think fit to impose. The
 “ gods, illustrious general, have granted you the glory of
 “ taking the most noble and beautiful city of the *Greeks* ; so
 “ that all her past achievements, whether by sea or land,
 “ will add to the glory of your triumph. ‘ Make it not then
 “ so much a point of honour to destroy it, as to leave it for
 “ a standing monument of your fame to the world. All
 “ strangers, from whatever part of the universe they shall
 “ come to *Syracuse*, and there observe the monuments of
 “ our antient victories over the *Athenians* and *Carthaginians*,
 “ will at the same time know, that *Marcellus* conquered this
 “ victorious people. They will be told, that the *Syracusians*
 “ are become perpetual clients of the *Claudian* family, and
 “ that *Marcellus* made himself their first patron by his valour
 “ and clemency. Let not the remembrance of *Hieronymus*,
 “ be of more weight with you, than that of *Hiero*. The
 “ latter was much longer your friend, than the former your
 “ enemy. Permit me to say, that you have reaped the
 “ fruits of *Hiero*’s friendship ; but the ill-conducted enter-
 “ prizes of *Hieronymus* have fallen only on his own head.”

*Disturb-
 ances
 raised in
 Syracuse
 by the Ro-
 man de-
 serters.*

THE suppliants were graciously received by *Marcellus*, who was very willing to grant them their demands ; but the greatest difficulty was to preserve tranquillity and union in the city. The garrison consisted of *Roman* deserters and mercenaries ; and the former, looking upon all conferences about a surrender, as so many sentences of death against themselves, used their utmost efforts to prevent the citizens from complying with the terms proposed by *Marcellus* ; but, finding all their endeavours unsuccessful, they applied themselves to the mercenaries, and persuaded them, that *Marcellus* would give them no quarter. Whereupon the mercenaries, being inspired with the same fear, joined the deserters ; and both, taking up arms, while the deputies were still in the camp of *Marcellus*, ran to the houses of the new prætors, whom they massacred ; and then, dispersing themselves on all sides, put to the sword all they met, without distinction, plundered the houses, and filled the city with blood and slaughter. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers of their own body, three to command in *Acradina*, and three in *Ortygia*. The tumult being at length appeased, the mer-

cenaries were made sensible, that they had been imposed upon by the *Roman* deserters; and the deputies, returning at the same time from the camp of *Marcellus*, assured them, that the *Romans* had not decreed any punishment against the foreign troops.

AMONG the six new governors, chosen by the seditious to *Marcellus* command in *Syracuse*, was a *Spaniard*, named *Mericus*; a ^{takes Sy-}man of great integrity, and who did not approve of the ^{racuse by} measures taken by his colleagues. This man *Marcellus* took ^{intelli-}upon him to gain over to the *Romans*; and with this view ^{gence.} sent into the city a young *Spaniard* lately come from *Spain*, ^{Year of} charging him to 'make great offers in his name to his coun- ^{the flood}tryman, provided he would do him some important service. ^{2148.} The young *Spaniard* got safe into the city among the attend- ^{Bef. Chr.}ants of the *Syracusan* ambassadors, and discharged his com- ^{200.}mission so well, that *Mericus* sent his brother privately to *Marcellus* with the *Spanish* soldier, who, having obtained a private audience, agreed with *Marcellus*, in the name of *Mericus*, to deliver up one of the gates to the *Romans*. As soon as the two *Spaniards* were returned into *Acradina*, *Mericus* made it his only business to perform his promise. He first feigned an extraordinary zeal for the defence of the city, pretending that the deputies of *Marcellus* were allowed too much liberty; and that it was dangerous to admit any such deputies into *Acradina*, or to send embassies to the *Romans*. Upon the credit of this first step he proposed, that, as they had to deal with so artful an enemy as *Marcellus*, each governor should have his distinct quarter of the city assigned him, and should be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. His advice was followed, and in this division that part of *Acradina* fell to him, which lay between the fountain of *Arethusa*, and the great port, not far from the island *Ortygia*. *Marcellus*, being informed in what part *Mericus* commanded, resolved to make an attempt on that side. Accordingly, having filled a transport with soldiers, he ordered them to land at the gate of *Arethusa*, where they were received within the walls by *Mericus*, and put in possession of the gate. A false attack was carried on at the same time in a neighbouring quarter, which drew all the enemy's forces out of the island, and diverted them from observing what happened at the gate *Arethusa*. As the island of *Ortygia* was by this means quite abandoned, *Marcellus*, who had foreseen this, sent several transports with a strong detachment to take possession of the island, which they did without opposition, the gate being left open by the garrison, while they hastened to repulse the enemy at the place, where the false attack was carried on. When *Marcellus* was informed, that his men were in possession of the

the island, which was reckoned impregnable, and also of a quarter in *Acradina*, he immediately caused the retreat to be founded, lest the soldiers should, in the heat of the action, plunder the treasures of the kings of *Syracuse*, which were much magnified by fame ^f.

For clemency of
Marcellus
towards
the con-
quered.

AND now *Marcellus*, after a three years siege, being at length became master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good-nature. The place was taken by assault, and had greatly provoked the *Romans* by joining their most avowed enemies, while they were engaged in a war that was likely to prove fatal to them. But, notwithstanding their infidelity, he would not use all the rights of a conqueror, nor practise that severity which the faithless city perhaps deserved. The first instance he gave of his good-nature was, his ordering that the *Roman* deserters should be suffered to escape, being unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. Accordingly a gate was left open for them, and all the *Roman* forces withdrawn from thence till they had made their escape. The inhabitants of the two conquered cities sent deputies to him, demanding nothing else but their own lives, and the lives of their children. These *Marcellus* received with great humanity; and, having assembled a council composed of his own officers, and of some *Syracusians*, who were in his camp, returned them the following answer: “*Syracusians*, said he to

His speech
to the de-
puties.

“them, the services, which good king *Hiero* rendered *Rome* in a long reign, have been exceeded by the insults you have offered her in a few years; and now you are going to reap the fruits of your unfaithfulness, and pay dearer for the breach of our treaties than we desire. My aim was not, in sitting down before *Syracuse*, to reduce you to slavery, but to deliver you from your tyrants, and prevail upon you to deliver up into my hands two men, who have now abandoned you without sharing the misfortunes they have brought upon you. Both the examples of your magistrates, who fled to the *Roman* camp for refuge, and of the most illustrious of your citizens, who came from time to time to surrender themselves up into our hands, continually excited you to return to us. And yet a generous *Spaniard* has all the glory of bringing you back to your duty. As for myself, the glory of having taken *Syracuse*, and the satisfaction of saving it from the intire ruin it deserved, make me sufficient amends for the fatigues and dangers I have undergone in so long a siege. Live then, *Syracusians*, live; but let the plunder of your goods be the punishment of your obstinacy, and the just reward of my soldiers.” *Marcellus*, having spoken thus, immediately

^f Liv. *ibid.* c. 30. PLUT. in *Marcell.*

* Liv. l. xxv. c. 31.

ordered the quartermaster of his army to take possession of the king's treasures for the use of the republic, and gave the rest of the booty up to his troops, without reserving any part of the plunder for himself.

As soon as the trumpets sounded, the *Roman* soldiers dispersed themselves all over *Orygia* and *Acradina*, and nothing escaped their avarice. Nay, the enraged soldiers went beyond their orders; and, adding cruelty to avarice, put many of the citizens to the sword, and, amongst others, the great *Archimedes*. During the sacking of *Acradina*, he was shut up in his closet, and so intent on a demonstration of geometry, that neither the noise of the soldiers, nor the cries of the people, drew off his attention from it. He was very calmly drawing man's sword to his throat: "Hold, friend," said *Archimedes*, "one moment, and my demonstration will be finished." The soldier, surprised at his unconcern in so great danger, resolved to carry him to the proconsul; but, *Archimedes* taking under his arms a small box full of spheres, sun-dials, &c. the soldier thought it contained gold and silver, and, not being able to resist the temptation, killed him upon the spot. *Marcellus* was exceedingly concerned for his death; but, not being able to repair that misfortune, he applied himself to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a diligent search after his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewise caused his funeral to be performed with great pomp and solemnity, and a monument to be erected to his memory among the great men, who had distinguished themselves in *Syracuse*.

As the defence of the city for near three years together was the work of *Archimedes* alone, whose great genius made him, as it were, the intelligence that presided over all the labours of the besieged, it will not be improper to make here a short digression, and give the reader some account of so extraordinary a person. He was born in *Syracuse*, and descended of an illustrious family, being related to king *Hiero*. Most of the ancient writers tell us, that he was no less considerable for his noble extraction, than sublime genius. Yet *Cicero* represents him as a man of a very mean birth, who had nothing to recommend him but his skill in geometry; and the only eulogium he bestows on this famous mathematician, is, that he had a fruitful genius, and made many fine discoveries. But the *Roman* orators knew no more of *Archimedes* than what he had learned of *Plutarch*, who only mentioned such endowments, as had made his name immortal; and these were not much esteemed by

Archytas the *Romans* in *Cicero's* times, who thought no merit equal to and *Plato* that of an orator, a general, or a statesman. And hence it preferred it is, that *Cicero* prefers *Archytas* and *Plato* to *Archimedes*. to him by The former had governed *Tarentum*, and, together with a *Cicero*, singular talent for the mathematics, had all the qualities of an and why. excellent general. The latter was eminent among the antient

Study his
only de-
light:

legislators, which was enough to gain him the preference in the opinion of the *Romans*. Now *Archimedes* was neither a statesman, nor a soldier, nor an orator. But, if we consider that he alone found means to disconcert every measure of one of the greatest officers of the *Roman* republic, and, by the force of his genius, rendered all the efforts of two numerous armies unsuccessful, we cannot without injustice degrade him so far as to place him after an *Archytas*, or a *Plato*. And therefore *Plutarch* speaks of him with admiration. He says, that his great genius made him looked upon as something more than a mortal; that he excelled all those who had gone before him; and that it was hardly credible any should in future ages ever rival him. His strong passion for mathematics gave room for the report, that he was continually so charmed with the soothing songs of a domestic syren, that he neglected the common concerns of life: for he took delight in no pleasure of life, but in that of study. For the sake of this, he despised every thing else. Not to interrupt his studies, he often denied himself the necessities of life, and was dragged from his contemplations, to take a frugal repast. Sensible only to the pleasures of the mind, he so neglected his person, that his friends were obliged, in a manner, to force him to the public baths, to make him preserve a decency suitable to his rank; and even then he employed himself, for the most part, in drawing mathematical figures on the walls of the stoves with the water in which he bathed. In short, the contemplation of the heavens, and the earth, gave him such delight, as rendered all other pleasures quite tasteless and insipid. He long confined his thoughts to speculations only, according to the prejudices of that time, when it was thought too low an employment for a great genius to reduce the sublime discoveries of the mind to practice. But king *Hiero* had sufficient power with him to make him descend from those sublime speculations to practice; and to convince him, that no man could, without ingratitude, deprive the public of the fruits of his private studies. One day, when *Archimedes* was explaining to the king the wonderful effects of the motive powers, he told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to stand on. The king, surprised at the proposal, desired him to give a proof of

A wonder-
ful ma-
chine of
his inven-
tion.

so bold an assertion, by removing some great weight with a small force. *Archimedes* complied with the king's request; and, having caused one of the heaviest galleys in the port to be drawn ashore by a great number of men, he built his machine; and then, sitting down at a proper distance from the gally, without trouble, or exerting his force in the least, drew the vessel to him, though she had her full lading in her, and was crowded with men. This experiment plainly shewed the king what use he might make of the wonderful talents of this great man, if he could only persuade him to put his inventions in practice. This the king undertook to do, and by many intreaties prevailed upon the speculative geometrician to descend to mechanics, and build those wonderful machines for the defending of cities, which we have spoken of above. Besides the warlike machines, amongst his masterpieces was reckoned a sphere of glass, the circles of which represented *His sphere* the periodical and synodical motions of the stars and planets. *of glass.* *Cicero* himself could not help doing justice to the inventor of so fine a work, saying, that we ought to look upon the artificial globe, or rather little world, in which *Archimedes* had so happily imitated the wise hand of the divine Architect of the universe, as the effect of a superior geniusⁱ (X). Some have falsely imagined, that *Archimedes* set fire to the Roman fleet by means of a burning-glass^k. But the honour of this invention is due to *Proclus*, who first made use of brazen

ⁱ *Cic. Tusc. quæst. l. i. l. xxxv. chiliad. 5.*

^k *GALEN. l. iii. TZETZES,*

(X) This sphere is elegantly following epigram described by *Claudian* in the

*Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Risit, & ad superos talia dicta dedit:
Hucine mortalis progressa potentia curæ?
Jam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
Jura poli, rerumque fidem, legeſque decorum
Ecce Syracusius tranſtulit arte senex.
Inclufus variis famulatur ſpiritus aſtris,
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus.
Percurrit proprium mentitus ſignifer annum,
Et ſimulata novo Cynthia mense redit.
Jamque ſuum volvens audax induſtria mundum
Gaudet, & humana ſydæra mente regit.
Quid falſo inſontem tonitru Salmoneæ miror?
Æmula naturæ parva reperta manus (49).*

(49) *Claud. Epigram. xvi.*

burning-glasses, to set fire to the ships of *Vitalian*, who besieged *Constantinople*, in the 500th year of the Christian æra. Those, who have the least knowledge of mathematics, understand what kind of demonstration *Archimedes* made use of against a dishonest goldsmith, who, having agreed with king *Hiero* for a certain quantity of gold, which was to be formed into a crown for one of the gods, kept some of the gold for himself; and, putting silver in the room of it, restored to the king of *Syracuse* a crown as heavy as the gold he had received. The discovery of this fraud, which *Archimedes* made in a bath, gave him so great pleasure, that he ran home, without reflecting he was naked, crying out aloud, *I have found it*, *I have found it*. But the force of his genius shewed itself to far greater advantage in the structure and direction of the formidable batteries he played against the *Roman* armies and fleets. It is a great misfortune, that neither he, nor any after him, have given us an account of the manner of building and working those machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, were placed a cylinder, and a sphere, with an inscription shewing the proportion between them, which he first found out. An invention of so little use, as this may seem, pleased that great artist better than the devising of those machines, which made him so famous. The *Syracusians*, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done so much honour to their city. In less than an hundred and forty years after, *Archimedes* was so perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithstanding the eminent services he had done them, that they did not even know he had been buried at *Syracuse*. It is from *Cicero* we have this circumstance, who, being led by his curiosity, while he was quaestor in *Sicily*, to make a search after the tomb of *Archimedes*, was assured by the *Syracusians*, that his search would be to no purpose, there being no such monument among them. *Cicero* pitied their ignorance, which only served to increase his desire of making that discovery. After many fruitless attempts, he at last observed, without the gate of the city leading to *Agrigentum*, a pillar almost intirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquity, may easily conceive the joy of *Cicero* on this occasion. He cried out in the words of *Archimedes*, *I have found it*, *I have found it*. The place was immediately cleared, when the inscription appeared still legible. So that, says *Cicero*, in concluding this account, the greatest city of *Greece*, formerly the mother of sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man born in *Arpinum* had

Tomb of
Archimedes
discovered
by
Cicero.

had not discovered the tomb of one of its citizens, so highly distinguished by the greatness of his genius¹. But to resume the thread of our history.

MARCELLUS, after having plundered *Syracuse*, and stript Engyum it of all its valuable monuments, which were sent to *Rome*, taken by advanced to the city of *Engyum*, which was one of the most-Marcels-antient colonies the *Cretans* had founded in *Sicily*. The Eng-
 lyans had received a strange superstition from their founders, which it was dangerous to contradict. It was affirmed, that certain goddesses, called the *Mothers*, appeared from time to time in a temple of that city. But one *Nicias*, a man of wit, had talked with some pleasantry of these pretended apparitions; and, being likewise a friend to the *Romans*, the inhabitants resolved to put him to death. But he avoided the danger by counterfeiting madness, and then made his escape to the *Romans*, who took him under their protection. This enraged the *Engyans* against them to such a degree, that *Marcellus* thought it necessary to curb their insolence, and punish them for the severity they practised on the friends of *Rome*. He flew to *Engyum*, and took it by assault; but, at the request of *Nicias*, spared the inhabitants, and would not even suffer his soldiers to plunder the place. By this clemency *Marcellus* gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, and his reputation was extended far among the *Greeks* m.

AFTER the reduction of *Syracuse*, most of the cities of *Sicily*, which had sided with the *Carthaginians*, voluntarily submitted to *Marcellus*; and those which had continued faithful to *Rome*, or had renewed their alliance with the republic, without waiting till *Syracuse* was taken, were maintained in possession of their antient privileges. Nevertheless *Sicily* was not intirely settled in peace. *Epicyles*, and *Hanno* the commander of the *Carthaginian* forces in the island, were fled to *Agrigentum* for refuge. *Mutines*, who had been sent by *Hannibal* to supply the place of *Hippocrates*, kept the field at the head of a detachment of *Numidians*. This general was a *Phœnician* by descent, and a native of *Hippo*, a city of *Africa*, which the *Greeks* called *Diarrhytus*, to distinguish it from another city bearing the same name of *Hippo*, in *Numidia*. This officer, who was formed by *Hannibal* himself, had acquired great reputation in the army by his valour and conduct. *Epicyles* and *Hanno*, who were well acquainted with his merit, had given him the command of a body of *Numidian* horse; and this brave man answered their expectations. He soon made himself dreaded in all *Sicily*, by the many advantages he gained over the cities in alliance with *Rome*. After he had, with surprising expedition, ravaged the enemy's lands, he flew

Mutines maintains the Carthaginian interest in Sicily.

¹ Cic. Tusc. quest. l. v. m Liv. & PLUT. ibid.

to all the places that still adhered to *Carthage*, and, by his presence, kept the wavering people in awe, even after the reduction of *Syracuse*. He secured the fidelity of some, by sending them the provisions and succours they wanted; others he encouraged with his presence to hold out resolutely against *Marcellus*, and raised their dejected spirits. He seemed to be in all places where the interest of his republic required his presence. *Epicyles* and *Hanno* had till now shut themselves up in *Agrigentum*; but, being encouraged by the successful expeditions of *Mutines*, they ventured to take the field; and, advancing as far as the river *Himera*, formed a camp there. *Marcellus*, being apprised of the enemy's march, immediately put himself at the head of his army, and encamped about four miles from the *Carthaginian* troops, with a design to watch their motions. *Mutines* did not give him time to deliberate what part to act; for that brave general, who only wanted an opportunity of signalizing himself, immediately passed the river, and, falling on the advanced guards, spread an alarm in the whole *Roman* army. The next day *Marcellus* attacks his camp, but but was repulsed with great loss. *Mutines* was preparing to assault the *Romans* in their entrenchments, when news were brought him, that the *Numidian* cavalry, falling out among themselves, had raised great disturbances in the neighbouring country, and that a body of three hundred of them had retired to *Heraclea*. This obliged the general to drop, or rather put off, his enterprize. He instantly flew to suppress a revolt, the consequences of which might defeat his designs; and at the same time desired *Epicyles* and *Hanno* not to venture an engagement, till he returned. This request was no ways agreeable to the two generals. *Hanno*, who had been long jealous of the glory and reputation of *Mutines*, could not brook his seeming to impose laws upon him, as if he had been a subaltern. "What! said he, am I sent into *Sicily* with a commission by the senate and people of *Carthage*, only to be subject to the caprice of a man of no birth or family?" *Hanno* found it no difficult matter to instil the same uneasiness into the mind of *Epicyles*. So that they both resolved to pass the river, and give battle, without waiting for *Mutines*. Their rage and jealousy made them look upon this brave *African* only as a troublesome rival, who would assume to himself all the honour of a victory, which they might gain without him. *Marcellus*, seeing the *Carthaginians* form their army, drew up his likewise in battalia. This great general had, four years before, humbled the pride of *Hannibal* before *Nala*; and therefore thought it shameful to retire before two commanders, who were much inferior to him, and who had already

ready felt so often the effects of the *Roman* valour. So that the *Roman* accepted the challenge ; and, while he was preparing for the battle, ten *Numidians* came from the *Carthaginian* army to inform him, that their countrymen were determined to continue inactive during the engagement. They were persuaded, that *Epicyles* and *Hanno* had sent away *Mutines* their commander, and employed him elsewhere, on purpose to rob him of the glory of conquering the *Romans*. The report of the revolt of the *Numidians* was soon spread among the legionaries, who looked upon it as an happy presage of victory. The most cowardly took courage, when they were no longer to contend with those squadrons, which had been to that time so formidable to them. As to the enemy, they were seized with a sudden terror upon the first report of the revolt. Besides, *Epicyles* and *Hanno* could no longer depend on the *Numidian* cavalry, which was the main strength of their army, and were under no small apprehension, lest, in the heat of the engagement, they should turn their arms against the *Carthaginians*. While they were in this perplexity, the *Roman* army advanced ; and, falling upon the affrighted troops with the utmost fury, put them to flight at the first onset. The fugitives took the road to *Agrigentum*, whither they were pursued by the *Romans*, who killed many thousands of them, and took eight elephants. The *Numidians*, after having been idle spectators of the battle, refused to follow the others to *Agrigentum*, for fear of being besieged there by the *Romans*, and retired to the neighbouring cities. This great advantage raised *Marcellus* to the highest pitch of glory ; he returned victorious to *Syracuse*, and soon after set out from thence to *Rome*, after having delivered up his army, and the government of *Sicily*, to *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. He was scarce gone, when a *Carthaginian* fleet landed eight thousand foot^a, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, in *Sicily*. By the help of these new forces the *Carthaginians* began to recover their power in several parts of the island. *Murgantia*, *Hybla*, and *Marcella*, went over to them ; and, after their example, some less considerable places fell off from the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he, at the head of his *Numidians*, destroyed the country with fire and sword, daily returned to the cities of his allies loaded with booty, and laid the whole country waste with impunity even in sight of the *Roman* army. The *Roman* soldiers were enraged, that they had not been allowed to follow their general to *Rome*, and there share the honours of a triumph with him. Their murmurs increased, when they were forbid to take up their winter-quarters in the cities ; and they only wanted an head to break out into an open rebellion. All the address of

^a Liv. l. xxv. c. 40, 41.

Marcus Cornelius was wanting to appease their resentment: some he gained by caresses, and fair words; others he intimidated by threatenings; and, having brought them to submit again to the laws of military discipline, he soon repaired the losses the republic had suffered since the departure of *Marcellus*. At the head of his troops he forced all the rebellious cities to return to their duty, and particularly *Murgantia*, which, with its territory, was bestowed by the senate on the *Spuriards*, as a reward for their zeal in the service of the republic.

The Sicilians complain of *Marcellus*.

BUT the total reduction of *Sicily* was reserved for *Marcus Valerius Lavinius*, who, being appointed consul with *Marcellus*, was sent into *Sicily* to settle the affairs of that island. It still continued customary at *Rome* for the two consuls to choose their provinces by lot; and it now happened, that *Italy* fell to *Lavinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. But, as soon as this was declared, the *Sicilians*, who were present, expressed as much terror and consternation, as they had done at *Syracuse*, when *Marcellus* surprised it. They dressed themselves in mourning, crowded to the houses of the senators, and protested, that it would be better for *Sicily* to perish in the flames of mount *Ætna*, or to be swallowed up by the sea, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. These accusers had been suborned by *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, who, being prætor in *Sicily*, sent them to *Rome* with a design to form an accusation against *Marcellus*, and raise his own glory on the ruins of this great man's reputation. In order to this, he wrote many letters to the senate, wherein he declared, that there was a great deal to do in the island, before it could be intirely reduced; and thereby prevented *Marcellus* from enjoying the honour of a triumph, which was seldom granted till an expedition was completed. The *Syracusians*, who were to accuse *Marcellus*, kept themselves concealed in the villages round *Rome*, till they heard, that *Sicily* had fallen to his lot; and then they appeared as suppliants before the senate, to demand justice against him. *Marcellus*, who was not a stranger to the secret plots of his enemies, and knew that some of the senators out of compassion, and others out of jealousy, laid great stress on the complaints of the *Syracusians*, declared, that, if his colleague was willing to change provinces, he would not be against it. *Lavinus* consented to the change, and accordingly orders were sent into *Sicily*, injoining the prætor *Cornelius Cethegus* to deliver up the troops under his command to the consul. But, before either *Lavinus* or *Marcellus* set out for their respective provinces, the *Sicilians* were heard in the senate, and *Marcellus* cleared. His proceedings in *Sicily* were declared regular, the pillage of *Syracuse* approved

Marcellus cleared.

A. PLUT. in *Marcell.*

of,

of, and his regulations ratified. Nevertheless it was decreed, that *Rome* should for the future consult the interest of *Syracuse*; and *Lævinus* was exhorted to shew the *Syracusians* all the lenity that was consistent with the welfare of the republic. When the decree was passed, the *Sicilians* were brought to the senate to hear it; and *Marcellus*, who had retired, that the debates of the senators might be more free, came in after them, and took his place as consul. Then the *Sicilians*, confounded at what they had done, threw themselves at his feet, bathed them with tears, and begged him to pardon the attempts, which the present sense of their misery had induced them to make against his honour. *Marcellus* received them very graciously; promised them his protection; and, in consequence of this promise, obtained of the senate, that the *Syracusians* should be reinstated in their ancient liberties, and treated as allies of *Rome*. Hence proceeded the eternal gratitude of the *Syracusians* to *Marcellus*, and his posterity. They enacted a decree, wherein it was ordered, that, whenever any of his family set foot in *Sicily*, the people should walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with sacrifices. From thenceforth the whole island remained under the patronage of the *Marcelli*, the *Sicilians* becoming clients of that illustrious family. (Y).

Honours
decreed
him by the
Sicilians.

THE

• PLUT. in *Marcell.*

(Y) The conduct of *Marcellus* on this occasion was not intirely approved of at *Rome*. Some of the senators, remembering the attachment which king *Hiero* had on all occasions shewn to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his greedy soldiers. The citizens were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries; and therefore were obliged against their will to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of *Hannibal*, who commanded the army. But they were no sooner their own masters, first by the death of *Hieronymus*, and afterwards by the flight of *Epicydes*, than they declared for the *Romans*, and put

to death such as favoured the *Carthaginian* party; so that they were never willingly unfaithful to *Rome*. *Marcellus* nevertheless plundered the city, and stripped it of all its valuable monuments, as if the citizens had been enemies to *Rome*, not by force, to use *Livy's* expression, but by inclination. The same writer imputes to *Marcellus* the custom which prevailed among the *Romans*, of pillaging the conquered cities of their richest ornaments, and embellishing their capital with them. It is true, says he, these spoils belonged by right of war to the conqueror; but it must be owned, that this custom gave rise to many evils. From that time the people began to be very inquisitive after these master-

THE cause of the *Sicilians* being thus determined, *Lævinus* set out for his province; and, on his arrival, found the

masterpieces of art, which have been the admiration of all ages. And hence came that unbounded licentiousness, which prevails among us in this day, of sparing nothing either sacred or profane, to gratify our ostentation and curiosity. Religion itself could no longer set bounds to the avarice of a greedy conqueror. He laid his sacrilegious hands on sacred things. The most venerable deities were torn from the places where they had fixed their abode; and the temple, which was built by *Marcellus* himself, has met with the same fate. The stately monuments, with which he enriched it, are now become the prey of an unjust usurper; and there are but few remains of the fine statues, and valuable paintings, which the conqueror of *Syracuse* reserved for embellishing it. Thus far *Livy* (50). Till the age, in which this general lived, *Rome* had entertained her citizens with no sights, but what suited her martial genius; viz. triumphs, trophies, and the military ensigns and arms of conquered nations. This was very suitable to the taste of men who were enemies to luxury, and had been brought up in the noise and hurry of war. The old *Romans* therefore, who were fond of the ancient customs, thought the conduct of *Fabius*, at the taking of *Tarentum*, preferable to that of *Marcellus* at the taking of *Syracuse*. The former was content with the gold, and other spoils, that might fill *Rome* with plenty; and did not touch the famous sta-

tures and pictures which adorned the temples, and public places, saying, *Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods.* *Marcellus*, on the contrary, emboldened by his example the triumphant victors to lead both men and gods in chains after their chariots. From his time, says *Plutarch* (51), the citizens were no longer employed, as in earlier ages, in forming great designs, and conspiring to promote the glory of their country. The public places were filled only with idle people, who spent great part of the day in discoursing on statues of exquisite workmanship, valuable pictures, and those who had excelled in painting and sculpture. *Polybius* is no less severe on the *Romans* on this account than *Livy* or *Plutarch*. These statues, says he (52), pictures, bas-reliefs, and other rich spoils of the conquered nations, were indeed a proof of the conquests of *Rome*, and at the same time of the injustice of those who seized them. When these monuments were shewn to strangers, they perpetuated their hatred to the *Roman* name, and put the conquered people in mind of their misfortunes. This inspired the spectators with indignation against the conquerors, and with compassion for the oppressed nations. The rich spoils, which *Marcellus* brought out of *Sicily*, were placed by him in the temples of *Virtue* and *Honour*, which he had built in discharge of a vow made in the war with the *Gauls* (53).

(50) *Liv. l. xxv. c. 47**Plat. in Marcell. Corn. Nepos.*(51) *Plut. in Marcell.*(52) *Polyd. l. ix.*

whole island reduced by the prætor *Cornelius*, except *Agrigentum*, and its territory. Having therefore settled the government of *Syracuse*, and its dependencies, to the advantage of the *Romans*, and the satisfaction of the inhabitants, he turned his arms against the only place that was left to *Carthage* in the whole island. The city of *Agrigentum* was defended by a numerous garison under the command of *Hanno*; but the consul with little trouble made himself master of it, more by the good fortune of *Rome*, than his own valour. *Hanno*, growing daily more jealous of the great reputation which *Mutines* acquired, at length deprived that brave subaltern of his commission, and put his son in his room. But his having no command did not at all lessen his credit among the soldiers, especially the *Numidians*, who were more attached to him than ever; so that all the odium of this removal fell on the general. On the other hand *Mutines*, not being able to brook the affront put upon him, resolved, at all events, to be revenged on *Hanno*; and accordingly began to maintain a private correspondence with the consul, advising him to bring his army before *Agrigentum*. Upon the first news of the march of the *Romans*, *Mutines* conspired with the *Numidians* against *Hanno*, placed himself at their head, and, having seized one of the gates, put the *Romans* in possession of it. The *Carthaginian* guard was then cut in pieces, and the legionaries, mixed with the *Numidians*, advanced in order of battle into the centre of the city; so that the place was taken before *Hanno* knew, that the *Romans* were before it. He hastened to the market-place, imagining that the *Numidians*, who often opposed the orders of their generals, had raised some new commotion; but, perceiving, while he was yet at some distance, that the *Romans* were mixed with the *Numidians*, and not doubting but he was betrayed, he turned short, and made the best of his way out of the city; and, arriving at the port, he embarked with *Epicides*, and a small number of officers, on a vessel, which was ready to set sail. The rest of his army betook themselves to flight; but *Lævinus* having posted guards in all the avenues and passages, they were all killed to a man. All the chiefs of the *Agrigentines* were, by *Lævinus's* order, first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The common people were reduced to slavery, and sold to the best bidder. The spoils of the pillaged city were publicly put up to sale, and the money returned to the public treasury. After the reduction of *Agrigentum*, and flight of *Hanno* and *Epicides*, most of the *Sicilian* cities submitted to the *Romans* of their own accord, and others were either betrayed, or taken by force. Thus the *Romans* became masters of the whole

And all
Sicily re-
duced to a
Roman
province.

Year of
the flood
2150.
Bef. Chr.

stant refuge in distress ^p.

198.



whole island, the conquest of which paved them a way to the more distant nations in *Africa* and *Asia*. *Lævinus*, having now no enemies to contend with, settled peace throughout the whole island, and took upon himself the government of it, in the name of his republic, making it all but one province. This fruitful country, the cultivating of which had been long interrupted by wars, produced corn an hundredfold; hence from this time it became the granary of *Rome*, and her con-

LÆVINUS, having settled *Sicily* in peace, was recalled to *Rome* to preside in the comitia, which were to be held for the electing of new magistrates. Upon his departure, as he was to return soon, he left the command of his army, and the government of *Sicily*, to the prætor *Cincius* during his absence. When he came to *Rome*, he gave the senate an account of his expedition, and of the present state of the island. After which he introduced to the conscript fathers *Mutines*, and all those who deserted *Hannibal* to adhere to the republic. They had many honours conferred upon them; and all the advantageous terms, which the consul had promised them, were granted by a decree of the senate. *Mutines* himself was admitted to enjoy the rights of a *Roman* citizen at the motion of one of the tribunes of the people, and by the authority of the senate. He ever afterwards served the *Romans* with great fidelity, and accompanied the two *Scipios* into *Asia* against *Antiochus*, on which occasion he is said to have distinguished himself in a very particular manner.

But dis-
tinguished
above
other pro-
vinces.

ALL Sicily being now become a province of the *Roman* republic, it was not treated as the other countries, which *Rome* subdued afterwards, upon which a certain tribute was imposed; but suffered to enjoy its antient privileges, and retain all its former rights. This distinction, as *Tully* observes, *Sicily* well deserved, since that island was the first of all foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with *Rome*, and the first conquest the republic made out of *Italy*. This island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into *Africa*; and *Rome* would not have so easily reduced the formidable power of *Carthage*, had not *Sicily* served her as a magazine to supply her armies with provisions, and been a secure retreat to her fleets. Hence *Scipio Africanus*, after having taken and destroyed *Carthage*, thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of *Sicily* with some of the richest spoils he had brought from *Africa*, to the end that the *Sicilians* might have some monuments among them of those victories to which they had greatly contributed ^q.

^p *LIV.* ubi supra. *ZONAR.* l. ix. c. 7.
Verr. act. 3.

^q *CIC.* in

LÆVINUS

BESIDES *Syracuse*, there were several other free cities in *The other Sicily*, namely *Leonini*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, *Messana*, *Himera*, *free cities Catana*, *Ætna*, *Apollonia*, *Selinus*, *Taurominium*, *Agyris*, and of *Sicily*. *Centuripe*. These underwent the same vicissitudes as *Syracuse*, *Their wa-* being sometimes governed by their own laws, and at others *rious for-* enslaved by their domestic tyrants, till they were at last all *tune.* brought under subjection by the *Romans*. *Phalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, is one of the most famous, on account of his cruelty among the *Sicilian* tyrants. He usurped the sovereignty of that city in the second year of the fifty-second *Olympiad*, and maintained it for sixteen years. We have still remaining some letters of *Abaris* to this tyrant, and his answers; though some ascribe them to *Lucian*. *Perillus* the *Athenian*, to flatter the cruelty of *Phalaris*, made the famous brazen bull for tormenting of criminals; and was the first that suffered in it, having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The people of *Agrigentum*, unable to bear any longer with his unheard-of cruelties, made a general insurrection, seized on the tyrant, and put him to death, some say, by shutting him up in his beloved bull. The most material transactions relating to the other cities of *Sicily* we have delivered in the history of *Syracuse*, with which their respective histories are inseparably interwoven; and therefore shall now proceed to the history of the other islands, beginning with that of *Rhodes*, which, though small in extent, yet makes a very considerable figure in history, perhaps the first after *Sicily*.

S E C T. III.

The History of Rhodes.

THE island before us was formerly known by the names *Its names.* of *Ophiusa*, *Asteria*, *Æthraea*, *Trinacria*, *Corymbia*, *Po-* *essa*, *Atabyria*, *Marcia*, *Olbessa*, *Stadia*, *Telchimis*, *Pelagia*, and *Rhodus*. In latter ages the name of *Rhodus* or *Rhodes* prevailed, which authors commonly derive from the Greek word *rhodon*, signifying a rose, that island abounding, as they say, above any other, with this sort of flowers. And indeed several *Rhodian* coins are still to be seen, representing the sun, and on the reverse a rose. But *Diodorus Siculus* * will have it so called from one *Rhoda* the daughter of *Apollo* by *Ve-*

* *LUCIAN*. dial. 3. de poet. *EUSEB.* in chron. *CIC.* lib. ii. off. * *DIOD.* Sic. l. v. c. 3.

Spil, cli-
mate, &c.

nus (Z). It lies in the *Mediterranean*, over-against the coast of *Lycia* and *Caria*, from which it is distant about twenty miles. This island is about an hundred and twenty miles in compass, and blessed with a most fruitful soil, which gave occasion to the fable of those golden showers that were once said to have fallen upon it. It formerly produced, in great plenty, all sorts of delicious fruits, and wines of so exquisite a taste, that they were used by the *Romans* chiefly in their sacrifices, and thought, as *Virgil* informs us^t, too good for mortals. The air is here said to be so serene, that no day ever passes without sun-shine; whence the poets feigned *Phœbus* to be in love with this island, which, say they, was a mere marsh, altogether uninhabitable, till loved by *Phœbus*, and raised out of the waters by his powerful influence.

Cities of
Rhodes.
Lindus.

THE island of *Rhodes* had in *Homer's* time three cities, viz. *Lindus*, *Camirus*, *Ialysus*; to which in after-ages was added a fourth, bearing the name of the island. *Lindus*, now *Lindo*, stood on the east coast of the island, and was famous in ancient times for a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whence that goddess had the surname of *Lindia*. This temple is said to have been built by *Danaus* king of *Egypt*, landing here on his flight from his own kingdom. A certain festival was celebrated annually in this city, not with blessings and prayers, as *Lactantius* informs us^u, but with curses and imprecations; insomuch that, if one good word escaped any of those that were present, it was deemed a very bad omen, and the whole ceremony begun anew. *Lindus* gave birth to *Charès*, the architect of the colossus, and to *Cleobulus*, one of the seven wise men of *Greece*. *Camirus* or *Cameiros* was situate on the western coast of the island, and is barely mentioned by the antients. *Ialysus*, in the north, over-against the coast of *Ly-*

Camirus.
Ialysus.

^t VIRGIL. *georg.* l. ii.

^u LACTANT. l. i. c. 31.

(Z) *Bochart* derives the name of *Rhodes* from the *Phœnician* word *rod*, signifying a serpent; and adds, that as the *Greeks* called it *Opbiusa*, because it was once greatly infested by those insects; so the *Phœnicians*, who were once masters of it, named it *Gefsrath Rod*, that is, the island of serpents; to the word *Rod* the *Greeks* adding the ter-

mination peculiar to their language, formed the name of *Rhodos* (54). Others tell us, that it was called *Rhodus*; from the *Greek* word *rhodon*, signifying a rose; not that it abounded with roses, but because a rose-bud of brass was found in laying the foundations of the antient city of *Lindus* (55).

(54) *Bochart. phaleg.* l. i. c. 2.

(55) *Athenæus.* l. iii. c. 4.

cia, was the most ancient city in the whole island; but we find nothing relating to it worth mentioning. These three cities were, according to *Diodorus* ^w, built by *Tlepolemus*, the son of *Hercules* before the Trojan war. But *Strabo* ^x and *Cicero* ^y tell us, that they were founded by the *Heliades*, or grandsons of *Phæbus*, *Ialysus*, *Camirus*, and *Lindus*, who imparted their names each to the city he built (A). But the city

^w DIOD. SIC. I. iv. c. 60. ^x STRABO, I. xiv. p. 450 ^y CIC. de nat. deor. I. iii. c. 21.

(A) Some writers tell us, that these three cities were built by the *Dorians* not long after their migration; whence they are counted by *Athenæus* among the *Dorian* colonies (56). *Herodotus* says they were founded by the daughters of *Danaus*, who landed in this island, after having put to death the sons of *Ægyptus*, their husbands (57). In the city of *Lindus* was a magnificent temple, said by *Plutarch* (58) to have been built by them in honour of the *Lindian Minerva*. *Zosimus* tells us, that in his time were still to be seen at *Constantinople* two statues of exquisite workmanship, the one of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, the other of the *Lindian Minerva*; and adds, that the magnificent temple of that goddess in the city of *Lindus* having been by an accidental fire reduced to ashes, these two statues were found in the rubbish no ways hurt or damaged (59). *Cadmus*, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (60), presented the *Lindian Minerva* with a kettle made after the ancient fashion, on which was an inscription in *Phœnician* letters. *Amasis* king

of *Egypt* consecrated, as *Herodotus* informs us (61), to the same goddess two statues, and a lient vest of a wonderful texture; each thread of this vest consisting of 360 smaller threads; 350 says *Pliny*; and adds, lest we should question the truth of what he says, that the consul *Mutianus*, having had the curiosity to untwist several threads both of the woof and warp, found that each of them contained exactly the above-mentioned number of other threads so fine, that they were hardly discernible by the naked eye (62). The same author tells us, that *Helena* offered to the same goddess a cup of amber of exquisite workmanship, and speaks of several pictures in this temple by *Parrhesius*, *Zeuxis*, and other great masters. The other two cities, *Camirus* and *Ialysus*, contained nothing remarkable: the latter was commanded by a citadel built on a neighbouring hill, and called by *Strabo* (63) *Ochyroma*. *Lindus* and *Ialysus* were both well fortified in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, as appears from *Thucydides* (64); but

(56) *Athenæus*, I. iii. de joler. animal.

(57) *Herodotus*, I. ii. c. 132.

(58) *Plut.*

(59) *Zosimus*, I. v.

(60) *Diodor. Sicul.*

(61) *Herodotus*, I. ii. c. 43.

(62) *Plin.* I. v. c. 6.

(63) *Strabo*,

I. xiv. p. 450.

(64) *Thucyd.* I. viii.

Rhodes. city of Rhodes (B), built during the Peloponnesian war, soon eclipsed the other three, and became the metropolis of the whole

Camirus, or, as some write it, *Cameiros*, was then without walls. *Diodorus* (65) speaks of another town, which he calls *Achaia*, and supposes to have been built by *Oecimus* and *Cerapheus*, two of the sons of *Apollo*, at a small distance from *Ialysus*; but as no other writer makes mention of this city, we are inclined to believe, that *Diodorus* by *Achaia* meant the castle of *Ochyroma*, which, perhaps, in his time, was known by that name. The cities of *Lindus*, *Ialysus*, and *Camirus*, were, as *Strabo* informs us (66), three different republics, and quite independent of each other, governing themselves by their own laws, till the inhabitants abandoned their ancient habitations, and went to settle in the city of *Rhodes*, which was built in the time of the Peloponnesian war, that is, many centuries after the other three.

(B) This stately city was built by the same architect, whom the Athenians had employed in building the *Piræus* or port of *Athens*, viz. *Hippodamus*, a native of *Miletus*, and deservedly counted among the best architects Greece ever produced (67). *Isidorus* was greatly mistaken in making *Cecrops* king of *Athens* the founder of this city (68), since it is manifest from all the monuments of antiquity, that *Rhodes* was not built before the Peloponnesian war; no mention being made by any writer of such a city till that pe-

riod. It was built, according to *Strabo* (69) and *Arifides* (70), in the form of an amphitheatre, surrounded with walls like those of *Munichia*, embellished with most stately buildings, straight and broad streets, pleasant avenues, fine groves, large squares, &c. *Dio Chrysostomus* (71) tells us, that most of the pagan deities had temples in this city; among which that of the sun, called by the *Dorians* *Haleion*, was of the most noble structures of antiquity. *Strabo* mentions the temple of *Bacchus*, or, as the *Rhodians* styled him, *Thyonidas*, which, as he tells us, was enriched with a prodigious number of pictures done by the celebrated painter *Protogenes*. *Hesychius*, *Appian*, and *Suetonius*, speak of the temples of *Isis*, of *Oecridion*, and *Diano*, as masterpieces of art. Each of these temples contained immense treasures, voraciously flocking thither with rich presents from all parts of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*. In the *Dionysium*, or temple of *Bacchus*, was a statue of *Philo* of massy gold, and an incredible number of other statues and pictures done by the greatest masters. *Pliny* tells us (72), that in his time there were in the city of *Rhodes* above three thousand statues, most of them done with great taste; nay, if *Arifides* is to be credited (73), there were more valuable statues and pictures in the city of *Rhodes* alone, than in all the other cities

(65) *Diod. Sic. l. v.*

(66) *Strabo, ibid.*

(67) *Strabo, l. vi.*

(68) *Isidor. de origin. l. i.*

(69) *Strabo, ubi supra.*

(70) *Arifides in Rhodiace.*

(71) *Dio Chrysostom. in Rhodiace.*

(72) *Plin. l. vi. c. 7.*

(73) *Arifid. in Rhodiace.*

whole island. It was situate on the east coast, at the foot of an hill of a gentle ascent, and in an agreeable plain, environed at some distance with several hills full of springs, and covered with all kinds of fruit-trees. No city, if we believe *Strabo* ^a, was in antient times preferable to it, whether we consider the stateliness of its buildings, or the excellent laws by which it was governed. In the *Roman* times it was famous for the study of all sciences, and resorted to by such of the *Romans*, as were desirous to improve themselves in literature, being by some of the antients equalled to *Athens* itself ^a. It had a very convenient haven, at the entrance of which were two rocks; and on those rocks, though fifty feet asunder, the famous *Colossus* is supposed to have stood (C). It was an huge statue of brass erected in honour of the sun or *Apollo*, the tutelary god of the island, and for its size accounted one of

St

450. SUET. in Tiber.

alone, than in all the other cities of *Greece*. The pictures of *Alexander* king of *Macedonia*, and of *Antony* the *Great*, by *Apelles*, and *Diogenes*, by *Apelles*, are greatly cried up by *Pliny* and other antient writers. That of *Diogenes* was thrice struck with lightning, as the same *Pliny* informs us (74); but that accident did not murther the lustre and brightness of its colours.

(C) *Pliny* describes it in the following terms. Of all things that are deservedly admired, the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, done by *Chares* of *Landus*, the disciple of *Lysippus*, is the most worthy of admiration. It was seventy cubits high, and is still, though lying on the ground, a great prodigy. Its thumb is a fathom in compass, and its fingers larger than most statues. It was hollow, and had in its cavities vast stones, employed by the artificer to counterbalance its weight, and render it

steady, &c. 75). *Sextus Empiricus* tells us, that it was eighty cubits high; and that *Chares* the *Lindian*, having spent the whole sum which he had demanded for the completing of the work, before he had half done it, laid violent hands on himself, out of shame for being so grossly mistaken in his computation. Upon his death one *Laches*, a native of the same city, undertook the work, says the same writer, and put the last hand to it. That it was done, at least in part, by *Laches*, he proves from the inscription which was still extant in his time on the pedestal of the statue, in the following words: *Laches* of *Lindus* made the *Colossus* of *Rhodes* eighty cubits high. We will not call in question the veracity of our author; but, after all, we cannot help thinking it somewhat strange, that no writer either before or since his time should mention this inscription. He flourished in the reign of *Antoninus* surnamed the philosopher.

(74) *Plin. ibid.*(75) *Plin. l. xxiv. c. 7.*

the seven wonders of the world, being seventy cubits, or an hundred and five feet high; insomuch that ships, in entering the harbour, failed between its legs. *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, having for a whole year besieged the city of *Rhodes* without being able to take it, at last, tired out with so long a siege, was reconciled to the *Rhodians*, and on his departure presented them with all the engines of war he had employed against their city. These the *Rhodians* sold for three hundred talents, and with that money, and other additional sums of their own, raised this famous *Colossus*. The artificer they employed was *Chares* of *Lindus*, who was twelve years in completing the work. After it had stood sixty years, it was thrown down by an earthquake, which did great damage in the east, especially in *Caria* and *Rhodes* ^b. On this occasion the *Rhodians* sent embassadors to all the princes and states of *Greek* origin, to represent the losses they had sustained; and by that means procured great sums for the repairing of them, especially from the kings of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. The money they gathered in said to have exceeded five times the value of the damages; but they, instead of setting up the *Colossus* again, for which end most of it was given, pretended an answer from the oracle of *Delphi*, forbidding it, and kept the money for themselves ^c. Thus the *Colossus* lay where it fell for the space of 894 years, till at length *Mosawius*, the sixth caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, having taken *Rhodes*, sold the brass to a *Jew*, who loaded with it nine hundred camels; so that, allowing eight hundred pounds weight to every camel's load, the brass of the *Colossus*, after the lapse of so many years, amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight ^d. From this *Colossus* the island is by some authors called *Colossia*, and the inhabitants *Colossians*; whence some have falsely imagined that St. Paul's epistle to the *Colossians* was directed to the *Rhodians*. But the *Colossians*, to whom the apostle wrote, were the inhabitants of *Colosse*, a city in *Phrygia Major*, of which we have spoken in the history of that antient kingdom.

THE city of *Rhodes* is still a place of no small note, being pleasantly seated on the side of an hill, three miles in compass, and well fortified with a treble wall. The streets, as our modern travellers inform us, are wide, strait, and well paved, and the houses built after the *Italian* taste. The chief haven is convenient, safe, and well fortified. The

^b EUSEB. chron. OROS. l. iv. c. 13. POLYB. l. v. p. 428, 429. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. STRAB. l. xiv. p. 652. ^c PLIN. POLYB. & STRAB. *ibid.* ^d ZONAR. Cadrew. sub regno Constantii Heracl. Nepot.

city is well peopled, and the inhabitants as wealthy as the *Turkish* tyranny permits any to be. It is well known, that this city and island belonged in the middle ages to the knights of *St. John of Jerusalem*, who defended it with incredible bravery against the mighty fleet and numerous army of *Schman II.* till the place was betrayed by a traitor in the town. After the reduction of *Rhodes*, the knights, who were denominated from this island, retired to that of *Malta*, which was granted to them by the emperor *Charles V.* where they continue to this day.

This island, if we believe *Diodorus*, was first peopled by *The Telchines*, who were originally from the island of *Crete*. The *Telchines*, who, according to that writer, were well skilled in astrology, foreseeing that the island would be soon laid under water, and the inhabitants drowned, abandoned their habitations, and made room for the *Heliades* or grandsons of *Phæbus*, who took possession of it after that god had cleared it of the mud, with which it had been covered by the deluge. The *Heliades*, as the same author informs us, excelled all other men in learning, especially in astrology; and were the first who found out the art of navigation, and the dividing of the day into hours. One of them, by name *Tanges*, continues our author, being through envy killed by his brothers, they were forced to abandon *Rhodes*, and take sanctuary in other countries. *Macer* fled to *Lesbos*, *Candulus* to *Coos*, *Triopas* to *Caria*, and *Actis* to *Egypt*. *Triopas* possessed himself of the promontory in *Caria*, from him called *Triopium*; *Actis* built in *Egypt* a city, which from the name of the sun he called *Heliopolis*; and taught the *Egyptians* the science of astrology. But most of the inhabitants of *Greece* being afterwards destroyed by the flood, and the antient monuments lost, the *Egyptians* took this opportunity of appropriating the study of astrology solely to themselves; and it was generally believed, even by the *Greeks*, that the *Egyptians* were the first who found out the knowledge of the stars. Thus *Diodorus* derives the study of astrology from the inhabitants of *Rhodes*; but we should be glad to know how he came to make this discovery, after all the antient monuments, relating thereto, were lost. All authors agree, that the *Egyptians* were the first who applied themselves to the study of astrology; and the opinion of *Diodorus*, supported by no authentic moments, is not of weight enough with us to counterbalance their authority.

In after-ages the descendants of the *Heliades*, who had remained in *Rhodes* (four of them only being concerned in

Phorbas
and his
followers
settle in
the island
of Rhodes.

the death of their brother *Tenages*), being infested by great serpents, which bred in the island, had recourse to an oracle in *Delos*, which advised them to admit *Phorbas*, and his followers, to share with them the lands in the island, if they desired to be delivered from their present calamity. *Phorbas* was the son of *Lapithas*, and was at that time with many of his friends in *Thessaly* seeking for a convenient place to settle in. The *Rhodians*, according to the direction of the oracle, sent for *Phorbas*, who, being admitted as a proprietor with them in the island, destroyed the serpents, and freed the inhabitants from their former fears. He continued with his followers, who were all *Thessalians*, in *Rhodes*, where, after his death, he was honoured as a demigod ¹.

Some Cre-
tans settle
in the
island.

AFTERWARDS *Althæmenes*, the son of *Catreus* king of *Crete*, consulting the oracle concerning some affairs, was answered, that it would be his fate to kill his own father. To avoid this misfortune he of his own accord, abandoned *Crete*; and with many *Cretans*, who attended him, passed over into *Rhodes*, and settled at *Camirus*. There he built a temple on the top of mount *Atamirus* in honour of *Jupiter*, called from thence *Jupiter Atamirus*. He chose that place, because he had from thence a clear prospect of *Crete* his native island. He was greatly honoured by the inhabitants of *Camirus*, and admitted with his followers to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the antient proprietors; but his father *Catreus*, having no other son, and being exceedingly fond of *Althæmenes*, undertook a voyage to *Rhodes*, in order to bring him back to *Crete*. He landed at *Rhodes* in the night with a numerous attendance, which, arising jealousy to the *Rhodians*, they fell upon him, and in this conflict he was killed by his own son. *Althæmenes* was so concerned for his death, that he ever afterwards avoided all manner of company, wandering in the deserts till he died of grief; but, by the direction of the oracle, he was afterwards honoured as an hero or demigod ².

And like-
wise Tele-
polemus
Argos
the son of
Hercules.

NOT long before the *Trojan* war *Telepolemus*, the son of *Hercules*, having killed unawares one *Licymnius*, fled from *Argos*; and, having consulted an oracle about planting a colony, was advised to pass over into *Rhodes*, which he did accordingly, and settled there. He was afterwards created king of the whole island, which he governed with great justice and equity. These were, according to *Diodorus*, the first inhabitants of the island *Rhodes* ³.

AFTER the *Trojan* war the *Dorians* possessed themselves of the best part of this island, after having driven out the

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* ² DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* ³ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.*

ancient proprietors; and hence it is, that both *Strabo*ⁱ and *The ant-Pausanias*^k call the *Rhodians Dorians*, and also *Peloponnesians*, the *Dorians* being properly the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus*. As the *Dorians* were, according to *Eusebius*^l, descended from *Tharsis* the son of *Javan*, and grandson of *Japhet*, that writer by *Tharsis* understands the *Rhodians*. On the other hand *St. Jerom* is of opinion, that the island of *Rhodes* was first peopled by the descendants of *Dodanim* the brother of *Tharsis*, whom the *Greeks* corruptly called *Rhodanim*; and hence came the name of *Rhodes* and *Rhodians*^m. Be that as it will, all the antients agree, that the *Rhodians* after the *Trojan war* consisted chiefly of *Dorians*, and that the *Doric dialect* was commonly used throughout the whole island.

THE *Rhodians* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and soon became so skilled in maritime affairs, and expert in navigation, that for many ages they were sovereigns of the sea, their laws, called the *Rhodian laws*, being the standard whereby to decide all controversies relating to maritime affairs. These laws and constitutions were so just, that they were afterwards incorporated into the *Roman* pandects, and followed in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire.

THE government of *Rhodes* was originally monarchical, and several kings are said to have reigned there long before the *Trojan war*ⁿ; but, as the authors (*D*), who have written

Their trade and navigation.

Government.

ⁱ STRAB. l. xiv.

^k PAUSAN. l. ix.

^l EUSEB. chron.

^m HIERONYM. in quæst. Hebraic.

ⁿ Vide PINDAR.

Olymp. od. vii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13. STRAB. l. xiv. &c.

(D) The *Rhodian* writers mentioned and quoted by *Diodorus Siculus* (76), *Athenæus* (77), *Suidas*, *Plutarch*, and others, are, *Clitophon*, who, according to *Hieroclidus*, wrote a treatise on the government of *Rhodes*. *Ergæus* is quoted by *Athenæus* as the author of an history containing the exploits of the *Phœnicians*, who in ancient times inhabited the island of *Rhodes*. *Jafon* described in three books the state of *Greece* and *Rhodes*. *Polyzelus* is said by *Strabo* and *Athenæus* to have written several historical

tracts, among others one on the warlike actions of the *Rhodians*. *Zenon* wrote a geographical account of *Rhodes*. *Eudoxus* is mentioned by *Laertius*, who tells us, that he wrote an history; and by *Suidas*, *Apollonius*, and the mythologist, who quotes the tenth book of this author's history. Some writers confound *Eudoxus* the *Rhodian* historian with another *Eudoxus* of *Cyzicum*, who, following *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, sailed from the *Persian* gulf to *Cadix*, as *Strabo* relates on the credit of *Posidonius* (78),

(76) *Diodor. Sicul. l. v. c. 13.*
l. vi.

(77) *Athenæus, l. viii. c. 11.*

(78) *Strab.*

of *Rhodes*, have not reached our times, we can give no account of those ancient kings. The names of the princes, who

and *Phryx* or that of *Cornelius Nepos*. *Artemas* flourished about the beginning of the *Olympiads*, and wrote several poems on the situation of *Samos*, where he was born of *Rhodian* parents. *Strabo* cites thirteen verses from his poem intitled *Apollo*, on men who had dogs heads. These have all written the history, or part of the history, of *Rhodes*; and are frequently quoted by the ancients, especially by *Diodorus Siculus*. It would be too tedious to insert here a catalogue of the many eminent writers, whom this island has produced. However, we shall give a succinct account of those, whom we find to have been most admired by the best judges of antiquity. These are, *Arifrophanes*, a native of *Lindus*, whose comedies met with such applause at *Athens*, that he was declared free of that city, and honoured with a crown made of the branches of an olive-tree, which grew in the citadel, and was sacred to *Minerva*. *Eudamas*, counted by *Strabo* among the illustrious philosophers of antiquity (79); he is said to have written a learned treatise of geometry, astronomy, and the power and influence of the stars. *Hieronymus*, commended by *Strabo*, *Athenus*, and *Tully*, as the chief *Peripatetic* philosopher of his time. *Leontias*, ranked by *Strabo*, *Erastus*, and *Vitruvius*, among the men who gained more reputation to their country by the arts of peace, than the greatest captains by those of war.

Pisander, a native of *Camirus*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Macrobius* as the author of a poem filed *Heracles*, which comprehended in two books, all the exploits of *Hercules*: he is said by *Suidas* to have been the first that represented *Hercules* with a club. *Panætius*, who was preceptor to *Scipio Africanus* the younger, and attended him, together with *Polybius*, in all his expeditions. Upon *Scipio's* death he retired to *Athens*, where he was highly esteemed, and admitted into the number of *Athenian* citizens. *Cicero* acknowledges, that he followed him in his book of offices. *Molon*, or *Apollonius Molon*, who taught rhetoric first at *Rome*, afterwards at *Rhodes*, and had in both places a great many disciples of distinction; among others, *Cicero*, who followed him from *Rome* to *Rhodes*. *Molon* wrote some historical works; for *Josephus* (80) complains of him as undeservedly traducing the *Jews*, and disparaging some of the most glorious actions of their princes. *Idæus*, who took upon him to correct the *Iliad*; but did not succeed so well in that undertaking, as he did in an epic poem of his own, wherein he set forth the memorable actions of the *Rhodians*. *Timocreon*, a famous poet and wrestler, who in the *Olympic* games was victor in five different sorts of combats. *Athenæus* tells us, that his epitaph was written by *Symonides*, and conceived in the following terms: *Here lies Timocreon the Rhodian, who of*

who reigned in the time of the Trojan war, and after that epoch, are *Tlepolemus*, *Dorieus*, *Damagetus*, *Diagoras*, *Eva-* *Kings of goras*, *Cleobulus*, *Eraslides*, *Damagetus II.* *Diagoras II.* *Rhodes.*

TLEPOLEMUS, the son of *Hercules*, accompanied *Aga-* *Tlepo-* *memnon* to the Trojan war, leaving the government of his mus. kingdom to *Butas*, who had attended him in his flight from *Argos*. Some say, that he was killed before *Troy* by *Sarpedon*; others, that he returned home loaded with the spoils of the plundered city *. *Dorieus* is only mentioned by *Pausanias*, *Dorieus* and supposed to have reigned, since his son *Damagetus* enjoyed the royal dignity. All we know of *Damagetus* is, that he *Damagetus* was commanded by an oracle to marry the daughter of the *best man among the Greeks*; and that, in compliance with the injunction of the god, he took to wife the third daughter of *Aristomenes* the *Messinian* †, by whom he had *Diagoras*, who *Diagoras* succeeded him in the kingdom, and became so famous on account of his equity and justice, that the princes who succeeded him were all called *Diagoridæ*, as if he had been the head and first of the family ‡. *Evagoras* is mentioned only *Evagoras* by *Laertius*, who gives us no account of his reign †. *Cleobu-* *Cleobu-* *bulus* travelled into *Egypt*, where he studied philosophy; and, *lus* on his return to *Rhodes*, was highly esteemed not only by his countrymen, but by all the *Greeks*, and counted among the seven wise men of *Greece*. His daughter *Cleobulina* is said to have been a woman of great learning, well versed in philosophy, astrology, poetry, &c. and to have had an admirable talent in making of ænigmas †. *Cleobulus* died in the 70th year of his age, leaving the kingdom, as he had no male issue, to his daughter, who resigned it to *Eraslides*, one of the *Eraslides* descendents of *Diagoras*, and consequently of the same family. *Eraslides*, it seems, performed nothing worth mentioning :

* DIODOR. *ibid.* DICTYS, PHILOSTRATUS, &c. P PAUSAN.

† *ibid.* ‡ LAERTIUS, in *vit.* *Cleobul.*

• *Idem ibid.*

all things liked good eating and drinking, and never spoke well of any-body. *Praxiphanes*, a native of *Lindus*, wrote a most learned comment on the obscure passages of *Sophocles*; and is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Hesychius*. *Antheas*, born likewise in *Lindus*, was the first inventor, as *Suidas*, informs us, of the *Alonic verse*, so called from *Aloni*, that poet

having first made them to bewail his death. Many other writers of great note have formerly flourished in this island; but, as we cannot pretend to give an account of them all in this place, we must refer our readers to *Beursius* in his learned treatise on the island of *Rhodes*, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1675, and published with those on *Crete* and *Cyprus* by the same author.

Diagoras
II.

He and his
three sons
victors in
the public
sports.

His
daughter
Pherenice.

he is called by *Pindar* a pacific prince, and said to have reigned without giving trouble to his neighbours, or being troubled by them. After him reigned several other princes of the same family, as we gather from the scholiast of *Pindar* *; but the only one we find mentioned by the antients is *Diagoras* II. who was cotemporary with *Pindar*. He proved conqueror in the *Olympic*, *Isthmian*, *Nemeæan*, and *Argian* games: and is, on that account, highly commended by *Pindar*. He had two daughters, *Calipateras* and *Pherenice*, and three sons, *Acusilaus*, *Damagetus*, and *Dorieus*. These sons were all three victors at the same time in the *Olympic* sports, *Acusilaus* in boxing, *Dorieus* in wrestling, and *Damagetus* in the exercise called *Pancration*, which consisted of the two former. After the judges had passed sentence, and the public herald proclaimed their names, they flew to embrace their father, who was present; and, placing their crowns on his head, carried him in triumph through the croud; all *Greece* extolling with loud acclamations their piety, which made that numerous assembly in a manner forget their victory. The father, not able to bear such an excess of joy, died in their arms, envied more for his death, as our author expresses it, than for the many victories, which, during his life, had equalled him to the gods †. *Dorieus* was three times successively victor in the *Olympic* games, eight times in the *Isthmian*, seven times in the *Nemeæan*, and once in the *Pythic*, no one daring to contend with him. Being driven from *Rhodes*, he retired with his nephew *Pisidorus* to *Thurium* in *Italy*. What was laid to his charge, we know not; but *Thucydides* informs us, that he was soon recalled; and that on his return he not only openly declared for the *Lacedæmonians*, but served in their fleet with gallees equipped at his own expence, till he was in an engagement taken prisoner by the *Athenians*, who at first designed to put him to death, but afterwards sent him home untouched, and without ransom, in consideration of the many victories he had gained in the public sports ‡. His sister *Pherenice*, after the death of her husband, privately instructed her son *Pisidorus* in the exercises used at *Olympia*, and attended him herself in disguise to the sports; for women were not allowed to be present at those games; nay, so severe were the laws in this particular, that if any woman was found so much as to have passed the river *Alpheus*, during the time of the solemnity, she was to be thrown headlong from a rock on the top of mount *Timæus*. *Pherenice*, after her son had

* Scholiast. PIND. p. 59.

† PAUSAN. I. vi. AUL. GELL.

I. iii. c. 15.

‡ THUCYD. I. iii. & viii. XENOPH. I. i. DION. SIC. I. xiii. PAUSAN. I. vi.

won the prize, discovered herself; and, being apprehended, was brought before the judges, who acquitted her, out of respect to her father, brothers, and son *. From *Diagoras* I. to *Diagoras* II. chronologers count two hundred and fifty years; whence it is manifest, that neither the actions, nor even the names, of several intermediate kings have reached us. Upon the death of *Diagoras* II. some great revolution must have happened; for we find another family on the throne, viz. that of the *Asclepiadae*, while his children were still alive †. But we are quite in the dark both as to their names and actions. All we know is, that they did not long enjoy the sovereignty, the *Rhodians* having no king at the time of *Xerxes's* expedition into *Greece*, which, according to *Diodorus* ‡, happened a few years after the death of *Diagoras*. After the death or expulsion of the last king, the republican government prevailed all over the island, during which the *Rhodians* applied themselves to trade and navigation, and, as *Strabo* informs us §, became very powerful by sea, and planted several colonies in distant countries, namely, *Rhodus* in *Spain*, and *Parthenope* in the country of the *Opici*. The same author adds, that the *Rhodians* at this time were masters of the *Balearic* islands, called then the *Gymnasian* islands. During the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Rhodians* first sided with the *Athenians*; but, after their great overthrow in *Sicily*, revolted from them, and joined the *Lacedaemonians*, whom they likewise abandoned, and renewed their antient alliance with the *Athenians*, after the former had been defeated by *Conon*, admiral of the *Persian* fleet. In the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, and for several years after, the republic of *Rhodes* was rent into two factions, the people favouring the *Athenians*, and the nobles the *Lacedaemonians*; but the latter at last prevailed, the democracy was abolished, and an aristocracy introduced in its room. Under this form of government the state enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till the third year of the hundredth and fifth *Olympiad*, which was the third year of the reign of *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, when the social war broke out, which, after it had lasted five years, was concluded by a treaty, very little to the honour of *Athens*, as we have related in the history of that republic. By this treaty *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Cos*, and *Byzantium*, were to enjoy full liberty, and be quite independent of *Athens*. It was on this occasion that *Isocrates* wrote that famous oration, which is intituled, of peace, or

* PAUSAN. in *Eliac*. p. 457. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. x. c. i. VAL. MAX. l. viii. PLIN. l. vii. c. 41. † ARISTID. orat. in *Asclepiad*. & ad *Rhodos* de concordia. ‡ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. § STRAB. l. xiv.

social; wherein he represents to the *Athenians*, that real and lasting greatness does not consist in making conquests, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice, but in governing the people with wisdom, and rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, and, by good offices, obliging and gaining over their neighbours, without having recourse to arms, except when all other means prove ineffectual. This maxim is still extant, and well worth the reader's perusal.

The Rhodians possessed by Mausolus king of Caria.

THE peace, which put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect. The people of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, who had been declared free by the treaty, seemed only to have changed their master. *Mausolus* king of *Caria*, who had assisted them in throwing off the *Athenian* yoke, declared for an aristocracy; and, by that means having oppressed the people, came by degrees to be absolute master of both islands, the nobility not daring, as they were hated by the people, to oppose him. But *Mausolus* dying two years after the treaty of peace with *Athens*, the people and nobility, uniting together, drove out the garisons of *Mausolus*, and recovered their ancient liberties. Having thus cleared their respective islands of foreign forces, the *Rhodians*, to revenge the injuries they had suffered from *Mausolus*, having equipped a fleet, invaded *Caria* with a design to possess themselves of that country, which lay very convenient for them. The famous queen *Artemisia*, who had succeeded her husband in the kingdom of *Caria*, being acquainted with their design, ordered the inhabitants of *Halicarnassus*, where it was most likely they would land, to keep within the wall; and, when the enemy arrived, to express by shouts, and clapping of hands, a readiness to surrender. The inhabitants followed her directions; whereupon the *Rhodians*, not suspecting any treachery, left their fleet without any to guard it, and entered the city. In the mean time

Artemisia possessed herself of the city of Rhodes.

Year of the flood 1997.

Bef. Chr.

351.



Artemisia came with her galleys out of the little port through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, and, seizing the enemy's fleet without resistance, set sail for *Rhodes*. The *Rhodians*, who had entered the city, having no means to make their escape, were all cut in pieces; but, before this melancholy news reached *Rhodes*, *Artemisia* had got possession of that city. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they admitted them into the port with extraordinary marks of joy, not doubting but they had taken *Halicarnassus*. Then *Artemisia*, landing her troops, fell upon the unarmed multitude, dispersed them, and, having possessed herself of the city, put the chief citizens, who had promoted the *Carian* expedition, to death. Being now mistress of the metropolis,

metropolis, she caused a noble trophy to be erected in the market-place, and two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of *Rhodes*, and the other *Artemisia* branding it with an hot iron. The *Rhodians* afterwards surrounded that trophy with a building, which prevented it intirely from being seen, religion forbidding them to demolish any monuments, which had once been consecrated ^f. From this, and from what we read in one of *Demosthenes's* orations ^g, it appears, that *Artemisia* did not, like a forlorn and inconsolable widow, pass her whole time in grief and lamentation, as some writers would make us believe. A modern author of no mean character ^h suspects, that whatever has been reported of her excessive grief is without any foundation, being advanced by some, and perhaps believed, on account of the magnificent monument she erected to the memory of her deceased husband, and afterwards copied by others. And truly her whole conduct discovers rather the active courage of a queen, than the severe affliction and retirement of a widow. The *Rhodians*, being thus reduced by a woman, and unable to bear any longer so shameful a servitude, had recourse to the *Athenians*, and privately sent ambassadors to implore their protection. They had but lately provoked the *Athenians* by *The Rhodians re-* their revolt, and the many mischiefs which they had brought cur to the upon their republic, during the social war. However, *Demosthenes* took upon him to back their ambassadors, and speak Athe- to the people in their favour. He began by setting their re- nians. volt in its full light, and enlarging on their injustice and perfidy; insomuch that some imagined the orator was going to declare against them in the strongest terms. But all this was only to insinuate himself into the favour of his auditors, and afterwards stir them up to compassion for a people, who ac- *Demosthenes speaks in* knowleged their fault, and owned themselves unworthy of *their fa-* that protection, which they were come to implore. He set *vour*. before them the great maxims, which in all ages had gained so much glory to *Athens*, the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of their enemies, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory he added those of interest, shewing how necessary it was, that they should declare for a city, that favoured the democratic government, and not abandon to a foreign power so wealthy an island as that of *Rhodes*. This is the substance of that famous discourse, intituled, *For the liberty of the Rhodians*. What impression this speech made on the minds of the *Athenians*, we know not. All we can advance with certainty is,

^f VITRUVIUS, l. ii. c. 20. ^g DEMOSTHENES, de libertat. Rhodior.
^h BAYLE diction. histor. &c.

Rhodians restored to their ancient liberty. that the *Rhodians* were soon after delivered from the yoke they groaned under. Some writers tell us, that they were indebted to the *Athenians* for their liberty; while others affirm, that, *Artemisia* dying the same year she possessed herself of the island, the *Rhodians* reinstated themselves in their former condition with their own forces ^l.

They surrender to Alexander. FROM this time the *Rhodians* enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom they delivered up of their own accord their cities and harbours, and were on that account highly favoured by that prince ^k. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* lodged his last will in the archives of the city of *Rhodes*, and shewed on all occasions a greater value for the *Rhodians*, than for any other of the *Greek* nations. However, they no sooner heard the news of his death, but, taking up arms, they drove out the *Macedonian* garrison, and once more became a free people ^l. About this time happened a dreadful inundation at *Rhodes*, which, being accompanied with violent storms of rain, and hail-stones of an extraordinary bigness, beat down many houses, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. As the city of *Rhodes* was built in the form of an amphitheatre, and no care had been taken to clear the pipes and conduits which conveyed the water into the sea, the lower parts of the city were in an instant laid under water, several houses quite covered, and the inhabitants drowned before they could get to the higher places. As the deluge increased, and the violent showers continued, some of the inhabitants made to their ships, and abandoned the place, while others, attempting to remedy the evil, miserably perished in the waters. The city being thus threatened with utter destruction, the wall on a sudden burst asunder, and the water, discharging itself with a violent current into the sea, unexpectedly delivered the inhabitants from all danger ^m.

An inundation at Rhodes. THE *Rhodians* suffered greatly by this unexpected misfortune; but soon repaired their losses, by applying themselves more closely than ever to trade and navigation, the only sources of their wealth and power. As the city of *Rhodes* was at this time very powerful at sea, and, according to *Diodorus* ⁿ, the best governed of any city among the *Greeks*, all the princes, who were then at variance with each other, courted her friendship. But the *Rhodians* carefully declined favouring one against, another; and by thus observing a strict neutrality in the wars that were kindled in those times, became one of the

The Rhodians courted by all the neighbouring princes.

^l AUL. GELL. l. x. c. 18. STRAB. l. xiv.

^k CURT. l. iv.

^l DIODOR. l. xviii.

^m DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix.

ⁿ DIODOR.

SICUL. l. xx. c. 4.

most opulent states of all *Asia*; insomuch that, for the common good of all *Greece*, they undertook the *piratic war*, and at their own charges cleared the seas of the pirates, who had for many years infested the coasts both of *Europe* and *Asia*. Though they were thus in amity with all the neighbouring princes, yet their inclination, as well as interest, secretly attached them to *Ptolemy*; for the most advantageous branches of their commerce sprung from *Egypt*. Wherefore, when *Antigonus*, engaged in a war against *Ptolemy* for the island of *Cyprus*, demanded succours of them, they earnestly intreated him not to compel them to declare against their ancient friend and ally. But this answer, prudent as it was, drew upon *Antigonus* them the displeasure of *Antigonus*, who immediately ordered *resolves to* one of his admirals to sail with his fleet to *Rhodes*, and seize *make war* all the ships that made out of the harbour for *Egypt*. The *on the* *Rhodians*, finding their harbour blocked up by the fleet of *Rhodians*. *Antigonus*, equipped a good number of galleys, fell upon the *Year of* enemy, and obliged him, with the loss of many ships, to *the flood* quit his station. Hereupon *Antigonus*, charging them as the *2044.* aggressors, and beginners of an unjust war, threatened to be- *Bef. Chr.* siege their city with the strength of his whole army. The *304.* *Rhodians* endeavoured by frequent embassies to appease his wrath, representing to him, that not they, but his admiral, had begun hostilities, by seizing their trading-vessels, and interrupting their navigation. But all their remonstrances served rather to provoke than allay his resentment; and the only terms, upon which he would hearken to any accommodation, were; that the *Rhodians* should declare war against *Ptolemy*; that they should admit his fleet into their harbour; and that an hundred of the chief citizens should be delivered up to him as hostages for the performance of these articles. The *Rhodians*, foreseeing the storm which was then impending, sent ambassadors to all their allies, and to *Ptolemy* in particular, imploring their assistance, and representing to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were exposed. The prepa- *Great pre-* rations on both sides were immense. As *Antigonus* was near *parations* fourscore years of age at that time, he committed the whole *on both* management of the war to his son *Demetrius*, who appeared *sides.* before the city of *Rhodes* with two hundred ships of war, an hundred and seventy transports having on board forty thousand men, and a thousand other vessels laden with provisions, and all sorts of warlike engines. As *Rhodes* had enjoyed for many years a profound tranquillity, and been free from all devastations, the expectation of booty, in the plunder of so wealthy a city, allured multitudes of pirates and mercenaries to join *Demetrius* in this expedition; insomuch that the whole sea

Demetrius arrives before the city of Rhodes with a mighty fleet.

sea between the continent and the island was covered with ships; which struck the *Rhodians*, who had a prospect of this mighty armada from the walls, with great terror and consternation. *Demetrius*, having landed his troops without the reach of the enemy's machines, detached several small bodies to lay waste the country round the city, and cut down the trees and groves, employing the timber, and materials of the houses without the walls, to fortify his camp with strong ramparts, and a treble palisade; which work, as many hands were employed, was finished in a few days.

Wise measures taken by the Rhodians for the defence of their city.

THE Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. Many great commanders, who had signalized themselves on other occasions, threw themselves into the city, being desirous to try their skill in military affairs against *Demetrius*, who was reputed one of the most experienced captains in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity had produced. The besieged began with dismissing from the city all such persons as were useless; and then taking an account of those, who were capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens amounted to six thousand, and the foreigners to a thousand. Liberty was promised to all the slaves, who should distinguish themselves by any glorious action, and the public engaged to pay the masters their full ransom. A proclamation was likewise made, declaring, that whoever died in the defence of his country, should be buried at the charge of the public; that his parents and children should be maintained out of the treasury; that fortunes should be given to his daughters; and his sons, when they were grown up, should be crowned and presented with a complete suit of armour at the great solemnity of *Ischius*. This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expences of the war, and the artificers applied themselves with indefatigable industry to the forging of arms, making of engines, and contriving new sorts of warlike machines, which did great execution on the enemy. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout all the quarters of the city, the workmen and artificers striving to outdo each other, and the rich supplying them with materials at their own charge.

They intercept a convoy of the enemy.

THE besieged first sent out three nimble vessels against a small fleet of merchant-ships that supplied the enemy with provisions. These falling upon them sunk some, took others, and burnt the greatest part of them, carrying back with them to *Rhodes* a great number of prisoners. By this first expedition the *Rhodians* gained a considerable sum of money; for

it had been mutually agreed between them and *Demetrius*, that a thousand drachmas should be paid for the ransom of every freeman, and five hundred for each slave.

DEMETRIUS, having planted all his engines, began to batter, with incredible fury, the walls on the side of the harbour; but was for eight days successively repulsed by the besieged, who set fire to most of his warlike engines, and thereby obliged him to allow them some respite, which they made good use of, in repairing the breaches, and building new walls, where the old ones were either weak or low. When *Demetrius* had repaired his engines, he ordered a general assault to be made, and caused his troops to advance with loud shouts, thinking by this means to strike terror into the enemy, and drive them from the walls. But the besieged were so far from being intimidated, that they repulsed the aggressors with great slaughter, and performed the most astonishing feats of bravery. *Demetrius* returned to the assault the next day; but was in the same manner forced to retire, after having lost a great number of men, and some officers of distinction. He had seized, at his first landing, an eminence at a small distance from the city; and, having fortified this advantageous post, he caused several batteries to be erected there, with engines, which incessantly discharged against the walls stones of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. The towers, being thus furiously battered night and day, began to totter, and several breaches were opened in the walls. Then the *Rhodians*, unexpectedly sallying out, drove the enemy from their post, overturned their machines, and made a most dreadful havoc; infomuch that some of them retired on board their vessels, and were with much ado prevailed upon to come ashore again.

THE ardor of *Demetrius* was not diminished by this loss; he ordered a scalade by sea and land at the same time, and so employed the besieged, that they were at a loss what place they should chiefly defend. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Such of the enemy as advanced first were thrown down from the ladders, and miserably bruised. Several of the chief officers, having mounted the walls, to encourage the soldiers by their example, were there either killed, or taken prisoners. After the combat had lasted many hours, with great slaughter on both sides, *Demetrius*, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retire, in order to repair his engines, and give his men some days rest.

*Endea-
vours to
make him-
self mas-
ter of the
port.*

DEMETRIUS, being sensible that he could not reduce the city till he was master of the port, after having refreshed his men, returned with new vigour against the fortifications, which defended the entry into the harbour. When he came within the cast of a dart, he caused a vast quantity of burning torches and firebrands to be thrown into the *Rhodian* ships, which were riding there; and at the same time galled, with dreadful showers of darts, arrows, and stones, such as offered to extinguish the flames. However, in spite of their utmost efforts, the *Rhodians* put a stop to the fire; and, having with great expedition manned three of their strongest ships, drove with such violence against the vessels on which the enemy's machines were planted, that they were shattered in pieces, and the engines dismounted, and thrown into the sea. *Excestus* the *Rhodian* admiral, being encouraged with this success, attacked the enemy's fleet with his three ships, and sunk a great many vessels; but was himself at last taken prisoner: the other two vessels made their escape, and regained the port.

*But in
vain.*

*Machine
of a new
invention.*

As unfortunate as this last attack had proved to *Demetrius*, he determined to undertake another; and, in order to succeed in his attempt, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, which was thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When the work was finished, he caused the engine to be placed near the port, which he was resolved, at all adventures, to force. But, as it was upon the point of entering the harbour, a dreadful storm arising, drove it against the shore, with the vessels on which it had been reared. The besieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, while the tempest was still raging, made a sally against those who defended the eminence mentioned above; and, though repulsed several times, carried it at last, obliging the *Demetrians*, to the number of four hundred, to throw down their arms, and submit. After this victory gained by the *Rhodians*, there arrived to their aid an hundred and fifty *Gnossians*, and five hundred men sent by *Ptolemy* from *Egypt*, most of them being natives of *Rhodes*, who had served among the king's troops¹.

*The Rho-
dians
drive De-
metrius
from an
advanta-
geous post
they had
taken.*

*The fa-
mous en-
gine called
helepolis.*

DEMETRIUS, being extremely mortified to see all his batteries against the harbour rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in hopes of carrying the city by assault, or at least reducing it to the necessity of capitulating. With this view, having got together a vast quantity of timber, and other materials, he framed the famous engine called *helepolis*, which was by many degrees larger than any that had ever been invented before. Its basis was square, each side being in length near fifty cubits, and made up of square pieces of tim-

¹ Idem ibid. & PLUT. in *Demetr.*

ber, bound together with plates of iron. In the middle part he placed thick planks, about a cubit distance from each other; and on these the men were to stand, who forced the engine forward. The whole was moved upon eight strong and large wheels, whose felloes were strengthened with strong iron plates. In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *helepolis*, casters were placed under it, whereby it was turned in an instant to what side the workmen and engineers pleased. From each of the four angles a large pillar of wood was carried to about the height of an hundred cubits, and inclining to each other; the whole machine consisting of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine. Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fire that might be thrown from the city. In the front of each story were windows of the same size and shape as the engines that were to be discharged from thence. To each window were shutters, to draw up for the defence of those who managed the machines, and to deaden the force of the stones thrown by the enemy, the shutters being covered with skins stuffed with wool. Every story was furnished with two large staircases, that whatever was necessary might be brought up by one, while others were going down by the other, and so every thing might be dispatched without tumult or confusion. This huge machine was moved forwards by three thousand of the strongest men of the whole army; but the art, with which it was built, greatly facilitated the motion. *Demetrius* caused likewise to be made several testudoes or pent-houses, to cover his men while they advanced to fill up the trenches and ditches, and invented a new sort of galleries, through which those, who were employed at the siege, might pass and repass at their pleasure, without the least danger. He employed all his seamen in levelling the ground, over which the machines were to be brought up, to the space of four furlongs. The number of workmen, who were employed on this occasion, amounted to thirty thousand.

In the mean time the *Rhodians*, observing these formidable *The be-* preparations, were busy in raising a new wall within that which *siegedraife* the enemy intended to batter with the *helepolis*. In order to *a new* accomplish this work, they pulled down the wall, which *sur-wall.* rounded the theatre, some neighbouring houses, and even some temples, after having solemnly promised to build more magnificent structures in honour of the gods, if the city were preserved. At the same time they sent cut nine of their best ships to seize such of the enemy's vessels as they could meet with, and thereby distress them for want of provisions. As these

ships were commanded by their bravest sea-officers, they soon returned with an immense booty, and a great many prisoners. Among other vessels they took a gally richly laden, on board of which they found great variety of valuable furniture, and a royal robe, which *Phila* herself had wrought, and sent as a present to her husband *Demetrius*, accompanied with a letter written with her own hand. The *Rhodians* sent the furniture, the royal robe, and even the letter, to *Ptolemy*; which exasperated *Demetrius* to a great degree. In this proceeding they did not imitate, as *Plutarch* observes, the polite conduct of the *Athenians*, who, having once seized one of *Philip's* couriers, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but that of *Olympias*, which they sent, sealed as it was, to *Philip*†.

The walls
under-
mined,

WHILE *Demetrius* was preparing to attack the city, the *Rhodians* having assembled the people and magistrates, to consult about the measures they should take, some proposed in the assembly the pulling down of the statues of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*, which till then had been had in the utmost veneration. But this proposal was generally rejected with indignation, and their prudent conduct greatly allayed the wrath both of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*. However, the latter continued to carry on the siege with the utmost vigour, thinking it would reflect no small dishonour on him, were he obliged to quit the place, without making himself master of it. He caused the walls to be secretly undermined; but, when they were ready to fall, a deserter very opportunely gave notice of the whole to the townsmen, who, having with all expedition drawn a deep trench along the wall, began to countermine, and, meeting the enemy under-ground, obliged them to abandon the work. While both parties guarded the mines, one *Athenagoras* a *Milesian*, who had been sent to the assistance of the *Rhodians* by *Ptolemy* with a body of mercenaries, promised to betray the city to the *Demetrius*, and let them in through the mines in the night-time. But this was only in order to ensnare them; for *Alexander*, a noble *Macedonian*, whom *Demetrius* had sent, with a choice body of troops, to take possession of a post agreed on, no sooner appeared, but he was taken prisoner by the *Rhodians*, who were waiting for him under arms. *Athenagoras* was crowned by the senate with a crown of gold, and presented with five talents of silver.

DEMETRIUS now gave over all thoughts of undermining the walls, and placed all his hopes of reducing the city in the battering-engines which he had contrived. Having therefore leveled the ground under the walls, he brought up his *helepolis*,

† DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* & PLUT. in *Demetr.*

with four testudoes on each side of it. Two other testudoes of an extraordinary size, bearing battering-rams, were likewise moved forwards by a thousand men. Each story of the heliopolis was filled with all sorts of engines for discharging of stones, arrows, and darts. When all things were ready, *Demetrius* ordered the signal to be given, when his men, setting and *su-* up a shout, assaulted the city on all sides, both by sea and *riously* land. But, in the heat of the attack, when the walls were *battered*. ready to fall by the repeated strokes of the battering-rams, ambassadors arrived from *Cnidus*, earnestly soliciting *Demetrius* to suspend all further hostilities, and at the same time giving him hopes, that they should prevail upon the *Rhodians* to submit to an honourable capitulation. A suspension of arms was accordingly agreed on, and ambassadors sent from both sides. But, the *Rhodians* refusing to capitulate on the conditions offered them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and the machines played off in so brisk a manner, that a large tower built with square stones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The besieged nevertheless fought in the breach with so much courage and resolution, that the enemy, after various unsuccessful attempts, were forced to abandon the enterprize, and retire¹.

In this conjuncture a fleet, which *Ptolemy* had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse, for the *Rhodians*, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's ships, which cruised on the coasts of the island to surprise them. A few days after came in safe two other fleets, one sent by *Cassander*, with an hundred thousand bushels of barley; the other by *Lysimachus*, with four hundred thousand bushels of corn, and as many of barley. This seasonable and plentiful supply, arriving when the city began to suffer for want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage, and raised their drooping spirits. Being thus animated, they formed a design of setting the enemy's engines on fire; and with this view ordered a *The be-* body of men to sally out the night ensuing, about the second *sieged set* watch, with torches and firebrands, having first placed on the *fire to the* walls an incredible number of engines, to discharge stones, *engines*. arrows, darts, and fire-balls, against those, who should attempt to oppose their detachment. The *Rhodian* troops, pursuant to their orders, all on a sudden sallied out, and, advancing, in spite of all opposition, to the batteries, set them on fire, while the engines from the walls played incessantly on those, who endeavoured to extinguish the flames. The *Demetrians* on this occasion fell in great numbers, being incapable, in the

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. & PLUT. *ibid*.

darkness of the night, either to see the engines, that continually discharged showers of stones and arrows upon them, or to join in one body, and repulse the enemy. The conflagration was so great, that, several plates of iron falling from the helepolis, that vast engine would have been intirely consumed, had not the troops, that were stationed in it, with all possible speed quenched the fire with water before prepared and ready in the apartments of the engine against such accidents. *Demetrius*, fearing lest all his machines should be consumed, called together, by sound of trumpet, those whose province it was to move them; and, by their help, brought them off, before they were intirely destroyed. When it was day, he commanded all the darts and arrows, that had been shot by the *Rhodians*, to be carefully gathered, that he might, from their number, form some judgment of the number of machines in the city. Above eight hundred firebrands were found on the spot, and no fewer than fifteen hundred darts, all discharged in a very small portion of the night. This struck the prince himself with no small terror; for he never imagined, that they would have been able to bear the charges of such formidable preparations. However, after having caused the slain to be buried, and given directions for the curing of the wounded, he applied himself to the repairing of his machines, which had been dismounted, and rendered quite unserviceable.

*They build
a third
wall.*

IN the mean time the besieged, improving the respite allowed them by the removal of the machines, built a third wall in the form of a crescent, which took in all that part that was most exposed to the enemy's batteries; and, besides, drew a deep trench behind the breach, to prevent the enemy from entering the city that way. At the same time they detached a squadron of their best ships, under the command of *Amyntas*, who made over to the continent of *Asia*; and, there meeting with some privateers, who were commissioned by *Demetrius*, took both the ships and the men, among whom were *Timocles*, the chief of the pirates, and several officers of distinction belonging to the fleet of *Demetrius*. On their return they fell in with several vessels laden with corn for the enemy's camp, which they likewise took, and brought into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels loaded with corn and provisions sent them by *Ptolemy*, together with fifteen hundred men commanded by *Antigonus*, a *Macedonian* of great experience in military affairs. *Demetrius*, in the mean time, having repaired his machines, brought them up anew to the walls, which he incessantly battered till he opened a great breach, and threw down several towers. But when he came to the assault, the *Rhodians* under the command of *Aminias*

Aminias defended themselves with such resolution and intrepidity, that he was in three successive attacks repulsed with great slaughter, and at last forced to retire. The *Rhodians* likewise, on this occasion, lost several officers; and, amongst others, the brave *Aminias* their commander.

WHILE the *Rhodians* were thus signalizing themselves in the defence of their country, a second embassy arrived at the camp of *Demetrius* from *Athens*, and the other cities of *Greece*, soliciting *Demetrius* to compose matters, and strike up a peace with the *Rhodians*. At the request of the ambassadors, who were in all above fifty, a cessation of arms was agreed upon; but the terms offered by *Demetrius* being now rejected by the *Rhodians*, the ambassadors returned home without being able to bring the contending parties to an agreement. Hostilities were therefore renewed, and *Demetrius*, whose imagination was fertile in expedients for succeeding in his projects, formed a detachment of fifteen hundred of his best troops, under the conduct of *Alcimus* and *Mancius*, two officers of great resolution and experience, ordering them to enter the breach at midnight, and, forcing the entrenchment behind it, to possess themselves of the posts about the theatre, where it would be no difficult matter to maintain themselves against any efforts of the townsmen. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an undertaking, and amuse the enemy with false attacks, he at the same time, upon a signal given, ordered the rest of the army to set up a shout, and attack the city on all sides, both by sea and land. By this means he hoped, that, the besieged being alarmed in all parts, his detachment might find an opportunity of forcing the entrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of seizing the advantageous post about the theatre. This design had all the success the prince could expect; for, the troops having set up a shout from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by *Alcimus* and *Mancius* entered the breach, and fell upon those, who defended the ditch, and the wall that covered it, with such vigour, that, having slain the most part of them, and put the rest in confusion, they advanced to the theatre, and seized on the post adjoining to it. This occasioned a general uproar in the city, as if it had been already taken: but the commanding officers dispatched orders to the soldiers on the ramparts not to quit their posts, nor stir from their respective stations. Having thus secured the walls, they put themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those who were lately come from *Egypt*, and with these charged the enemy's detachment. But the darkness of the night prevented them from dislodging the enemy, and regaining the

*But are
all killed
or taken.*

advantageous posts they had seized. But day no sooner appeared, than they renewed their attack with wonderful bravery. The *Demetrians* without the walls, with loud shouts, endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground till they were relieved with fresh forces. The *Rhodians*, being sensible that their fortunes, liberties, and all that was dear to them in the world, lay at stake, fought like men in the utmost despair, the enemy^{*} defending their posts for several hours, without giving ground in the least. At length the *Rhodians*, encouraging each other to exert themselves in defence of their country, and animated by the example of their leaders, made a last effort, and, breaking into the very heart of the enemy's battalion, there killed both their commanders. After their death, the rest were easily put in disorder, and all to a man either killed, or taken prisoners. The *Rhodians* likewise on this occasion lost many of their best commanders, and, among the rest, *Damotiris* their chief magistrate, a man of extraordinary valour, who had signalized himself during the whole time of the siege[†].

*Both parties
inclined to a
peace.*

DEMETRIUS, not at all discouraged by this check, was making the necessary preparations for a new assault, when he received letters from his father *Antigonus*, injoining him to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians* upon the best terms he could get, lest he should lose his whole army in the siege of a single town. From this time *Demetrius* wanted only some plausible pretence for breaking up the siege. The *Rhodians* likewise were now more inclined to come to an agreement, an formerly, *Ptolemy* having acquainted them, that he intended to send a great quantity of corn, and three thousand men, to their assistance; but that he would first have them try whether they could make up matters with *Demetrius* upon reasonable terms. At the same time ambassadors arrived from the *Ætolian* republic, soliciting the contending parties to put an end to a war, which might involve all the east in endless calamities.

*The he-
lepolis ren-
dered use-
less.*

AN accident, which happened to *Demetrius* in this conjuncture, did not a little contribute towards the wished-for pacification. This prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a *Rhodian* engineer found means to render it quite useless. He undermined the tract of ground over which the helepolis was to pass the next day, in order to approach the walls. *Demetrius*, not suspecting any stratagem of this nature, caused the engine to be moved forward, which, coming to the place that was undermined, sunk so deep into

^{*} DIODOR. SICUL. & PLUT. *ibid.*

the ground, that it was impossible to draw it out again. This misfortune, if we believe *Vegetius* and *Vitruvius*, determined *Demetrius* to hearken to the *Attolian* ambassadors, and at last to strike up a peace upon the following conditions: that the republic of *Rhodes* should be maintained in the full enjoyment of their antient rights, privileges, and liberties, without any foreign garison; that they should renew their antient alliance with *Antigonus*, and assist him in his wars against all states and princes, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; and that, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them, they should deliver up a hundred talents, such as *Demetrius* should make choice of, except those who bore any public employment.

THUS the siege was raised, after it had continued a whole year; and the *Rhodians* amply rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in the defence of their country: the slaves were set free, and admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens; and many of the freemen crowned with crowns of gold, and honoured with rich presents out of the public treasury. They likewise set up statues to *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*, who had greatly contributed to the preservation of the place. But, to express their gratitude to *Ptolemy* above the rest, they sent some of their priests to consult the oracle of *Ammon*, whether they should worship him as a god, or no; and, being answered, that they might pay him divine honours, they consecrated to him a square grove in the city, inclosing it with a sumptuous portico, which was a furlong in length, and from him called *Ptolemaeum*, or *Ptolemy's portico*; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of their deliverance in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of *Soter*, that is, *Saviour*. By this surname he is distinguished by the historians from the other *Ptolemies*, who succeeded him in the kingdom of *Egypt*. Some writers have imagined, that the surname of *Soter* was given him for having saved *Alexander* in the city of the *Oxydracans*; but, in this particular, we choose, with the learned *Usser*, to follow *Diodorus*.

DEMETRIUS, now reconciled with the *Rhodians*, at his departure presented them with the heliopolis, and all the other machines he had employed in the siege; which they selling, erected, with the money accruing from the sale, and with *Demetrius's* some additional sums of their own, the famous *Colossus*, as we have hinted above. We cannot help taking notice here of one circumstance, which greatly redounds to the honour of

ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* VEGET. *de re militari.*

SICUL. *ibid.* * ARRIAN. l. vi. p. 131. SILEPH. *ad verbum*

Oxydrac. & PAUSAN. in *Attic.* p. 7.

A peace concluded

The siege of Rhodes raised.

Year of the flood
2045.
Bet. Chr.
303.

Honours paid to Ptolemy by the Rhodians.

Protegenes, a celebrated painter.

Demetrius; *Rhodes* was, at the time of the siege, the residence of a celebrated painter named *Protopogenes*, who was a native of *Caunus*, a city of *Caria*. The house, where he lived, was in the suburbs, without the city, when *Demetrius* first besieged it. But neither the presence of the enemy, who surrounded him, nor the noise of the arms, that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or interrupt his work. The king, surprised at this, asked him, *Why he did not, like the other inhabitants, save himself within the walls.* *Protopogenes* replied, that he was under no apprehension, since he was sensible, that *Demetrius* had declared war against the *Rhodians*, and not against the sciences. The prince was so pleased with this answer, that from that time he took him under his protection, and placed a safeguard round his house, to protect him from the insults of the soldiery. The masterpiece of *Protopogenes* was the picture of one *Ialysus* (E), supposed by the *Rhodians* to have founded their city.

Pliny

(E) This *Ialysus* was but a fabulous hero, the son of *Orchimus*, and grandson of *Apollo*, and the nymph *Rhoda*. *Protopogenes* is said to have been employed seven years in finishing this piece, during which time he condemned himself to a very rigid and abstemious life, eating nothing but lupines, lest the vapours, which a richer food might bring up to the brain, should darken his imagination. To make the picture the more lasting, he covered it with four lays of colours, that, as time should wear one away, another underneath should still appear fresh. When *Apelles* first saw it, he was so transported with admiration, that his speech failed him for some time; and, when he began to recover from his astonishment, he cried out, *Prodigious work! Wonderful performance! However, it has not all those graces which the world admires in my works.* One of the figures in this picture was a dog,

which had cost the painter immense pains, without his being able to express to his own satisfaction the idea he had conceived. He endeavoured to represent the dog in a panting attitude, with his mouth foaming, as after a long course; and exerted all the skill he could, but still was dissatisfied with what he had done. Art, in his opinion, was more visible than it ought to have been; and he wanted to make the foam appear not painted, but actually flowing out of the dog's mouth. He frequently retouched it, but could not express those simple traces of nature of which, he had formed the ideas in his mind. At last, finding all his attempts unsuccessful, in a violent emotion of rage and despair, he darted at the picture the sponge, with which he used to wipe off his colours; and chance accomplished, to use *Pliny's* expression, what art had not been able to effect (81). In the same piece

(81) *Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 10.*

Pliny pretends, that the city was saved by this piece : it was lodged, as he informs us, in that quarter of the city, by which alone it was possible for *Demetrius* to storm the place ; but he chose rather to retire from before the city, than to expose so valuable a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames *. This indeed would have been carrying his taste to a surprising excess ; but we have already intimated the true reasons which obliged *Demetrius* to raise the siege.

THE *Rhodians*, having finished this war, and concluded a peace upon very honourable and advantageous terms, applied themselves intirely to trade and navigation ; by which they not only became masters of the sea, as *Polybius* styles them †, but the most opulent and flourishing state of all *Greece*. They endeavoured to maintain, as much as lay in their power, a strict neutrality in the wars that broke out in the east, especially after the death of *Antigonus* ; but however could not help being involved in one with the *Byzantines*, which lasted but a short time, and did not prove very expensive. The ground of this war is thus related by *Polybius* : The *Byzantines*, being obliged to pay a yearly tribute of fourcore talents to the *Gauls*, in order to raise this sum, came to a resolution of laying a toll on all the ships that traded to the *Pontic* sea. This resolution provoked the *Rhodians*, who were a trading nation, above all the rest. Wherefore they immediately di-

War be-
tween the
Rhodians
and By-
zantines.
Year of
the flood

* *PLIN.* l. vi. c. 4.

† *POLYB.* l. iv.

2124.
Bef. Chr.

224.

was a satyr represented with wonderful art leaning against a column, on the top of which was a thrush so well done, that, when the picture was exposed to view, some fowlers with thrushes having stopped to see it, their birds, mistaking the painted thrush for a real one, began to sing as soon as they had discovered it (82). This piece *Cicero* admired above all the pictures he had ever seen ; for in his time it was still in *Rhodes*. It was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Cassius*, and consecrated in the temple of *Peace*, where it remained in *Pliny's* time ; but was, in the reign of the emperor *Commodus*, as *He-*

rodianus informs us, consumed with the temple by fire. *Protagoras* is censured by the antients for often retouching his pictures, without ever being satisfied with what he had done. Of him it was that *Apelles* said, *Nescit manum de tabula tollere*, as *Pliny* expresses it ; a defect to be equally avoided, as *Tully* observes, by painters and writers. *We ought, says that great orator, to know how far it is proper to expatiate on every subject : for Apelles justly censured some painters, who could never quit the pencil, nor put the last hand to their work* (83).

(82) *Idea ibid.*

(83) *Cic. orat. n. 73.*

spatched ambassadors to the *Byzantines*, complaining of this new tax ; but, as the *Byzantines* had no other means of raising money wherewithal to satisfy the avarice of the *Gauls*, and redeem their country from the rapines of those barbarians, they persisted in their former resolution. Whereupon the *Rhodians* declared war against them, and at the same time sent to solicit *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* to join them, being well assured, that *Prusias* wanted only a favourable opportunity of venting his resentment upon the *Byzantines*, for having endeavoured to reconcile *Attalus* and *Achæus*, who were both declared enemies to the king of *Bithynia*. The *Byzantines* likewise dispatched ambassadors to *Attalus* and *Achæus*, soliciting aid from them. They found *Attalus* disposed to assist them ; but he was not then in a condition to give them a proof of his friendship, having been lately confined by *Achæus* to the ancient limits of his father's kingdom. As for *Achæus*, who was at this time in possession of all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*, and had lately assumed the title of king, he readily espoused the cause of the *Byzantines*, and promised to assist them with the whole power of his kingdom ².

Prusias
king of
Bithynia
assists the
Rhodians.

In the mean time *Prusias*, taking the field, possessed himself of *Hieron*, which town formerly belonged in common to the merchants trading to the *Pontic* sea, but had been lately purchased by the *Byzantines* with a great sum of money by reason of its convenient situation for protecting their trade. He likewise seized on all that portion of *Myfia* in *Asia*, which they had enjoyed for many ages. At the same time the *Rhodians*, with their fleet, ravaged the coasts of the *Byzantine* territories, and seized all their ships trading to the *Pontic* sea. But these losses were not sufficient to make them comply with the request of the *Rhodians*, or to hearken to the terms proposed to them by *Xenophon* the *Rhodian* admiral. They chiefly depended upon the promises made them by *Achæus*, who was both inclined to assist them, and had a powerful army on foot. The *Rhodians* therefore, to draw *Achæus* off from the *Byzantines*, sent ambassadors to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, intreating him to deliver up to them *Andromachus* the father of *Achæus*, who was at that time a prisoner in *Alexandria*. They hoped, that, by sending him back to his son without ransom, they should so gain the good-will of *Achæus*, as to prevent him at least from sending any succours to their enemies. *Ptolemy* did not readily yield to the demand of the *Rhodians* ; for, *Andromachus* being both father to *Achæus*, and brother to *Laodice* the wife of *Seleucus*, he proposed to make a better bargain of him for himself. For the disputes between him and *Antiochus* were not

² POLYB. l. i p. 158. & l. iv. p. 305, 306.

yet composed ; and *Achæus* was become very powerful, extending his conquests far and wide. However, *Ptolemy* was *not* to gain at length prevailed upon to gratify the *Rhodians*, by delivering over *Attalus* up *Andromachus* to them. The *Rhodians* immediately restored *Attalus* to their him without ransom to his son ; and, by that grateful office, party. and other honours decreed to *Achæus*, gained him over to their party, and so deprived the enemy of their chief support. Another misfortune at the same time befel the *Byzantines*, which proved no less prejudicial to their affairs. They had sent for *Tibites*, who was then in *Macedon*, and had as just a claim to the kingdom of *Bithynia* as *Prusias*, who was his nephew. *Tibites* immediately set out from *Macedon*, in hopes of raising disturbances in *Bithynia*, and making good his title to that kingdom, when supported by the power of the *Byzantines*. But he died on his journey ; and his death so disheartened the *Byzantines*, that they began to deliberate how they might extricate themselves out of their present difficulties. *Cavanus* king of the *Thracian Gauls* happened to be at that time in *Byzantium* ; and, being desirous to have the glory of putting an end to the war, offered his mediation : which being readily accepted by the contending parties, a peace was concluded between the *Rhodians* and *Byzantines*, upon condition that the *Byzantines* should forbear exacting toll on ships trading to the *Pontic* sea ; which was all the *Rhodians* had in view in declaring war. As for king *Prusias*, the articles of the treaty with him were, that there should be perpetual peace between him and the *Byzantines* ; that *Prusias* should restore to the *Byzantines* all the lands, towns, people, &c. which he had taken during the war ; and that he should repair all the damages suffered by the *Byzantines* and *Mysians* subject to them. Thus a period was put to the war between the *Byzantines* on one side, and king *Prusias*, surnamed *Cholos*, or the *Lame*, and the *Rhodians*, on the other ^a.

Peace concluded between the Rhodians and Byzantines.

ABOUT this time happened that dreadful earthquake, which, as we have hinted above, threw down the famous *Colossus*, the arsenal, and great part of the walls of the city of *Rhodes* ; which calamity the *Rhodians* improved to their advantage, sending ambassadors to all the princes and states of the *Greek* name, who, exaggerating their losses, procured immense sums for the repairing of them. *Hiero* king of *Syracuse* presented them with an hundred talents, and, besides, exempted from all taxes and duties such as traded to *Rhodes*. *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* gave them an hundred talents, a million of measures of wheat, materials for building twenty quinquereemes, and the like number of triereemes ; and, besides, sent them an

The Colossus, and several public buildings, thrown down by an earthquake.

^a POLYB. in excerpt. Val. p. 26. & l. iv. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6.

hundred architects, three hundred workmen, and materials for repairing their public buildings to a great value, paying them moreover fourteen talents a year for the maintenance of the workmen he sent them. *Antigonus* gave them an hundred talents of silver, with ten thousand pieces of timber, each piece being sixteen cubits long, seven thousand planks, three thousand pounds of iron, as many of pitch and resin, and a thousand measures of tar. *Chryseis*, a woman of distinction, sent them an hundred thousand measures of wheat, and three thousand pounds of lead. *Antiochus* exempted from all taxes and duties the *Rhodian* ships trading to his dominions, presented them with ten galleies, and two hundred thousand measures of corn, with many other things of great value. *Prusias*, *Mithridates*, *Lyfianias*, *Olympicus*, *Limnæus*, and all the princes then reigning in *Asia*, made them proportionable presents. In short, all the *Greek* towns and nations, all the princes of *Europe* and *Asia*, contributed, according to their ability, to the relief of the *Rhodians* on that occasion; inso-much that their city not only soon rose from its ruins, but attained to an higher pitch of riches and splendor than ever ^b.

The Rhodians join Attalus against Philip king of Macedon.

Year of the flood

2245.

Bef. Chr.

203.

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Philip defeated at sea.

A FEW years after, the *Rhodians* could not help engaging in a war against *Philip* king of *Macedon*, which cost them immense treasures. *Philip*, without any provocation, had invaded the territories of *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*; and, because the *Rhodians* seemed to favour their antient friend and ally, the king of *Macedon* sent one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Tarentine*, to set fire to their fleet; and at the same time dispatched embassadors into *Crete*, in order to stir up the *Cretans* against the *Rhodians*, and thereby prevent them from lending any assistance to *Attalus*. These proceedings so provoked the *Rhodians*, that they entered into an alliance with *Attalus*, and proclaimed war against *Philip* <sup>c</sup>. That prince at first gained an inconsiderable advantage over the *Rhodians* in a naval engagement fought near the island of *Lada*, over-against the city of *Miletus*, having taken two of their quinqueremes, and dispersed the rest. The next year he ventured a second battle off the island of *Cbios*, against the united fleets of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; but was defeated, with the loss of three thousand *Macedonians*, and six thousand allies; and besides two thousand *Macedonians*, who served on board his fleet, were taken prisoners, the *Rhodians* having lost in all but sixty men, and *Attalus* seventy. Notwithstanding this loss, which was the greatest he had ever sustained, to that day, either by sea or land, he gave out, that he had been vi-

<sup>b</sup> POLYB. l. vi.      <sup>c</sup> POLYB. l. xiii. p. 672, 673, & in excerpt. VALES. p. 70. & 73. ex ZENON. & ANTISTH. Rhodiiis historicis.

storious, because he happened to take the ship which carried *Attalus*, after it had been driven ashore. However, he afterwards carefully avoided coming to a sea-engagement either with *Attalus*, or the *Rhodians*. After this victory, the two fleets steered their course towards the island of *Ægina*, where they came to an anchor, hoping to intercept *Philip* as he returned on board his fleet into *Macedon*. But, failing in their attempt, they sailed to *Pyræum* the port of *Athens*, and there renewed their alliance with the *Athenians*; who, having been lately insulted by *Philip*, paid them extraordinary honours, adding to *Honours* their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their *paid by the* heroes, an eleventh, which they called *Attalis*, in honour of *Atheni-Attalus*, and presenting the *Rhodians* with a crown of gold, and to *Attalus* after having made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*. *Attalus* and The king of *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodians*, better pleased with the *Rhodes* the treaty than the honours bestowed upon them, returned *dians*. on board their galleys, and set sail, *Attalus* to the island of *Ægina*, and the *Rhodians* to their own island. In their passage they drew into their confederacy all the *Cyclades*, except *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Cythnos*, where *Philip* kept *Macedonian* garisons. Nevertheless, this separation of *Attalus* and the *Rhodes* *dians* proved of very bad consequence for the common cause. Had they kept united, and pursued *Philip* in his retreat, or at least shut up all the entrances into *Greece*, they would have re-established its liberty, and deprived the *Romans* of that glory. But, while the *Rhodes* and *Attalus* were losing time in negotiations with the inhabitants of the *Cyclades* and *Ægina*, *Philip*, *Philip* *re-* who knew how to improve the faults of his enemies to his *duces se-* own advantage, having divided his forces into two bodies, sent *veral ci-* one under the command of *Philocles* to ravage the territory of *ties*. *Athens*; the other he put on board his fleet, with orders to sail to *Meronea*, a city on the north coast of *Thrace*. As for himself, he marched by land to the same place, attended only by two thousand foot and two hundred horse. The city, being attacked at the same time by sea and land, was taken at the first assault. The city of *Enos*, which stood on the same coast, was betrayed to the *Macedonians* by the governor of the place; and then all the castles along the shore submitted of their own accord to the conqueror, who passed on from thence to the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where he took *Eleus*, *Alopeconnesus*, *Callipolis*, and *Madytos*. From the *Chersonesus* the king passed over the *Hellepont*, and laid siege to *Abydos*; which city stopped the rapidity of his conquests, but was at last taken by assault<sup>d</sup>, as we shall relate at length in the history of the successes of *Alexander*.

<sup>d</sup> POLYB. l. xvi. p. 723—730. LIV. l. xxxi. c. 16, & seqq.  
 BEFORE



War pro-  
claimed  
at Rome  
against  
Philip.

Year of  
the flood  
2147.  
Bef. Chr.  
201.



The Rho-  
dians and  
Attalus  
take sever-  
al strong  
towns.

BEFORE Philip began the siege of *Abydos*, the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* had sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to complain of him, and inform the senate, that he was soliciting several states in *Asia* to take up arms, with a design to enslave the *Greek* cities that refused to join him, and then pursue his conquests both in *Europe* and *Asia*. The *Rhodians* had, in the very beginning of this war, entered into an alliance with *Rome*; and on that consideration their ambassadors were received with marks of great distinction by the senate, who promised to dispatch ambassadors to *Philip*; and employ their good offices with that prince in behalf of the *Greeks* in *Asia* and *Europe*. They were as good as their word; but *Philip* dismissed their ambassadors, without shewing any inclination to treat of a peace. Whereupon the *Romans*, *Attalus*, and the *Rhodians*, having renewed their alliance, war was proclaimed at *Rome* against *Philip*; and *P. Sulpitius* the consul sent with an army into *Macedon*. On his arrival he found *Athens* besieged by part of the king's troops, and the king himself busy in making the necessary preparations for invading the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Sulpitius* immediately detached a squadron of twenty galleies to the relief of *Athens*, under the conduct of *Claudius Centho*, who obliged the *Macedonians* to raise the siege, and performed such exploits in *Greece* as were worthy of the consul himself. *Sulpitius* was not in a condition to undertake any thing else the rest of the year; he had left *Rome* too late, and did not arrive in *Epirus* before the end of autumn, when the season did not allow him to keep out at sea, or take the field\*.

EARLY in the spring the *Rhodians* sent twenty galleies under the command of *Agathobrotus* to join *Attalus*, and *Apusius* the *Roman* admiral; and these three fleets struck such terror into the *Macedonians*, that they durst not venture out of their harbours; so that the confederates, laying siege to *Oreos*, a strong city subject to *Philip*, on the eastern coast of *Eubœa*, made themselves masters of that important place, and afterwards laid waste all the neighbouring countries which adhered to *Philip*. The ensuing year the *Rhodians*, in conjunction with *Attalus* and *L. Quintius*, brother to *Titus Quintius Flamininus*, after having ravaged the country of the *Carystii*, laid siege to *Eretria*, a city near the *Euripus*, which they took by assault; and then, returning to *Carystus*, carried that place likewise. From *Carystus* they entered the *Saronic* gulf, and appeared before *Cenchrea*, one of the ports of *Corinth*, which they likewise reduced. But *Corinth* itself being garrisoned by some of the choicest of the *Macedonian* troops, and the *Roman* deserters, the consul, who attacked the place by land, while his

\* POLYB. & LIV. *ibid*.

brother,

brother, with the *Rhodians*, invested it by sea, was forced to raise the siege, after he had made a breach in the walls <sup>f</sup>.

THESE exploits the *Rhodians* performed in conjunction with *The Rhodians* the *Romans*, and king *Attalus*. But the province of *Peræa* they recovered from *Philip* with their own forces alone. *Peræa* was a small province of *Caria*, separated by the *Carpathian* sea from the island of *Rhodes*, to which it had been formerly subject. This province the *Rhodians* undertook to recover, while *Philip's* forces were engaged with *Attalus*, and the *Romans*; committing the whole conduct of this expedition to *Pausistratus*, who was then their prætor or chief magistrate. *Pausistratus* put to sea with his fleet, and landed in *Caria*, at the head of two thousand nine hundred men. With this small army he encamped in the plain which led to *Stratonice*, one of the richest cities in *Caria*, and antiently peopled, according to *Strabo*, by a colony from *Macedon*. The *Rhodian* general, on his landing, had the precaution to seize on a strong hold called *Tendebe*, where he was reinforced by a thousand *Achæans*, and an hundred horse, sent him by the *Achæan* republic. *Dinocrates*, one of the king of *Macedon's* generals, hearing that the *Rhodians* had made a descent in *Caria*, and possessed themselves of *Tendebe*, immediately hastened thither to recover the place, and oblige the enemy to reimbark. But, finding them well fortified, he turned towards *Astragon*, a fortress on the borders of the territory of *Stratonice*. Under the walls of this castle he strengthened his army with all the *Macedonian* garisons in that neighbourhood, and then marched to *Alabanda*, where the *Rhodians* were encamped, with a design to draw them to a decisive action. The *Rhodians* were so far from declining a battle, that they came to meet him, and encamped at a small distance from his army. The two generals drew up their troops in battalia. *Dinocrates* posted five hundred *Macedonians* on the right, the *Argives* on the left, and the *Carians* in the centre. *Pausistratus* placed most of his auxiliaries in the centre, and the *Cretans* and *Thracians* in the wings. Both armies advanced in good order, and continued some time within reach of each other, before they began the attack, being separated by a rivulet. At last *Pausistratus*, advancing at the head of his mercenaries, charged the *Macedonian* phalanx with such fury, that he put it in disorder; then the rest of his army, forcing their way through the ranks already broken by the confusion and flight of the phalangites, spread terror and slaughter every-where. *Dinocrates* in vain endeavoured to rally his disordered troops; the affrighted soldiers would not hearken to the voice of their com-

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the flood  
2151.  
Bef. Chr.  
197.

The *Macedonians*  
defeated  
by the  
*Rhodians*.

<sup>f</sup> Liv. l. xxxii. c. 16, 17, & seqq.

mander; and the general himself was forced to retire, with the small remains of his army, to *Bargylæ*, a city of *Caria*. The *Rhodians* spent the rest of the day in pursuing the fugitives, and, in the evening, returned to their camp. Nothing now prevented them from marching directly to *Stratonice*, which city they might have made themselves masters of, without striking a blow; there was no enemy in the field, and *Dinocrates* had drawn out the garison, to reinforce his army, before the battle: but, not knowing how to use their victory, they lost a favourable opportunity of extending their conquests all over *Caria*. They reduced indeed all the castles and towns of *Peræa*; but in the mean time gave the *Macedonian* general leisure to supply *Stratonice* with provisions, and throw himself into it, with the remains of his army; so that all the efforts of *Panysistratus*, in attempting afterwards to reduce it, proved ineffectual.

*The Rhodians give a signal proof of their attachment to the Romans, and of their zeal for the common interest of Greece.* ABOUT this time *Antiochus* surnamed *the Great*, having reduced in one campaign *Cæleſyria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, was making vast preparations in order to conquer *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then pass into *Europe*, and join his old ally *Philip*. With this view having raised a mighty army, he sent it, under the command of his two sons *Ardus* and *Mithridates*, to wait for him at *Sardinia*, while he, with a powerful fleet, consisting of an hundred large ships of war, and two hundred other vessels, reduced the cities on the coasts of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, which were subject to the king of *Egypt*. On this occasion the *Rhodians* gave a signal proof of their attachment to *Rome*, and al for the common interests of *Greece*. *Antiochus* had already taken *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias*, *Selinus*, and several other castles along the coast; and was actually besieging *Coraceſum*, an important place in *Cilicia*, when the *Rhodians* sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests beyond *Nepheſis*, a famous promontory of *Cilicia*, and threatening him with war, in case he did not comply with their request. The ambassadors were ordered to add, that the *Rhodians* were not prompted to take up arms against him out of any grudge or hatred to his person; but because they would not suffer him to join *Philip*, and interrupt the progress of the *Romans*, in restoring *Greece* to its antient liberty. When the ambassadors were brought into his tent (for he was then encamped before *Coraceſum*), and had acquainted him with their business, the proud monarch, who was used to give law to others, was highly provoked; but however had command enough over his temper not to express any resentment. He only answered, that he would take care

not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, or the *Romans*, with whom he designed always to keep up a good understanding; that he would send ambassadors to renew the ancient treaties, which his ancestors had made with *Rhodes*; and that he had been always desirous to live in amity with the *Romans*: and, in proof of the friendship then subsisting between him and that republic, he gave them an account of the embassy he had lately sent to *Rome*, and of the great honours which had been bestowed upon his ambassadors by the senate. Soon after, *Antiochus* sent ambassadors to *Rhodes*, who, upon their arrival there, heard the news of the intire defeat of *Philip* at *Cyncephalæ*. This news emboldened the *Romans*, and most of them were for putting a fleet out to sea, and engaging *Antiochus*. But the *Rhodians* advised them rather to secure the liberty of the cities in alliance with the king of *Egypt*, which were not yet subdued by *Antiochus*. Their advice was followed; and the cities of *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, and the island of *Samos*, were by this means preserved from the *Syrian* yoke. However, *Antiochus* reduced *Coracestum*, *Coricus*, *Andriace*, *Limyra*, *Patara*, *Xanthus*, all which cities belonged to *Ptolemy*, and lastly *Ephesus* itself<sup>b</sup>.

In the mean time, a peace being concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* were, by the articles of the treaty, put in possession of *Stratonice*, and the best part of *Caria*. This regard shewn them by the *Romans* encouraged them to assist the republic to the utmost of their power in the war which was soon after proclaimed at *Rome* against *Antiochus*. They sent *Paussistratus*, with thirty ships of war, to join *Livius* the *Roman* admiral, and act in conjunction with him against *Antiochus*. But the best part of his fleet was, by the artifice of *The Rhodian fleet* *Polyxenidas*, *Antiochus*'s admiral, surprised and destroyed. *Polyxenidas* was himself by birth a *Rhodian*; but, having been surprised banished his country, had gone into the service of the king of *Syria*, and was now commander in chief of the *Syrian* fleet. *Paussistratus* had advanced with his fleet as far as the island of *Samos*, where he received an express from *Polyxenidas*, telling him, that, being now master of the *Syrian* fleet, it was in his power to do *Paussistratus*, and his country, signal service, provided *Paussistratus* would engage, in the name of his republic, to restore him to his native country, and to the honours he enjoyed before his banishment. *Paussistratus*, thinking that such a proposal ought neither to be implicitly believed, nor absolutely neglected, desired *Polyxenidas* to explain himself more fully, and promised secrecy. Then the latter sent a second express, acquainting him, that he was ready to deliver

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<sup>b</sup> LIV. l. xxxiii. HIERONYM. in Dan. c. xi.

up *Antiochus's* fleet, provided only he might be permitted to return to his country, and be reinstated in his former condition there. This *Pausistratus* thought a proposal of too much importance to be rejected; and, in order to give *Polyxenidas* time to follow him, he retired with his squadron to a port of *Samos*, called *Panormus*, and there waited to see the conclusion of the affair. From thence he sent an express to *Polyxenidas*, promising him whatever he demanded; and *Polyxenidas*, on his side, sent him a letter written with his own hand, wherein he promised to deliver up the whole *Syrian* fleet. Upon this open declaration, *Pausistratus* was no longer in suspense. He had it in his power to ruin *Polyxenidas*; and he could not believe, that a wise man would make a promise, which might cost him his life, without designing to perform it. Nothing therefore remained but to take the proper measures for putting the design in execution. To this end *Polyxenidas* promised to cause all duty to be neglected on board the *Syrian* fleet; to separate the soldiers and seamen under several pretences; to send them away from the port of *Ephesus*, where his fleet was then at anchor, and by that means expose them to be taken without the least difficulty. This method pleased *Pausistratus*, who affected the same negligence, which he was assured he should find in the enemy's fleet; and quietly waited for notice when he should go and attack them in the port of *Ephesus*. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, the better to cover his real design, sent away some of his galleys, ordered the harbour to be cleansed, and seemed in no haste to put to sea. While *Pausistratus* was daily expecting to be called to *Ephesus*, a private person happened to come from that city to *Samos*, who, being examined by *Pausistratus* concerning the proceedings of *Polyxenidas*, and the condition of his fleet, ingenuously told him, that the port of *Ephesus* was full of ships, that the soldiers and mariners were all assembled at a place within reach of it, and that the *Syrian* admiral was making great preparations, as if he had some great enterprize in view. Notwithstanding this sincere report of an indifferent person, *Pausistratus* was so prepossessed with the promise of an artful enemy, that he still continued at *Samos*, in hopes of being soon sent for to take the *Syrian* fleet. But *Polyxenidas* took quite different measures; he sailed from *Ephesus* with seventy ships of war, steering his course to *Pygela*, a city on the coast of *Ionia*, whence the *Asiatic* fleets generally set out for *Greece*. But, before he weighed anchor, he ordered one *Nicaner*, commander of a squadron of privateers, to make a descent in the island of *Samos*, and conceal his men there, till the rest of the fleet arrived. From *Pygela*, *Polyxenidas* set sail for the port of *Panormus*, where, arriving in the night, he found  
the

the *Rhodians* lying on the shore, without any apprehension of an enemy. But the noise of a fleet entering the port soon awakened them. As they were all veteran troops, *Paussistratus*, at last convinced of the treachery, thought it more advisable to make use of them in a fight at land than at sea; and accordingly drew them up in order of battle, to the right and left, upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were scarce drawn up, when they were, to their great surprize, attacked in the rear by *Nicanor*, who had therein followed the directions of *Polyxenidas*. The *Rhodians*, fearing lest they should be surrounded, retired with precipitation to their ships; but, the mouth of the harbour being stopped up by the *Syrian* fleet, they found it necessary to force a way through it, in order to gain the high seas. The gally, on board of which was *Paussistratus*, was the first that faced the enemy at the mouth of the port, and broke through their fleet, in spite of all opposition; but, being immediately invested by five quinquereines commanded by *Polyxenidas* in person, she was overpowered and sunk. Thus perished *Paussistratus*, who had on all occasions distinguished himself by his courage and prudent conduct, and was at last overcome by a base stratagem. After the death of the admiral, the *Rhodian* fleet was soon destroyed; some of the gallies were taken in sight of the port, others in the port itself, while they attempted to force their way out; insomuch that, of this great armament, only seven ships escaped, viz. five belonging to *Rhodes*, and two to the island of *Cos*. These, in order to force their way through the enemy's fleet, lighted great fires in their prows, and from thence held out long poles with kettles full of burning bitumen, which, by the terror they gave the enemy, favoured their escape. In their flight they were met by some *Erytræan* gallies, that were coming to their assistance; and, with them, they turned towards the *Hellepont*, where they joined the *Roman* fleet, which, under the command of *Livius*, was carrying on the siege of *Abydos*. The Rhodian fleet destroyed.

THE *Rhodians*, notwithstanding this loss, did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, or their engagement to assist her with all their forces. They immediately fitted out twenty new gallies, and gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, a man indeed less brave and experienced than *Paussistratus*, but more distrustful and circumspect. *Eudamus* having joined the *Roman* admiral at *Samos*, the confederates sailed from thence together to *Ephesus*, where they not only insulted the *Syrian* fleet under the command of *Polyxenidas*, but even challenged They fit out another fleet.

<sup>1</sup> LIV. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. p. 101.

them to an engagement at land. But the challenge not being accepted, they returned to *Samos*, whence *Livius*, after he had resigned his command to his successor *Æmilius*, was detached with part of the fleet to reduce *Patara* in *Lycia*, which place was a great check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt; whereupon the *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets sailing to *Adramyttium*, where *Antiochus* was encamped, obliged him to retire to *Sardis*; and then the confederate fleets returned to *Samos*, where they parted. *Eumenes* went to the *Hellepont* to convoy the *Scipio's*, who were appointed to carry on the war against *Antiochus*, over into *Asia*. *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes* with his gallies, to receive there new reinforcements; and *Æmilius* continued at *Samos* to watch the motions of *Polyxenidas*, who was still shut up in the port of *Ephesus* <sup>k</sup>.

In the mean time news being brought, that a formidable fleet was coming out of *Syria*, under the command of the famous *Hannibal*, *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, having reinforced his squadron with seventeen other ships, went out to meet him, in order to prevent his joining *Polyxenidas* in the port of *Ephesus*. *Eudamus* first advanced to the island of *Megiste* near the coasts of *Lycia*, with a design to wait for him there. But the heat being excessive, and the air there very unwholesome, he sailed from thence to the mouth of the *Eurymedon*, a river of *Pamphylia*; where he was informed by the inhabitants of *Aspendus*, that *Hannibal's* fleet appeared off *Sida*, a maritime city on the borders of *Pamphylia*. It consisted of 37 large ships, among which were three septiremes, four hexaremes, and ten triremes; whereas the *Rhodian* fleet consisted only of 32 quadriremes, and four triremes. When the *Syrian* fleet discovered the *Rhodians* advancing to attack them, they made a large front, and faced the enemy. *Hannibal* commanded the right wing, and *Apollonius*, one of the king's chief favourites, the left. The *Rhodians* sailed on in a line, with *Eudamus* at their head; *Chariclitus* brought up the rear, and *Pamphilidas* commanded in the centre. When they came to draw up in a line of battle, *Eudamus* failed out; but did

The Rhodians de- not leave room enough for his gallies to be drawn up with the due distances in one line. This inadvertency caused some disorder in his fleet. However, while they were disentangling themselves in the best manner they could, *Eudamus* with five gallies only attacked *Hannibal's* wing: and the experience of the *Rhodians* soon repaired the fault of their admiral; for the ships widened of themselves, so that each had room enough to turn about, and ply their oars. Then the onset began, and not one of the *Rhodian* gallies attacked *Antiochus's* ships

<sup>k</sup> Liv. *ibid*.

without

The Rhodians defeated Hannibal in a sea fight.  
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2158.  
Bef. Chr.  
190.

without success. The largest ship in the royal navy was, by a very small *Rhodian* gally, sunk even in the beginning of the engagement, which greatly terrified and disheartened the *Syrians* in the left wing. But *Eudamus* was hard pressed by *Hannibal* in the right wing. The *Carthaginian* had already surrounded the five *Rhodian* galleys; which the others observing, hastened to his relief, and attacked *Hannibal* on all sides with such vigour, that he was forced to crowd all the sail he could, and save that part of the squadron by flight. The *Rhodians*, after having pursued him some time, and taken one of his hexarèmes, returned to *Rhodes* with the glory indeed of having conquered, but reproaching one another for not having utterly destroyed the *Syrian* fleet. However, they had at least the advantage of blocking him up in the ports of *Pamphylia* so close, that it was impossible for him to do the king the least service. *Chariclitus* lay at anchor with twenty ships of war off *Patara*, and the island of *Megiste*, in order to intercept him in his passage, if he attempted to join *Polyxenidas*. As for *Eudamus*, he returned with only seven great ships to join the prætor *Æmilius* at *Samos* <sup>1</sup>.

WHILE the *Rhodians* kept *Hannibal* thus blocked up, *The fleet* *Æmilius*, being joined by another *Rhodian* squadron, intirely of *Antioch* defeated the fleet of *Antiochus* off the island of *Tcos*. In this thus engaged the *Syrians* lost forty-two of their best ships, *terly de-* and the *Romans* only two. The news of this defeat so de- *feated* *Antiochus*, that he raised the siege of *Colophon*, and retired into *Cappadocia* to his son-in-law *Ariarathes*. He was soon after totally defeated by land in the famous battle, which was fought near *Magnesia*, and determined that unhappy prince to accept a peace upon such conditions, as it pleased the conqueror to impose. On this occasion king *Eumenes* went in person to *Rome*, to congratulate the republic on the success of her arms in the *Levant*; and was received by the senate with all possible marks of honour and gratitude for his services, and pressed to declare what recompence would be most agreeable to him. The king for a long time modestly declined saying any thing in his own praise, or asking any particular reward, referring that matter wholly to the determination of the conscript fathers. But they still insisting, that he should give an account of his exploits, and declare what *Rome* could do to shew her gratitude in the most acceptable manner, he at length complied; and, having run over his father's services and his own, and answered the objections he foresaw the *Rhodians* would make, as republicans, against the increase of his territories, and in favour of the *Asiatic Greeks*, whose liberty and independence they would contend for, he thus

<sup>1</sup> LIV. *ibid.* APPIAN. p. 104. ÆMIL. PROB. in *Hannib.*



concluded: "As to my desires, since I must declare them, they are these. You have confined the king of *Syria* within mount *Taurus*; and, if *Rome* keeps for herself the countries which extend from those parts to the sea, I shall lay no claim to them; it will be both a pleasure to me, and a security to my dominions, to have you for my neighbours. But, if you should despise so distant a conquest, and think it will not answer the expence of keeping it, I will venture to say, that none of your allies have better deserved it than myself." The senate received his proposal with approbation, and was disposed to grant him his request;

The Rhodian deputies oppose at Rome the pretensions of king *Eumenes*.

but the *Rhodian* deputies, when they were admitted to audience, pleaded for the liberty of the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, as *Eumenes* had apprehended. "Your victories, said they to the senate, have made you masters of a great many *Greek* colonies on this side mount *Taurus*. And shall they alone not partake of that general regard for liberty, which has made you the deliverers of *Greece*? Subject as many of the other nations to *Eumenes* as you please; they do not know the value of liberty; they have been so long accustomed to kingly government, that it is scarce any burden to them. But the *Greeks* have the same spirit as the *Romans*; they love, nay, they adore liberty; and expect to receive from you this inestimable present, for which they will be eternally indebted to your glorious arms. It may indeed be said, that these *Greek* cities declared for *Antiochus*. And so likewise did many of the *Greek* cities in *Europe*, which nevertheless you restored to their laws and liberties. And this, all we ask for the *Asiatic Greeks*. Cannot you deny *Eumenes* what you denied yourselves? This, conscript fathers, is our only request. Have not the past services of the *Rhodians* deserved your favour for a people, who came originally from *Greece*, as well as themselves? Besides, to grant our desires, is to give the highest instance possible of that true magnanimity, which is peculiar to *Roman* minds."

The Rhodians rewarded by the Romans.

THIS speech made an impression on the minds of the fathers, who at length determined to send ten commissioners into the *Levant* to settle all disputes there; but declared beforehand, that *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygias*, and *Mysia*, should for the future be subject to *Eumenes*. *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*, and part of *Pisidia*, were bestowed on the *Rhodians* as a reward for their eminent services during the war. However, in both these dispositions those cities were excepted, which enjoyed their liberty before the war. The disposal of *Soli* raised a dispute between the *Rhodians*, and the ambassadors of king *Antiochus*. *Soli* was a city

a city of *Cilicia* beyond mount *Taurus*, and had been founded by a *Greek* colony from *Argos*. The *Rhodians* therefore thought it should be declared free, as well as the other *Greek* cities; but the king's embassadors claiming it in virtue of the treaty concluded with the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* acquiesced, and *Soli* was allotted to king *Antiochus* <sup>1</sup>.

THE *Rhodians*, though such zealous assertors of liberty, yet oppressed in a most cruel manner the *Lycians*, who had been subjected to them by the *Roman* senate. The *Lycians*, not able to bear the oppressions they groaned under, sent deputies to *Rome*, to complain of their new masters, and procure some redress for their calamities. When they were introduced to the senate, they addressed the fathers thus :  
 “ We were formerly subject to the king of *Syria*, and found his government very mild, in comparison of the oppressions we endure under the *Rhodians*. We now undergo all the hardships of slavery. All kinds of severity are used, not only against particular persons, but against the whole nation. The honour of our wives and daughters is not safe ; our estates are at the mercy of our masters ; our lands are pillaged ; in short, we are treated like slaves bought in the market.” The senate, touched with compassion, wrote a letter to the *Rhodians*, which was carried by the *Lycian* envoys themselves, to this effect : “ We never intended to enslave the countries we gave you. None of those people, who were born free, have been reduced to a state of slavery by us. Remember therefore, that the *Lycians* are allies of the people of *Rome*, at the same time that they are your subjects.” The *Rhodians*, taking it very much amiss, that their subjects should dare to have recourse to any foreign power, began to treat them with more severity than ever. Whereupon the *Lycians*, at the instigation of *Eumenes*, as is supposed, taking up arms, attempted to shake off the yoke. But the *Rhodians* soon reduced them, and used them in so cruel a manner, that they were obliged to have recourse anew to *Rome*, where they found many patrons, the *Rhodians* having disoblged the *Romans*, by conveying with their fleet *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus*, whom *Perfes* had lately married, into *Macedon*. The senate therefore appointed new commissioners to compose matters between the *Lycians* and *Rhodians*, injoining them to favour the former as much as they could, without wronging the latter. The commissioners were not received at *Rhodes* with the usual marks of friendship and affection ; but however the *Rhodians*

<sup>1</sup> POLYB. legat. 25, 36. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 10. LIV. 1. xxxvii. xxxviii. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116.

complied with their injunctions, and treated the *Lycians* thenceforth more like allies than subjects <sup>m</sup>.

King Eumenes at Rome.

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2176.

Bef. Chr.

172.



The Rhodians suspected by the Romans.

IN the mean time *Eumenes*, arriving at *Rome*, acquainted the senate with the vast preparations which *Perfes* the son of *Philip* was making, with a design, as he rightly supposed, to kindle a new war in the east, and recover the countries which had been taken from his father by the *Romans*. The *Rhodians*, taking it for granted, that *Eumenes* had included their republic in the informations he had given against the king of *Macedon*, sent to *Rome* one of their chief men, named *Satyrus*, to clear them from all suspicion of favouring *Perfes*. *Satyrus* was a man of a violent temper; and therefore being, by the help of his friends and patrons, admitted to an audience of the senate together with *Eumenes*, he broke out into reproaches against him. "It is you, said he, who have stirred up *Lycia* against the *Rhodian* government. You have done more mischief in *Asia*, than ever *Antiochus* the Great did." These invectives were agreeable to the *Asiatics*, who now began to favour *Perfes*; but the only effect they had at *Rome*, was to render the *Rhodians* suspected, and increase the affection of the *Romans* for *Eumenes*. As the *Romans* were then on the point of engaging in a war with *Perfes*, three commissioners were sent to the coasts of *Asia*, to watch the motions and inclinations of the *Rhodians*. *Rhodes* thought herself injured by the *Romans* in her disputes with the *Lycians*, and had given some plain proofs of her affection to *Perfes*. She actually had at this time a fleet of forty sail in her ports, and it was not known for what expedition they were designed; but, when the commissioners arrived at *Rhodes*, they found the inhabitants better disposed than they expected. *Hegesflocbus*, a man intirely addicted to the *Romans*, was then *prytanes* (F), or the chief magistrate.

He

<sup>m</sup> LIV. l. xlii POLYB. legat. 60, 61, 62. APPIAN. legat.

(F) The chief magistrate in the city of *Rhodes* was called *prytanes*, which name the *Rhodians*, in all likelihood, borrowed of the *Athenians*. The latter chose annually, by lot, five hundred senators to govern their state; that is, fifty in each of the ten tribes, of which their republic consisted. As each tribe had its turn of precedence, the fifty senators in office were called

*prytanes*; the place where they used to assemble *Prytaneon* and *Prytanium*; and the space of time they continued in office, *prytantia*. The *prytanes*, among the *Rhodians*, had much the same power and authority as the *prætor* in the other states of *Greece*, but was chosen every six months; at the end of which his authority expired, unless he was, by a plurality of votes, con-

con-

He had no sooner discovered, that *Rome* intended to carry the war into *Macedon*, but he assembled the people, and addressed himself to them thus : “ The *Roman* forces are coming once more to exert themselves in the east : what can we do better than join that republic ? We are become rich and powerful by having assisted her in her former expeditions : what then do we not owe her in point of gratitude ? Besides, our common safety depends upon our not dividing our interests from hers. Let us not then be both ungrateful and imprudent ; and, if it be necessary for us to declare for *Rome*, let us not delay to the last minute the succours which she has a right to demand of us. Our gallies lie unemployed in our harbours ; let us equip them, and, by our diligence, anticipate the expectations of our friends and benefactors. Let *Rome* find us prepared to serve her.” This proposal of *Hegestibochus* had been approved, and forty gallies immediately equipped ; so that, upon the arrival of the *Roman* deputies, the *Rhodians* offered themselves ready to serve them, and engage in the war whenever the republic thought fit to call upon them <sup>n</sup>.

THE *Roman* envoys were scarce reimbarcked, highly satisfied with the zeal of the *Rhodians*, when ambassadors arrived at *Rhodes* from *Perfes*. They brought from the king a letter to the senate, wherein he gave them an account of his negotiations with the *Romans*, and added, that he hoped all differences would be soon composed in an amicable manner ; but that, at all events, he depended on their affection. The senate of *Rhodes* assembled to give audience to the *Macedonian* ambassadors, who employed all their eloquence to persuade the *Rhodians* to stand neuter till war was openly declared. “ By that means, said they, *Rhodes* will be in a condition to prevent a war, by interposing her good offices, which will be very acceptable to both parties, so long as she sides with neither ; but, if afterwards *Rome* persists in troubling the repose of the east, it will then be your business to take up arms, and oppose, to the utmost of your power, those who are for involving you in new wars.” This speech was heard with attention ; but the senators were already prepossessed in favour of the *Romans*, so that the answer they received was not agreeable to the king. The princes gave it in these words : “ We intreat *Perfes* to ask no-

*Perfes endeavours to persuade the Rhodians to stand neuter.*  
Year of the flood 2178.  
Bef. Chr. 170.

<sup>n</sup> LIV. *ibid.* POLYB. *legat.* 64.

continued in his office ; which, as *Polybius* tells us, sometimes happened, but seldom ; the *Rho-*

*dians* being, to a great degree, jealous of their liberties.

“ thing of us, which may be prejudicial to the interests of  
 “ *Rome*.” After this the ambassadors withdrew, and re-  
 turned to *Macedon*, without any positive answer to their de-  
 mands o.

*The haughty embassy of the Rhodians to the Roman senate.*  
 NOT long after war being declared with *Perfes*, the *Rho-*  
*dians* sent some of their gallies to join *Caius Lucretius* the  
*Roman* admiral; but the greatest number of their ships of  
 war they kept in their own harbours, expecting the issue of  
 the first battle between *Perfes* and the *Romans*; for though  
 many of the leading men favoured *Rome*, yet the people was  
 generally inclined to *Perfes*. Hence no sooner were news  
 brought of the defeat of the consul *Licinius* in *Thessaly*, but  
 the *Rhodians* entered into negotiations with *Perfes*; and,  
 taking upon them to be mediators between the contending  
 powers, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, commanding, rather than  
 intreating, the senate to put an end to the war. “ If *Rome*,”  
 said they, addressing the senate, “ was formerly victorious  
 “ in the east, to what did she owe her success, but to our  
 “ arms and fleets? The victories you gained over *Antiochus*,  
 “ were our victories as much as yours. As for *Macedon*, it  
 “ was then at peace with us; and our entering into engage-  
 “ ments with *Perfes* could be therefore no just offence  
 “ to you. But we at last broke with this prince, merely out  
 “ of complaisance to *Rome*. We followed your standards to  
 “ the prejudice of our ally, contrary to our own inclinations,  
 “ and without any provocation from him. Had he done  
 “ any thing which could give us just cause to abandon him?  
 “ We have indeed been very justly punished for separating  
 “ from him. How many misfortunes have we suffered for  
 “ the three years that you have made war with him? Our  
 “ navigation is lost, and our island wants necessaries. We  
 “ can no longer sail with safety along the coasts of *Asia*, and  
 “ raise our imposts in the tributary cities there. The *Rhodian*  
 “ republic therefore, fatigued with your hostilities, which all  
 “ recoil upon her, thought herself obliged to intreat the *Ma-*  
 “ *cedonian* to make peace with *Rome*. She sent ambassadors  
 “ to require it of him; and now she sends others to the  
 “ senate, to warn them to put an end to the war with  
 “ *Perfes*; which if you refuse to do, we shall find proper  
 “ means to bring the obstinate to reason p.”

Year of  
 the flood  
 2181.  
 Bef. Chr.  
 167.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptu-  
 ous a speech was received. Some historians tell us, that the  
 only answer the senate returned, was to order a decree to be  
 read in their presence, whereby the *Lycians* and *Carians* were

o Por. v. b. legat. 65. Liv. ubi supra. p Liv. l. xlv. Polyb.  
 legat. 86.

declared free. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part. The intrepid chief of the embassy was so struck with this decree, that he fell into a swoon. Others say the senate answered in few words, that the disposition of the *Rhodians*, and their secret intrigues with *Perfes*, had been long known at *Rome*; that when they should have conquered *Perfes*, which, they hoped, would be very soon, they should, in their turn, find means to reward or punish the good or ill offices they had received during the war. They had ordered the ambassadors however the usual presents; but the proud *Rhodians* refused to accept them.

THE ambassadors, upon their return to *Rhodes*, found there deputies from *Perfes*, and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*, sent by their respective masters, to conclude an alliance with the *Rhodians*, and engage them to turn their arms against *Rome*. The advantages, which the *Macedonian* fleet had lately gained *The Rhodians* over the allies of *Rome*, inclined the *Rhodians* to give a favourable reception to the ambassadors of the confederate kings. They made harangues in the senate, and before the people, and were heard with attention. In spite of all the opposition they met with from *Theætetes*, and a few others, who still adhered to the *Romans*, the *Rhodian* senate promised not to lend the *Romans* ships or men, and thereby oblige them to finish the war with *Macedon*, by a peace which should be advantageous to the east. Pursuant to this engagement, they recalled the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the *Romans*, and soon after sent new ambassadors to *Rome* in favour of *Perfes*. But they, unfortunately for the republic of *Rhodes*, arrived at *Rome* just when the news of the intire defeat of *Perfes* was published; and the senate maliciously chose that very time to give them audience. But the chief of the embassy turned the haughty demands he was ordered to make in favour of the king of *Macedon* into congratulations.

"I came hither, conscript fathers, said he, to represent to you how burdensome the war in the *Levant* was to you, and how prejudicial to us; but your prosperity has prevented my representations, and left nothing for me to do, but to rejoice with you upon your great success." The senate ordered such an answer to be given, as was suitable to the suspicions they entertained of the *Rhodians*. "Neither the interests of *Greece*, said they, nor your own safety, brought you hither. It was your attachment to the *Macedonian* party that induced you to cross the seas, in order to intimidate us. Had your concern been only for *Greece*, or yourselves, you would have come and implored the assistance of *Rome*, when *Perfes* entered *Thessaly*, and threatened

“ threatened both the continent, and your island, with a sudden invasion. On the contrary, you knew, that *Paulus Æmilius* had opened a way into *Macedon*; your fears were for that kingdom; and therefore you came to treat of peace. Go, perfidious men; and carry back word to your republic, that her care for the interests of *Perfes* is now out of season.” This answer so terrified the *Rhodians*, that they returned home, and exhorted their countrymen to regain the good-will of the senate by all sorts of submission.

The *Rhodians* endeavour to appease the wrath of the senate.

EMBASSADORS were accordingly sent to appease the wrath of the senate, who, on their arrival at *Rome*, were not only refused audience, but even threatened with war. The senate first decreed, that the *Rhodian* ambassadors should not be treated with the usual hospitality, nor looked upon as friends. *Junius* the consul was charged to acquaint them with this decree. As soon as the consul appeared, the ambassadors, who were waiting in the curia for an answer, advancing some paces towards him, assured him, that they were come only to congratulate the *Romans* on their late victory, and efface the suspicions which the fathers might entertain of their republic. But, *Junius* putting on a grave air, “ We desire no congratulations (said he) from a people whose fidelity we suspect. Go and condole with *Perfes*. We admit none within the walls of *Rome*, or into the senate, but the ambassadors of nations, which are our friends: and are you so? Did you even preserve the appearances of friendship during the war?” The *Rhodians* were thunderstruck at these words, fell prostrate with tears in their eyes, and intreated the consul to have more regard to the services they had formerly done *Rome*, than to the ill conduct into which they had been seduced for some years. Then they changed their habits, and, running from house to house in the attire of criminals, endeavoured to raise the compassion of the *Roman* citizens. But *Juventius Thalna* the prætor moved the tribes to declare war against *Rhodes*, and to send one of the present magistrates to begin hostilities. This motion being opposed by some of the tribunes, and the contest growing warm, the senate was at last obliged to admit the *Rhodian* ambassadors to an audience, and give them leave to speak in their own vindication. *Astymedes*, who was at the head of the embassy, made a long harangue, wherein he confessed, that vanity was indeed the vice of his countrymen, and that they were very apt to talk arrogantly; but he hoped, that the *Romans* would not think any instance of this national weakness such a crime, as to be punished with the total ruin of their country. He

urged the many important services which *Rhodes* had formerly rendered the republic; and that though of late she had ceased to assist the *Romans*, yet she had never committed hostilities against them. He concluded with declaring the intire submission of the *Rhodians* to the good-will and pleasure of *Rome*, and their resolution to make no resistance to her arms in case of an attack. As soon as *Astymedes* had done speaking, the ambassadors and their retinue fell prostrate, and held out branches of olive in their hands, as a token of their suing for peace. Then they withdrew, and the matter was discussed in the senate. Such of the senators, as had served in the *Macedonian* war, voted warmly against the *Rhodians*, and were for engaging *Rome* in a new war. But *Cato* put an end to the debate, by a speech full of spirit and good sense. He reproached the senators with being blinded by prosperity, since nothing else could have made them deliberate, whether they should destroy a republic, against which the only charge was secret thoughts, and proud words. “O ye immortal gods! “(said he) shall we then usurp your rights? Shall we search “into mens thoughts to find enemies? Have we not open “and declared enemies enough? I shall readily grant, that “the *Rhodians* were heartily grieved for the defeat and captivity of *Perfes*; nay, I shall allow, that compassion for “him had not so great a share in their affliction, as their “own interest: but is it then unlawful to wish for liberty? “*Rome* is a powerful state, and capable of swallowing up all “the countries of the east. *Macedon*, the only bulwark “against her, was destroyed. The inundation was drawing “near, and hence their fears and alarms. Did the *Rhodians* “hate you? No; but they loved themselves. Are there any “among us, who would not be uneasy to see a formidable “neighbour in possession of lands adjoining to ours? What “would we not do to get rid of such a neighbourhood? Any “means but violence is lawful. This is the present case. “The *Rhodians* wished that *Perfes* might not be ruined, and “that the barrier, which separated them from us, might not “be thrown down; and what is there criminal in this? “Besides, are bare wishes punishable? But it is also said, “that the *Rhodians* shewed their pride by words; and indeed “one of their ambassadors did drop some very arrogant and “haughty expressions; but what can be inferred from thence “more than this, that there is a nation in the world more “haughty and imperious than ourselves? Is an indiscreet expression so highly criminal, that it ought to be expiated “with rivers of blood? What will the consequence of an “unjust severity be, but insurrections among the timorous “nations, and revolts, or at least distrusts, among our allies?

“ Foreign



“ Foreign nations will fear us more, but love us less. The  
 “ *Rhodians*, after all, have not carried their ingratitude to  
 “ excess. *Perfes*, when in his greatest glory, could not se-  
 “ duce them so far, as to prevail on them to take up arms  
 “ against us. I therefore vote for rejecting the motion of  
 “ the prætor *Juventius*, and leaving the *Rhodians* in peace-  
 “ able possession of their island r.

*Lycia and Caria taken from the Rhodians.* THE advice and representations of *Cato* were of such weight with the senate, that war was not declared against the *Rhodians*; which was the main point. The senate only renewed the decree they had formerly made, whereby the *Rhodians* were ordered to withdraw their garisons from *Lycia* and *Caria*, and restore the inhabitants to their antient liberty.

Year of the flood 2181.  
 Bef. Chr. 167.  
 After the publication of this decree, *Philocrates*, one of the ambassadors, returned to *Rhodes*; but *Astymedes* continued at *Rome*, to give his republic notice of what was transacted there. The news which *Philocrates* brought to *Rhodes*, where they were all in the utmost consternation, and under great apprehensions of a war with *Rome*, were received with inexpressible joy; insomuch that the loss of *Lycia* and *Caria* seemed to them but a slight punishment. They now made it their whole business to regain the affection of the *Romans*. The alliance, which they had formerly entered into with *Rome*, was not yet complete. They had reserved to themselves a liberty to make alliances with any king or independent state they pleased, whether in *Europ.* or *Asia*; but now the times were changed. Since the conquest of *Macedon*, there was no power in all the east to be feared or courted, except the *Romans*. The *Rhodians* therefore were desirous to enter into a more strict alliance with *Rome*; and, in order to gain the affection of the *Roman* citizens, they commanded a crown of gold to be made at *Rhodes*, of great value (G), which *Theodorus*, their admiral, was ordered to carry to *Rome*, and

r LIV. l. xlv. POLYB. legat. 93. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 19.  
 & in PHOTII. biblioth. cod. 244

(G) *Livy* (84) fixes the value of this rich crown at twenty thousand of those pieces of gold, which the *Romans* called *aurei*; but *Polybius* values it only at ten thousand. The *aureus* among the *Romans* was worth twenty-five *Attic drachmæ*, or twenty-five *denarii*, according to *Dio*

*Cassius* (85). It weighed two drachms and an half. Supposing therefore, that, in these ages of the republic, the proportion of gold to silver was as ten to one, which we have reason to infer from several passages, this piece of gold could not be worth less than twenty-five drachms.

(84) LIV. l. xlv. c. 25.

(85) *Dio Cass.* l. xlv.

there negotiate this new alliance (H). Nevertheless, as the *Rhodians* were vain-glorious, they enjoined *Theodotus* not to offer his petition in writing, lest, in case his request was not granted, it might be conveyed down to posterity, and be a standing monument of reproach to them. The admiral set sail, came to *Rome*, and made his presents; which were accepted: but, as for the alliance, *Rome* made his republic solicit it a long time, taking pleasure in humbling the *Rhodian* pride. They were ordered first to evacuate *Caria* and *Lycia*, and also to withdraw their garisons from the two cities of *Caunus* and *Stratonice*; the first of which they had purchased of one of *Ptolemy's* generals with two hundred talents; and the second had been given them by *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*. However, they not only readily gave up both places, but moreover, either put to death, or banished, all those, who, during the course of the war, had favoured *Perses*: whereupon the senate complied at last with their request, and admitted them into an alliance with *Rome* \*.

The Rhodians admitted to an alliance with Rome.

SOME years after, the *Rhodians* gave a signal instance of the great deference they paid to *Rome*. *Calynda*, a famous city of *Caria*, being besieged by the inhabitants of *Caunus*, sent ambassadors to the *Rhodians*, imploring their assistance, and offering to surrender to them. Notwithstanding this advantageous offer, the *Rhodians* deliberated some time, whether they should relieve the *Calyndians*, or no, without the consent of the *Roman* senate; but, as the siege was pursued with vigour, and an answer from *Rome* would come too late, they at last sent succours to the besieged city, and forced the *Caunians* to retire. However, before they took possession of the place, they sent two of their chief citizens, *Lydamis* and *Cleagoras*, to *Rome*, to lay their laurels at the feet of the conscript fathers, and to draw what advantages they could from their submission. Indeed nothing could be more agreeable to the haughty senators, than to see those *Rhodians*, who, a few years before, pretended to give law to *Rome*, now reduced so low, as not to dare to take possession of a city without their leave. The deputies were graciously received, and their reception encouraged them to desire of the fathers, that the private subjects of *Rhodes* might be restored to the enjoyment

Year of the flood 2182. Bef. Chr. 166.

And favoured by the senate.

Year of the flood 2186. Bef. Chr. 162.

\* POLYB. legat. 93. & 140. APPIAN. Syriac. p. 116.

(H) The negotiating of this new alliance with *Rome* was, according to *Polybius*, committed to the care of another ambassador, whom he calls *Rhodopho*;

but a little lower he gives him the name of *Theætetes*. He was eighty years of age, and died at *Rome*, before he could put the last hand to the negotiation.

of

of all the lands they had formerly possessed in *Caria* and *Lycia*. Their request was granted, and the ambassadors returned as well satisfied with the senate, as the senate was with them. The *Rhocians*, out of gratitude, desired leave to erect, in the temple of *Minerva* at *Rome*, a statue of that goddess, three cubits high. Thus all jealousies between the two republics were removed, and the good understanding, which had long subsisted between them, intirely restored.

FROM this time, to the breaking out of the *Mithridatic* war in *Asia*, the *Rhodians* performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They enjoyed their liberties, while all the other states and colonies of *Greece* were brought under the *Roman* yoke, and became provinces of that republic. They continued to maintain an inviolable attachment to *Rome*, and gave a signal instance of their fidelity in the above-mentioned war; for the *Rhodians*, and the little country of *Lydia* near mount *Sipylus*, were the only allies who remained faithful to the *Romans* on all the coasts of *Asia*, after *Mithridates* had proclaimed war with the republic: *Rhodes* especially served as a sanctuary for all the *Romans*, whom the *Asiatics* drove in great numbers out of their countries; and *Cassius* himself, formerly governor of the province of *Pergamus*, fled thither for refuge. The king of *Pontus* therefore resolved to turn all his forces by sea and land against that island: and the inhabitants chose rather to sustain a siege, than renounce their alliance with *Rome*. They put their ports in a state of defence, and covered their ramparts with all sorts of artillery machines. The *Romans*, who had fled thither, made up the best part of the *Rhodian* army; and the inhabitants, relying upon them, and their own skill in maritime affairs, were not at all dismayed at the vast fleets and land-forces which *Mithridates* was bringing against them. They posted their fleet before their island, and divided it into three squadrons; one, drawn up in a line, covered the entrance of the port; and the other two were placed, like wings, to hinder the enemy's approach. *Mithridates* appeared on board a quinquagenis, at the head of a fleet much more numerous than that of the enemy. He divided it into three squadrons, ordering two of them to invest the wings of the *Rhodians*, while he himself attacked the squadron that faced the port. The *Rhodians* therefore, lest they should be overpowered with numbers, retired by degrees, till they came to the mouth of the harbour, which they intirely stopped up;

Rhodes  
besieged by  
Mithridates.

Year of  
the flood  
2260.  
Bef. Chr.  
88.

\* POLYB. legat. 110, 111. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VALES. P. 402.

and, after this, the several engagements that followed turned to their advantage. *Mithridates* lost many ships, and narrowly escaped himself being made prisoner in his quinqueremis, which was taken.

DURING these sea-engagements, *Mithridates* embarked his numerous army on transports, which being dispersed by a violent storm, and driven to the right and left of the island, the *Rhodians* sent out their fleet, fell on the vessels which the storm had put in disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and took four hundred men prisoners. Upon this *Mithridates* resolved to attack the city by sea in the night, and ordered a *sambuca*, built on two galleys, to advance to the walls. He had been informed, that the wall of the city was but of a moderate height on the side of the temple of *Jupiter Atabyrius*, and resolved to storm it there. To this end he embarked his troops silently, furnished them with scaling-ladders, and ordered them to wait till a signal was given them by a person hired for that purpose, from the top of the temple. In the mean time the king himself made a false attack on the side of the port, with great shouts, which caused the besieged to kindle many fires in the city. Those who were to wait for the signal before they began the attack on the side of the temple, mistaking these fires for it, were too hasty in the attempt, and miscarried. Early in the morning the *Rhodians* The siege ] made a vigorous sally, and drove off the aggressors. The raised. *sambuca*, after having done some damage, sunk with its own weight; and *Mithridates*, disheartened at these disappointments, broke up the siege, after having lost a great many men, and the best part of his navy <sup>u</sup>. The behaviour of the *Rhodians* on this occasion was highly applauded at *Rome*, and orders were sent to *Sylla* to return them thanks in the name of the senate, and renew the antient alliance between the two republics. In the war which *Pompey* made upon the *Cilician* pirates, the *Rhodians* assisted him with all their naval forces, and had a great share in all the victories which he gained, though that proud *Roman* assumed the whole glory of suppressing those robbers to himself <sup>w</sup>.

In the civil war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, they assisted the latter with a numerous fleet, under the command of one *Euphranor*, who distinguished himself above all the commanders of *Pompey's* navy, and gained very considerable advantages over *Cæsar's* fleets <sup>x</sup>. After the death of *Pompey*, they sided with *Cæsar*; which drew upon them the resentment

<sup>u</sup> APPIAN. in *Mithridat.* DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VALES. p. 402. LIV. l. lxxviii. MEMN. c. 33. <sup>w</sup> APPIAN. in *Mithridat.* FLORUS, l. iii. c. 5. <sup>x</sup> HIRTIUS de bell. Alexandrin.

of *C. Cassius*, who advanced to the island of *Rhodes* with a powerful fleet, after having reduced the greatest part of the continent. The *Rhodians*, terrified at his approach, sent embassadors, intreating him to make up matters in an amicable manner, and promising to stand neuter, and recal the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the triumviri. *Cassius* insisted upon their delivering up their fleet to him, and putting him in possession both of their harbour and city. The demand the *Rhodians* would by no means comply with, and therefore began to put themselves in a condition to stand a siege; but first sent *Archelaus*, who had taught *Cassius* the Greek tongue, while he studied at *Rhodes*, to intercede with his disciple in their behalf. *Archelaus* could not, with all his authority, prevail upon him to moderate his demands; wherefore the *Rhodians*, having created one *Alexander*, a bold and enterprising man, their prætor or prætorian, equipped a fleet of three-and-thirty sail, and sent it out under the command of *Mnæseus*, an experienced sea-officer, to offer *Cassius* battle. Both fleets fought with incredible bravery, and the victory was long doubtful, but the *Rhodians*, being at length overpowered with numbers, were forced to return with their fleet to *Rhodes*, two of their ships being sunk, and the rest very much damaged by the heavy blows of the *Romans*. This was the first time, as our author observes, that the *Rhodians* were fairly overcome in a sea-fight.

The Rhodians defeated in a sea fight by Cassius.

*Cassius*, who had beheld this battle from a neighbouring hill, having refitted his fleet, which had been no less damaged than that of the *Rhodians*, repaired to *Lerymæ*, a stronghold on the continent belonging to the *Rhodians*. This castle he took by assault, and from hence conveyed his land-forces, under the conduct of *Famius* and *Lærtulus*, over into the island. His fleet consisted of fourscore ships of war, and above two hundred transports. The *Rhodians* no sooner saw this mighty fleet appear, but they went out again to meet the enemy. This second engagement was far more bloody than the first; many ships were sunk, and great numbers of men killed on both sides. But victory anew declared for the *Romans*, who immediately flocked up the city of *Rhodes* both by sea and land. As the *Rhodesians* had not had time to furnish the city with sufficient store of provisions, some of the inhabitants, fearing that, if it were taken either by assault or by famine, *Cassius* would put all the inhabitants to the sword, as *Brutus* had lately done at *Xanthus*, privately opened the gates to him, and put him in possession of the town, which he nevertheless treated, as if it had been taken by assault.

Rhodes taken by Cassius, and plundered.  
Year of the flood  
306.  
Ref. Chr.

He commanded fifty of the chief citizens, who were suspected to favour the adverse party, to be brought before him, and sentenced them all to die; others, to the number of twenty-five, who had commanded the fleet or army, because they did not appear when summoned, he proscribed. Having thus punished such as had either acted or spoken against him, or his party, he commanded the *Rhodians* to deliver up to him all their ships, and whatever money they had in the public treasure. He then plundered the temples, stripping them of all their valuable furniture, vessels, and statues. He is said not to have left one statue in the whole city, except that of the sun, dragging at his departure, that he had stripped the *Rhodians* of all they had, leaving them nothing but the sun. As to private persons, he commanded them, under severe penalties, to bring to him all the gold and silver they had, promising, by a public cryer, a tenth part to such as should discover any hidden treasures. The *Rhodians* at first concealed some part of their wealth, imagining that *Cassius* intended by this proclamation only to terrify them; but, when they found he was in earnest, and saw several wealthy citizens put to death for concealing only a small portion of their riches, they desired, that the time prefixed for the bringing in of their gold and silver might be prolonged. *Cassius* willingly granted them their request, and then, through fear, they dug up what they had hid under-ground, and laid at his feet all they were worth in the world. By this means he extorted from private persons above eight thousand talents. He then fined the city in five hundred more; and, leaving *L. Varus* there with a strong garison to exact the fine without any abatement, he returned to the continent <sup>a</sup>.

AFTER the death of *Cassius*, *Marc Antony* restored the *Rhodians* to their ancient rights and privileges, bestowing upon them the islands of *Andros*, *Naxos*, *Tenos*, and the city of *Myndus*. But these the *Rhodians* so oppressed and loaded with taxes, that the same *Antony*, though a great friend to the *Rhodian* republic, was obliged to divest her of the sovereignty over those places, which he had a little before so liberally bestowed upon her <sup>a</sup>. From this time, to the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find no mention made of the *Rhodians*. That prince, as *Dion* informs us <sup>b</sup>, deprived them of their liberty, for having crucified some *Roman* citizens. However, he soon restored them to their former condition, as we read in *Suetonius* <sup>c</sup> and *Tacitus* <sup>d</sup>. The latter adds, that they

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. p. 631, &c. OROS. l. vi. c. 18. DIO, p. 346. <sup>b</sup> APPIAN. l. iii. de bell. civil. <sup>c</sup> DIO, l. lx. p. 681. <sup>d</sup> SUTON. in Claud. <sup>e</sup> TACIT. annal. xii.

had been as often deprived of, as restored to, their liberty, by way of punishment or reward for their different behaviour, as they had obliged the *Romans* with their assistance in foreign wars, or provoked them with their seditions at home. *Pliny*, who wrote in the beginning of *Vespasian's* reign, styles *Rhodes* a beautiful and free town. But this liberty they did not long enjoy, the island being soon after reduced by the same *Vespasian* to a *Roman* province, and obliged to pay a yearly tribute to their new masters<sup>c</sup>. This province was called the province of the islands. The *Roman* prætor, who governed it, resided at *Rhodes*, as the chief city under his jurisdiction; and *Rome*, notwithstanding the eminent services rendered her by this republic, thenceforth treated the *Rhodians* not as allies, but vassals.

The island of Rhodes reduced to a Roman province.

## S E C T. IV.

## The History of Crete.

Names.

THE island of *Crete*, now called *Candia*, from its capital, was known to the antients by the names of *Acria*, *Chthonia*, *Idaa*, *Curete*, *Mucaris*, &c. It is one of the largest islands in the *Mediterranean*, being, according to *Strabo*<sup>f</sup>, 287 miles in length; according to *Pliny*<sup>g</sup>, 270; and, according to *Scylax*<sup>h</sup>, 312. As to its breadth, it is not, as *Pliny* observes<sup>h</sup>, above 55, where wide<sup>h</sup>. Whence it was styled, as *Stephanus* informs us, the *Long island*. It lies between the *Archipelago* to the north; the *African* sea to the south; the *Carpathian* to the east; and the *Ionian* to the west. The name of *Crete*, which generally prevailed among the antients, some derive from *Curetes*, who are said to have been the first inhabitants of the island; others from the nymph *Crete*, daughter of *Hesperus*, or from *Cretus* the son of *Jupiter*, who is supposed to have reigned here (I).

THIS

<sup>c</sup> SUTTON. in Vespas. EUSEB. in chron. OROS. l. vii. c. 9.  
<sup>f</sup> STRAB. l. x. p. 327. <sup>g</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. <sup>h</sup> Idem ibid.

(I) *Eusebius*, *St. Jerom*, *Marianus*, *Isidorus*, and *Cedrenus*, derive the name of *Crete* from *Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, who brought up *Jupiter*. *Diodorus Siculus* says it was called *Crete* from *Crete*, the daughter of one of the *Curetes*, whom *Jupiter* married, giving her name to the island, which before was named *Idaa* (86). It is at present known by the name of *Candia*, which

THIS island, as lying between the 34th and 35th degrees *Climate*, of north latitude, was in antient times greatly celebrated for *soil*, &c. its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, its plains being covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. The fruits it produced infinitely surpassed, as *Pliny* observed, all of the same kind that were produced in other countries<sup>i</sup>. The wines of this island are greatly commended by the antient and modern writers. Though they are, generally speaking, pretty strong, yet *Galen* met with a fort in this place, which was temperate enough to be given in fevers<sup>k</sup>. The air was antiently deemed most pure and wholesome, and is to this day, though great part of the country lies uncultivated; a misfortune too common in such regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. From the fruitfulness of its soil, and purity of its air, it had the appellation of *Mucaris*, or the *Fortunate Island*.

IN former times there were reckoned in this island an hundred cities, ninety before the *Trojan* war, and ten more after the *Dorians* settled there; and hence sprung the name of *Hecatompolis*. Of these hundred cities, forty only were remaining in the time of *Ptolemy*; for so many he enumerates. Those of most note were *Gnossus*, antiently called *Geratus*, *Gnossus*, where king *Minos* is said to have fixed his residence. This city was once the capital of the island, and, according to *Strabo*<sup>l</sup>, a wealthy and populous place, being thirty furlongs in compass, and full of inhabitants. The said writer places it twenty furlongs off the *Ægean* or *Archipelago*, and ninety from the *African* sea. Some of our modern travellers think it stood near the present town of *Castel Padiada*; while others pretend to discover some of its ruins at a small distance from the village of *Cynofa*. From this city *Ariadne*, the daughter

<sup>i</sup> PLIN. l. xxv. c. 8.    <sup>k</sup> Comment. 3. in libr. HIPPOCR. de victus ratione in morbis acutis.

<sup>l</sup> STRABO, ubi supra.

*Moresini* (87) derives from the Latin word *Candidus*, signifying white, such being the colour of its soil. Others derive the name of *Candia* from the word *chandax*, which in the language of the *Saracens*, signifies, as *Scylitzas* informs us (88), an entrenchment. The *Saracens* built a town, as we read in the same author, in the place, where,

by the advice of a *Greek* monk, they had entrenched themselves in the time of the emperor *Michael* surnamed the *Stammerer*. The town they called *chandax*, that is, *entrenchment*. In process of time the name of *chandax* was changed into that of *Candia*, which became common to the city and island.

(87) *Moresini bist. Venet. l. xlii.*

(88) *Scylitz. p. 503.*



of *Minos*, so much celebrated by the poets, had the name of *Gnosſis*. The river *Ceratus* washed its walls; whence it is by *Cydenis*, some ancient writers called by the same name. *Cydonia* stood, or *Cydon*, according to *Strabo* <sup>m</sup>, *liny* <sup>n</sup>, and *Diodorus Siculus* <sup>o</sup>, on the coast opposite to the *Laetemonian* territories in *Peloponnesus*, and was the most powerful and wealthy city of all *Crete*, since, in the civil wars of that island, it withstood the united forces of *Gnosſus* and *Gortyna*, after they had reduced the greater part of the island. *Cydonia* was deemed the strongest place in the whole island. It had been often besieged, but never taken till the time of *Meſſius*, to whom that glory was reserved, *Cydonia* opening its gates to him after the defeat of *Lasibæus* and *Panæres* <sup>p</sup>. This city was the antientest in the whole island, most of the others having been built and peopled by *Cydonian* colonies; and on this account it was commonly called by the *Greeks* the *mother of cities*. From *Cydonia* the quince-tree was first brought into *Italy*, and thence the fruit called by the *Latins* *malum Cydonium*, or the *Cydonian* apple.

*Gortyna*. *Gortyna*, or *Gortyn*, an inland city, being, according to *Strabo* <sup>q</sup>, near ninety furlongs distant from the *African* sea. The origin of *Gortyna* is as obscure as that of most of the antient cities, some telling us, that it was founded by *Gortyn* the son of *Rhadamanthus*, and others ascribing that glory to *Taurus*, who carried off *Europa* <sup>r</sup>. Be that as it will, *Gortyna*, in process of time, eclipsed all the other cities of *Crete*, especially after the island was reduced by the *Romans*, who made it their chief business to humble *Gnosſus*, and raise, as it were, upon her ruins, her rival *Gortyna* <sup>s</sup>. We may judge of the antient splendor and greatness of this city from its ruins, which are still to be seen about six miles from mount *Ida*, at the entrance of the plain of *Messaria*, which is properly the granary of the island. Among these ruins *Tournefort* <sup>t</sup> observed one of the gates, which is an arch finely turned, still remaining, with part of the wall joining to it, which he takes to be the wall that *Ptolemy Philopater* is said by *Strabo* <sup>u</sup> to have built. Not far from the gate are two pillars of granate eighteen feet long, and near them divers pedestals ranged two by two, on the same line, for supporting the columns of the frontispiece of some temple. Among the many columns still remaining, there are some of granate, fluted spirally, and wonderfully beautiful. Many of them have been carried away by

<sup>m</sup> STRABO, l. x. p. 323.      <sup>n</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.      <sup>o</sup> DIOD. SICUL. l. v.      <sup>p</sup> FLORUS, l. iii. c. 7.      <sup>q</sup> Idem ibid.  
<sup>r</sup> CEDRELLINUS compend. hist. STRABO, ubi supra.      <sup>s</sup> STRABO, ibid.      <sup>t</sup> TOURNEFORT. voyage au Levant, &c.      <sup>u</sup> STRABO, ibid.

the *Turks*. Our author observed, at a village not far distant from these ruins, two columns of an extraordinary beauty, with an hurdle between them, serving as a gate to a garden. The inhabitants are unacquainted with the value of these remains of antiquity. Few statues are to be met with, the *Venetians*, who were long masters of the island, having transported the best part of them to *Venice*. The statue, which stands on the fountain of *Candia*, and is deemed a masterpiece, was found among these ruins; but is at present without an head, the *Turks* having a superstitious abhorrence to the representation of the heads of living creatures, except upon coins, of which no people are more fond. *Gortyna* was in ancient times famous for the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Jupiter Hecatombeus*, so called, if we believe *Ptolemaus Hephaestion*, as quoted by *Photius* <sup>w</sup>, because *Menelaus* there sacrificed to *Jupiter* an hundred oxen, when news were brought him of *Helena's* flight. At the further end of the ruins, between the north and west, near a brook, without all doubt, the river *Lethe*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, washed the walls of *Gortyna* <sup>x</sup>, are to be seen some curious ruins, with a piece of painting half-effaced, but quite of the *Gothic* taste. These ruins are the remains of some ancient church, which the modern *Greeks* would make us believe to have been built by *Titus*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote one of his epistles, and who was the first bishop of *Crete*. *Theophrastus* <sup>y</sup>, *Varro* <sup>z</sup>, and *Pliny* <sup>a</sup>, speak of a plane-tree near *Gortyna*, which never shed its old leaves till new ones sprouted forth. This seemed so strange to the ancient *Greeks*, that they feigned the first conversation between *Jupiter* and *Europa* to have happened under this ever-green plane-tree; and this fabulous adventure probably gave occasion to the inhabitants of *Gortyna* to represent on a medal *Europa* sitting melancholy and thoughtful on a plane-tree, and turning her back to an eagle hovering about her. On the reverse she sits on a bull, encompassed with a border of bay-leaves <sup>b</sup>. *Pliny* <sup>c</sup> tells us, that endeavours were used to multiply in the island this species of plane-tree, but to no effect, since they shed their leaves, when transplanted, in winter, like the common plane-trees. *Lycus* was in ancient times a city of no small note, and originally a colony of the *Lacedaemonians*, as *Polybius* informs us <sup>d</sup>. It was an inland town, and is supposed to have stood where we now find *Paleo Castro*. Some place it near the present town of *Agustini*, and others

<sup>w</sup> PHOT. in bibliot. l. v.      <sup>x</sup> STRAB. l. x. p. 329. SOLIN. c. 11.      <sup>y</sup> THEOPH. hist. plant. l. i. c. 15.      <sup>z</sup> VAR. de re rust.

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. l. xii. c. 1.      <sup>b</sup> ANTON. AUGUST. dialog. i.      <sup>c</sup> PLIN. ibid.      <sup>d</sup> POLYB. l. iv.

Hierapytna.

pretend to discover some of its ruins near *Girapietra*. *Hierapytna*, called also *Cyrrha*, *Pytna*, and *Camynos*, is supposed to be the same place that *Ptolemy* calls *Hiera Petra*, or the *Sacred rock*. *Strabo* tells us, that it stood on an hill, which he calls *Pytna*, and supposes to have been a part of mount *Ida*. The ruins of this city are still to be seen on the coast over-against the rocks called by the antients the *Isles of assis* <sup>c</sup>. *Hierapytna* was one of the strongest places in the island, when *Metellus* undertook the conquest of *Crete*; but is at present only a vil-

Eleuthera.

lage known by the name of *Girapietra*. *Eleuthera*, called also *Saorus* and *Aorus*, was an inland city, and in the *Roman* times

Rithymna, Hieraclea, &c.

a place well-peopled, and of great strength. *Rithymna*, *Hieraclea*, *Præfos*, *Apteron*, and *Arcadia*, were in antient times cities of no small note. *Rithymna*, now *Reimo*, is still a place well-peopled, and had formerly a very convenient haven, which is now utterly neglected. *Hieraclea* stood, according to *Pliny* <sup>f</sup>, opposite to the island of *Via*, or, as others will have it, *Dia*. It was the sea-port of the *Gnosians*, and is supposed to have stood on the same spot where the town of *Candia*, which gave name to the whole island, was built in after-ages. *Præfos* was the capital of the *Pitecrates* mentioned by *Homer*, and famous for a temple consecrated to *Jupiter Dictæus*. In the civil wars of the island it was ruled by the inhabitants of *Hierapytna*. *Apteron* was in *Ptolemy*'s time a very considerable place, and stood on a steep rock, at the foot of which, between the town and the sea, lay that famous field, where the *Syrens*, being overcome by the *Athenians* in a trial of skill in music, forfeited their wings. From this fable some writers tell us, that the city took its name, the word *Apteron* signifying *without wings*. *Eusebius* says it was so called from one *Apteras* king of *Crete*, whom he supposes to have been the founder of it <sup>h</sup>. There are some ruins of this antient city still to be seen, but nothing that deserves particular notice. *Arcadia* is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Theophrastus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, &c. they all tell us, that, this town being once destroyed, all the springs in that neighbourhood dried up, and began to run again as soon as the city was rebuilt. These were the most considerable cities of *Crete* in antient times.

Mountains.

THE chief mountains of *Crete* are, *Ida*, so much spoken of by the poets, and by many degrees the highest of the whole island. From the top of this mountain both seas are clearly discerned; in all other respects it is inferior to the other hills of the country, being for the greatest part of the year covered with snow, and so barren, that it produces nothing except the

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. x. p. 325.  
etym. magn. SUIDAS.

<sup>f</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.  
<sup>h</sup> EUSEB. chron.

<sup>g</sup> STEPH.

*tragacantha*, a shrub so prickly, that the *Greeks* gave it the name of *goat's-thorn*. *Theophrastus*<sup>1</sup> and *Pliny*<sup>k</sup> speak of a sort of vine growing here naturally ; but our modern travellers have not been able to discover any such thing. *Theophrastus* advances many things upon the report of others ; and *Pliny* frequently copies, or rather translates, what he finds in *Theophrastus*, without troubling himself with any further inquiries. It was called *Ida* from the fine prospect it affords, the word *idein* signifying in the *Greek* tongue *to see*<sup>l</sup>. Nay, *Suidas* tells us, that all places, whence a great extent of country could be seen, were called *Idæ*. *Jupiter* is said to have been secretly nursed here, and thence called *Idæus*. Some of the antients tell us, that the forests on this mountain being burnt by lightning, about seventy-three years after the deluge of *Deucalion*, the art of melting iron was first discovered on that occasion by the *Dætyli*<sup>m</sup>. *Ida* is now known by the name of *Psiloriti*. *Diète*, now called *Sethia*, and also *Lasthi*, is next in height to mount *Ida*, and covered great part of the year with snow : whence it is called by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolemy*, the white mountain. However, cypress-trees, as the same writers assure us, grew there antiently amidst the snow, and throve as well as in the vallies. This mountain was called *Diète* from *Diëtynna*, a nymph of *Crete*, who is supposed to have first found out hunting-nets, and to have had the name of *Diëtynna* from thence, having been called before *Britomartis*. *Leuci*, a long chain of mountains, so called from their whiteness, being, like the others, covered great part of the year with snow. They are now known by the names of *Madura* and *Spacia*.

RIVERS of note in this island are but very few ; the *Nilo-River*<sup>s</sup>, *potamus*, the *Scafinus*, and the *Epicynus*, are spoken of by the antients ; but none of them are at present navigable. This defect is sufficiently supplied by a great many creeks and bays, and some capacious and safe harbours. Near mount *Ida* the present *The labyrinth* inhabitants pretend to shew some remains of the antient labyrinth made by *Dædalus* ; but *Bellonius* takes this labyrinth to be nothing but an antient quarry, out of which were dug the stones that served to build the towns of *Gortyna* and *Gnossus*. And indeed *Pliny* tells us, that in his time no footsteps of the antient labyrinth were to be seen in the island.

THE first inhabitants of *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*<sup>s</sup>, were the *Idæi Dætyli*, who inhabited mount *Ida* : they were, as some authors write, an hundred in number ; according to others, only ten, being called *Dætyli*, as they suppose,

<sup>l</sup> THEOPH. hist. plant. l. iii. c. 17.

<sup>k</sup> PLIN. l. xiv. c. 3.

<sup>1</sup> HÆLLAD. apud PHOT. in biblioth.

<sup>m</sup> HÆLLAD. ibid.

Idæi Da-  
æyli.

from the ten fingers, to which they were equal in number. The *Idæi Daæyli* were, if we believe *Ephorus*, as quoted by *Diodorus*, originally from mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, and passed from thence over into *Europe* with king *Minos*. They settled first in *Samothrace*, where they taught the inhabitants sacred and religious rites, instituted sacrifices, and introduced a set form of religious worship. *Orpheus*, who was naturally inclined to music and poetry, is thought to have been their disciple, and the first who carried sacred rites and ceremonies over into *Greece*. The *Daæyli* are likewise said to have first found out the use of fire, and to have discovered the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to mount *Berecynthus*, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were, after their death, worshipped as gods. One of them, they say, was called *Hercules*, who instituted the *Olympic* games, which were by posterity thought to have been appointed by *Hercules* the son of *Alcmena*.

Curetes.

NEXT to the *Idæi Daæyli* were the nine *Curetes*, some of them supposed to have sprung from the earth, and others to be descended from the *Idæi Daæyli*. These dwelt on the mountains, under the shade of thick trees, and in caves, and other places, which naturally afforded them a shelter and covering, the building of houses not being then found out. They were very ingenious, and invented many things that proved very useful to mankind: they first taught how to manage flocks, to gather honey, to tame horses, to hunt, to cast darts, &c. They brought men into societies and communities, and shewed them by their example the happiness of a peaceable and orderly life. They are likewise said to have invented swords and helmets, and dancing in armour; and, by the noise they made, to have prevented *Saturn* from hearing the cries of *Jupiter* when he was an infant, and by that means to have saved him from being destroyed by his father.

The Ti-  
tans.

THE *Titans* were contemporary with the *Curetes*, and dwelt in the country where the city of *Gnosus* was built many ages after. The *Titans* were in number six men and five women, the offspring, as some say, of *Uranus* and *Terra*; according to others, of one of the *Curetes*, and *Titæa*, being called *Titans*, after the name of their mother. The sons were *Cronus* or *Saturn*, *Hyperion*, *Cæus*, *Iapetus*, *Crius*, and *Oceanus*; the daughters *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemosyne*, *Phæbe*, and *Thetis*. Each of these invented something of great use to mankind, and were on that account placed among the gods, *Saturn*, the eldest, obtained the kingdom of *Crete*, and brought

his subjects, from a wild and barbarous, to a more polite course of life, persuading them to live according to the strictest rules of honesty, which gave occasion to the many fables of the poets concerning the golden age. *Hyperion* was the first who found out the motions of the sun and moon, and other stars, measuring by them the seasons of the year; and hence he was called the father of the planets. *Latona* was the daughter of *Cæus* and *Phæbe*; and *Prometheus*, so famous among the poets, the son of *Iapetus*: he is said to have found the way of striking fire out of flint, which gave occasion to the poets to feign, that he stole fire from the gods, and bestowed it upon men. *Mnemosyne* invented many things conducing to the help of man's memory: whence she had her name, *Mnemosyne* signifying in Greek memory. *Themis* taught the art of divination, instructed men in holy rites, and prescribed laws for the worship of the gods, and for the preservation of peace and good government amongst men. *Vesta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, are supposed to have been the children of *Saturn* and *Rhea*. *Vesta* invented the building of houses, *Ceres* the use of corn, *Neptune* the art of navigation, and *Pluto* funeral solemnities. Hence the latter was stiled king of the infernal shades, and the former prince of the sea<sup>n</sup>.

THE *Curetes* mentioned here by *Diodorus* were, according to *Herodotus*<sup>o</sup> and *Strabo*<sup>p</sup>, originally *Phœnicians*, and accompanied *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*; some of them settling in *Phrygia*, where they were called *Corybantes*; some in *Crete*, where they were known by the name of *Idæi Daëtyli*; some in *Rhodes*, where they bore the name of *Telchines*, &c. *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls the *Idæi Daëtyli* barbarians, that is, strangers; and tells us, that they were the first who brought letters into *Greece*, *Phrygia*, and *Crete*; and adds, that, by their assistance, king *Minos* built a fleet, and gained the sovereignty of the sea<sup>q</sup>. According to these authors, the *Curetes* and *Idæi Daëtyli* were one and the same people, and did not settle in *Crete* till the time of *Minos*. *Bochart* brings the *Curetes* from *Palestine*, induced thereunto by the likeness there is between their name and that of the *Crethim* or *Cerethites*, a people among the *Philistines*<sup>r</sup>. The *Philistines* indeed conquered *Sidon*, and it is not unlikely, that some of them, mixed with the *Phœnicians*, attended *Cadmus* into *Crete* and *Greece*. But, long before they settled in *Crete*, a colony of *Pelasgians*

<sup>n</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.      <sup>o</sup> HEROD. l. v. c. 58.      <sup>p</sup> STRAB. l. x. p. 464.      <sup>q</sup> CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. l. i.      <sup>r</sup> BOCH. in Canaan. l. i. c. 15.

Pelasgians had peopled the eastern coast of the island. After the Pelasgians, *Teutamus*, the grandfather of *Minos*, carried thither a colony of *Dorians* from *Laconia*, and the territory of *Olympia* in *Peloponnesus*. These several colonies spoke different languages, and lived quietly in caves and huts, on the spontaneous product of the earth, till the invention of tools in the reign of *Asterius* the son of *Teutamus*. They were at last reduced into one kingdom, and became one people, in the reign of *Minos*, who was their first lawgiver, built many towns, and introduced plowing and sowing. According to this account, which is vouched by *Strabo*, *Lucian*, and *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, the two first kings of *Crete*, who reigned after the coming of the *Curetes*, were *Asterius* and *Minos*: *Europa* was wife to *Asterius*, and mother of *Minos*; and the *Idæi Daëtyli* came with her and her brother *Alymnus* into *Crete*, where they dwelt in the *Idæan* cave, and there educated *Jupiter*; so that *Asterius*, *Europa*, and *Minos*, must be the *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Jupiter*, of the *Cretans*. *Minos* is usually called the son of *Jupiter*; but the *Phœnicians*, as *Sir Isaac Newton* observes<sup>a</sup>, upon their first coming into *Greece*, gave the name of *Jaspater*, or *Jupiter*, to all kings; and thus both *Minos* and his father *Asterius* were *Jupiters*, that is, kings. *Minos*, according to *Echemenes*, as quoted by *Athenæus*<sup>b</sup>, was the *Jupiter* who became so famous among the *Greeks* for justice and equity, being the greatest king of *Greece* in those days, and the only legislator. *Plutarch* tells us<sup>c</sup>, that the inhabitants of *Naxos* pretended, that there were two *Minos's* and two *Ariadne's*; and that the first *Ariadne* married *Bacchus*, and the last was carried away by *Theseus*. But *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus*, and *Strabo*, knew but of one *Minos*, whom *Homer* calls the son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, the brother of *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*, the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, and grandfather of *Idomeneus*, who went to the siege of *Troy*. *Herodotus*<sup>d</sup> makes *Minos* and *Sarpedon* the sons of *Europa*, and contemporary with *Ægeus*. *Apollodorus*<sup>e</sup> and *Hyginus*<sup>f</sup> tell us, that *Minos* the father of *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and *Phædra*, was the son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, and brother to *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*.

IN the reign of *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus* the king's brother carried several colonies into the neighbouring islands, which he bestowed upon the commanders of his army. the island of *Lemnos* he gave to one *Thoas* or *Theias*, who, as he was a dis-

<sup>a</sup> Chron. p. 150.<sup>b</sup> ATHEN. l. xiii. p. 601.<sup>c</sup> PLUT.in *Theseo*.<sup>d</sup> HEROD. l. i. c. 173.<sup>e</sup> APOLL. l. iii. c. 1.<sup>f</sup> HYGIN. fab. 40, 41, 42. 178.

ciple of the *Idæi Daëtyli*, and consequently a worker in metals, is supposed by *Apollodorus*, *Suidas*, and *Apollonius Rhodius*, to be the *Vulcan* of the Greeks. The islands of *Carpathus*, *Syme*, and most of the *Cyclades*, were peopled by colonies from *Crete*, *Rhadamanthus* having rewarded the services of his officers, as *Diodorus* informs us<sup>1</sup>, by vesting them with the sovereignty of the neighbouring islands; which gave rise to innumerable petty kingdoms. The *Cretans* not only peopled the neighbouring islands, but sent colonies into *Greece*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Troas*, &c. the cities of *Delphi* in *Phocis*, *Miletus* in *Ionia*, and many in *Iapygia*, having been founded by them. The *Treijans*, if we believe the most antient writers, were originally *Cretans*; as were also the *Messapii* in *Italy*, and the inhabitants of some of the islands of *Ara- bià*, &c.

As to the government of the *Cretans*, it is agreed on all *Govern-*  
*ments*, that it was at first monarchical; but there is a great  
 disagreement among authors about the beginning of the *Cretan*  
 kingdom. *Diodorus Siculus* supposes *Tectamus* to have been  
 the first who reigned in that island. But *Eusebius* speaks of  
 one *Cretes*, who gave his name to the island, and reigned, ac-  
 cording to him, four hundred years before *Tectamus*. From  
*Cretes* to *Cydon* he reckons three hundred years, from *Cydon* to  
*Apteras* sixty-three, and from *Apteras* to *Lapithas* forty. This  
 opinion, which is also followed by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and  
 most of the antient chronologers, is agreeable to what we read  
 in *Pausanias*, who mentions several kings reigning before *Tec-*  
*tamus*, and, among the rest, *Cretes*, *Vulcan*, and *Rhadaman-*  
*thus*. *Lactantius* and *Berosus* add to these *Milinus* and *Me-*  
*lisseus*, whom they suppose to have reigned before the arrival  
 of the *Pelasgians* or *Dorians*. Before we give an account of  
 the reigns of these kings, we shall subjoin a list of them, as  
 we find it transmitted to us by *Eusebius*, *Lactantius*, and *B-*  
*erosus*.

#### Kings of Crete.

- |                                     |                        |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Cres</i> , or <i>Cretes</i> . | 8. <i>Apteras</i> .    |
| 2. <i>Talus</i> .                   | 9. <i>Lapithas</i> .   |
| 3. <i>Vulcanus</i> .                | 10. <i>Asterius</i> .  |
| 4. <i>Rhadamanthus</i> .            | 11. <i>Minos</i> .     |
| 5. <i>Milinus</i> .                 | 12. <i>Lycastus</i> .  |
| 6. <i>Melisseus</i> .               | 13. <i>Minos</i> II.   |
| 7. <i>Cydon</i> .                   | 14. <i>Deucalion</i> . |

<sup>2</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. v p. 224.



## Kings of Crete.

15. *Creteus*.16. *Idomeneus*.17. *Meriones*.18. *Etearchus* (K).

IT

(K) As we have followed chiefly *Ensebius* and *Lactantius* in this series, we shall insert here a succinct account of the *Cretan* kings, according to the order in which we find them placed by other writers. The first who reigned in *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was *Jupiter*, the first of that name. He married one *Idæa*, who imparted her name to the whole island; and had by her a son named *Cres*, who was one of the *Curetes*, and succeeded his father in the kingdom (89). The *Curetes* were, according to *Euripides* (90), all sons of this *Jupiter*; whence they are styled by him *Diogenitores*, or the children of *Jupiter*. *Cres*, who reigned after his father *Jupiter*, was, according to *Ensebius*, contemporary with *Abraham*, and his son *Isaac* (91). From him, if we believe *Isidorus* (92), the island was called *Crete*. *Cres* was succeeded by *Ammon*, who had married his daughter *Crete*. *Ammon* first reigned in *Libya*, where he married *Rhea*, the daughter of *Cælus*, and sister of *Saturn*. *Rhea*, falling out with her husband, abandoned him, and married her brother *Saturn*, who, with the other *Titans* his brothers, made war upon *Ammon*, but were by him overthrown in battle. Afterwards *Ammon*, leaving *Libya*, where he

corn, passed over into *Crete*, and there married the daughter of *Cres*; and, in right of his wife, after the death of his father-in-law, took possession of the island, changing the name of *Idæa* into that of *Crete*, which was the name of his wife. The *Titans* pursued him into *Crete*, and there, though formerly conquered, renewed the war. But in the mean time *Bacchus*, returning victorious from *India*, joined *Ammon*, and, with the assistance of some *Egyptian* forces, utterly defeated, and intirely abolished, the race of the *Titans* (93). *Melisseus*, according to *Hyginus*, succeeded *Ammon*. *Jupiter*, surnamed the great, was born in his reign, and brought up by his two daughters *Amalthea* and *Melissæ*, who nourished him with goats-milk and honey. Upon the death of *Ammon* and *Bacchus*, *Jupiter* made himself master of the island of *Crete*, and by degrees extended his dominions to the confines of the world. *Cydon* reigned many years after; the names of the intermediate kings, who, according to *Diodorus*, were many, have not reached us. *Cydon*, as *Athenæus* informs us, had a daughter, by name *Eulimene*, famous for her beauty, and courted by all the chief men of the island; but her father was commanded by the oracle to sacrifice her to the manes of the

(89) *Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 1.*  
*sub. in ciron.* (92) *Id.*  
*ubi supra.*

(90) *Euripid. in Cretæ.* *Bacch.* (91) *Euseb.*  
*in Chron.* (93) *Diodor. Sicul.*

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning ; and of these

deceased heroes of the island, which he did accordingly. *Pausanias* (94) and *Stephanus* make mention of another king bearing this name, who was the son of *Mercury* and *Acacallis*, and reigned many years after. *Cydon* was succeeded by *Apterus* or *Apteras*, to whom *Eulimene* had been betrothed. *Eusebius* says, that he began his reign in the eighth year of *Moses*, and sixty years after *Cydon* had begun his. *Lapes*, called by *Eusebius* *Lapithas*, began to reign, according to that writer, about the ninth year of *Joshua*. He was succeeded, as *Diodorus* tells us, by *Teutamus* the son of *Dorus* ; who, arriving in *Crete* with a colony of *Æolians* and *Pelasgians*, settled there, and was, for his eminent qualities, raised to the throne (95). *Asterius*, the son of *Lapes*, came to the throne, vacant by the death of his father. He married *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor*, whom *Jupiter* had carried over from *Sarepta*, a city of *Phœnice*, into *Crete*. *Asterius*, having no children by her, adopted the three sons of *Jupiter* ; viz. *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Minos* succeeded him in the kingdom, and had by his wife *Ipbone*, the daughter of *Lycettus*, a son called *Lycastes*, who, upon the death of his father, was raised to the throne. *Lycastes* built the city of *Lycastus* ; and, dying, left the kingdom to *Minos*, the second of that name, whom he had by *Ida* the daugh-

ter of *Corybas*. *Minos*, being assumed to the throne, equipped a mighty fleet, and made himself master of the *Cyclades*, which he bestowed upon his brothers, after having driven out the *Carrians*, who then held most of those islands. This is the *Minos*, according to *Diodorus* and *Thucydides*, who made war upon the *Athenians*, for having put to death his son *Androgeus* (96). *Minos* had by his wife *Pasiphaë* four sons, *Deucalion*, *Catreus*, *Androgeus*, and *Glaucus*. *Deucalion* succeeded his father, and was succeeded by his brother *Catreus*, whom *Eusebius* names *Cetreus*. *Deucalion* lived some time in *Attica*, and is supposed to have died there ; for *Pausanias* (97) tells us, that his tomb was still to be seen in his time at *Athens*, near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. *Catreus* was killed through mistake by his own son *Althæmenes* ; who thereupon, laying violent hands on himself, left the kingdom to *Idomeneus* the son of *Deucalion*, and *Moriones* the son of *Molus*. *Molus* was, according to *Apollodorus*, the son of *Deucalion* ; according to *Diodorus*, the son of *Minos*, and brother of *Deucalion*. *Idomeneus* and *Moriones* assisted the *Greeks* in the *Trojan* war with a squadron of fourscore ships. The former is mentioned by *Homer*, and commended as very expert at the bow (98). They were both, after their death, worshiped by the *Cretans* as heroes or demi-

(94) *Pausan. in Attic. ibid. Thucyd. l. i.*

(95) *Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. Pausan. in Attic.*

(96) *Diodor. Sicul.*

*Reigns of these kings there is scarce any thing upon record worth mentioning.*

- kings.* CRES was, according to *Eusebius*<sup>a</sup>, the first who reigned in *Crete*. He is also mentioned by *Cle.* *Cedrenus*<sup>c</sup>, and *Eustathius*<sup>d</sup>. The latter supposes him to be the son of *Jupiter*: wherein he is contradicted by all the antient as well as modern writers. *Talus* and *Vulcan* are only mentioned by *Pausanias* as reigning in *Crete*. This cannot be the *Vulcan* whom other writers suppose to have reigned in *Sicily*, or the island of *Lemnos*, and whose skill in discovering mines, and preparing metals, gave rise to the fables of the poets. *Rhadamanthus*, mentioned by *Strabo*<sup>e</sup> as the first legislator of the *Cretans*, is supposed by *Apollodorus* to have succeeded *Vulcan*, and to have been famous for his justice. *Aristotle* likewise speaks of him as the first who made laws for the *Cretans*<sup>f</sup>.
- MILINUS. *Milinus*, according to *Berosus*, reigned in *Crete*, and obtained the sovereignty of the sea, but was at last killed by the *Libyan Hercules*.
- MELISSEUS. *Melissus*, if we believe *Lactantius*, was the first who introduced into the island of *Crete* the worship of the gods, and religious ceremonies. The same author adds, that his daughters *Amalthea* and *Melissa* nourished *Jupiter*, when he was an infant, with goats-milk, which gave rise to the poetical fables on this subject. His daughter *Melissa* he appointed priestess of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods; and, as she was the first who was employed in this ministry, all the priestesses of that goddess were afterwards called *Melissæ*. This *Jupiter*, as *Lactantius* observes, was different from the famous *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, though most authors confound them. *Cydon* succeeded his father *Melissus*, and reigned, as we read in the chronology of *Eusebius*<sup>g</sup>, about the time of *Cecrops* I. king of *Athens*. *Apteras* succeeded *Cydon*, and is said by the same *Eusebius* to have built a town. *Lapithas*, according to some writers surnamed *Taurus* and *Jupiter*, carried away *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*; which gave rise to the fable of *Jupiter's* transforming himself

<sup>a</sup> EUSEB. chron. <sup>b</sup> CLERM. Stromat. l. i. <sup>c</sup> CEDRENUS, p. 63. <sup>d</sup> EUSTATH. in DIONYS. <sup>e</sup> STRAB. l. x. <sup>f</sup> ARISTOT. l. v. eth. <sup>g</sup> EUSEB. chron.

gods. *Virgil* says (99), that *Idomeneus* was driven out of his kingdom after his return from *Troy*; but does not tell us by whom, or on what account. Such is the succession of the *Cretan* kings, according to *Apollodorus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*; but the accounts, which they give us of these princes, are so interwoven with fables, that it is almost beneath the dignity of history to take notice of them.

into a bull <sup>b</sup>. *Eustathius* and *Cedrenus* <sup>i</sup> tell us, that *Lapithas* built the city of *Gortyna*; that he took the city of *Tyre*; and, after having performed great feats both at home and abroad, died in *Crete*, where his monument was to be seen even in the time of *Eusebius*. *Solinus* <sup>k</sup>, *Theophilus Antiochenus* <sup>l</sup>, and *St. Jerom* <sup>m</sup>, speak of *Jupiter's* sepulchre in *Crete*, which was in all likelihood the sepulchre of *Lapithas* surnamed *Jupiter* and *Taurus*, as we have observed above. *Asterius*, according to *Apollodorus* <sup>n</sup> and *Eusebius* <sup>o</sup>, was brother to *Lapithas*, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his widow *Europa*. *Asterius* is also mentioned by *Manetho*, who makes him contemporary with *Pandion* king of *Athens*. *Lapithas* had by *Europa* three sons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. As *Asterius* died without issue-male, the three sons of *Lapithas* raised great disturbances in the kingdom, each of them aspiring to the crown, and forming parties against one another. At last *Minos* prevailed, and banished his brothers. *Rhadamanthus* fled first into *Lycia*, and thence into *Bæotia*, where he married *Alcmena* the mother of *Hercules*, and settled at *Haliartus* <sup>p</sup>. *Strabo* and *Pausanias* distinguish two *Rhadamanthus's*, and likewise two *Minos's*. The famous *Rhadamanthus*, who was, according to the poets, judge of the infernal regions, was brother to *Minos* II. But the accounts which the ancients give us of these princes are so perplexed and interwoven with fables, that it is impossible to come at the truth. *Sarpedon*, being defeated by his brother *Minos*, and driven out of the island, with all those who sided with him, settled in *Mylia*; for that was the ancient name of the country, which was afterwards called *Lycia*. He was there raised to the throne, and kindly entertained *Lycus* the son of *Pandion*, when he was obliged by his brother *Ægeus* to quit *Athens*. From *Lycus* the inhabitants of the country, called before his arrival *Solymi*, had the name of *Lycians* <sup>q</sup>. *Minos* had one son, by name *Evander*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and married *Deidamia* the daughter of *Bellerophon*, by whom she had a son named *Sarpedon*. *Evander* was succeeded by *Sarpedon*, his son, who went to assist the *Trojans*, and distinguished himself in that war, but was killed at last by *Patroclus*. Most authors confound this *Sarpedon* king of *Crete* with the king of *Lycia* bearing the same name <sup>r</sup>. *Sarpedon* was succeeded by *Lycastes*, the natural son of *Minos* by *Itone*. *Lycastes* had by

<sup>b</sup> EUSTATH. in Dionys. CEDRENUS, p. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>k</sup> SOLINUS, c. 16.

<sup>l</sup> THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. ii.

<sup>m</sup> Hieronym. l. ii. contra Jovian.

<sup>n</sup> APOLLODOR. l. ii.

<sup>o</sup> EUSEB.

ubi sup.

<sup>p</sup> APOLLOD. l. iii.

<sup>q</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 173.

<sup>r</sup> Vide NATAL. COM.

Minos.

his wife *Ida Minos* II. the greatest king who had reigned in *Crete*, and much spoken of by the antients, especially the poets. *Diodorus*, as we have hinted above, differs in his account of the *Cretan* kings from *Pausanias*, *Pliny*, *Eusebius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and most of the antient as well as modern historians and chronologers. According to him, *Tellamus*, the son of *Dorus*, and grandson of *Deucalion*, arriving in *Crete* with the *Æolians* and *Pelasgians*, reigned there as king; and, marrying the daughter of *Cretheus*, had by her *Asterius*, in whose reign *Jupiter* carried away *Europa*, and had by her three sons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Asterius* afterwards married *Europa*, but, having no children by her, adopted the sons of *Jupiter*, and left the kingdom to them. *Rhadamanthus* gave laws to the *Cretans*, and *Minos* took upon him the government of the kingdom, married *Itone* the daughter of *Lyttius*, and had by her *Lycaestes*, who, coming to the crown, married *Ida* the daughter of *Corybantus*, by whom he had a son called also *Minos*. This *Minos* was the first of the *Grecians* who equipped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the sea. He married *Pasiphaë* the daughter of *Sol* and *Crete*, and had by her *Deucalion*, *Astræa*, *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and several other children. *Androgeus*, in the reign of *Ægeus* king of *Athens*, went to that city to see the *Panathenean* solemnities, and on that occasion contracted such an intimacy with *Pallas* the king's brother, and his fifty sons, as raised no small jealousy in *Ægeus*, who began to fear, lest *Pallas*, with the assistance of the *Cretan* king, should deprive him of the crown, and place it on his own head. He therefore caused *Androgeus* to be privately murdered; which *Minos* no sooner heard, than he proclaimed war against the *Athenians*. But, finding all the attempts to revenge the death of his son prove unsuccessful, he had recourse to the gods, committing the revenge of such an unjust and treacherous murder to them. Hereupon the *Athenians* were grievously afflicted with a pestilence, famine, and several other plagues, and told by the oracle of *Delphi*, that they must not expect any relief, till they were reconciled to *Minos*. The *Cretan* king, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed upon them a yearly tribute of seven boys and as many girls, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, during the space of seven, or, according to others, of nine years. *Minos* had already, for three years successively, exacted this bloody tribute, when *Theseus*, after having performed many glorious exploits, willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims; and accordingly, sailing with the rest to *Crete*, there killed the *Minotaur*, and delivered his country from the bloody

bloody *Cretan* tribute, as we have related at length elsewhere <sup>a</sup>.

THE *Minotaur* is feigned by the poets to have been half *The Minotaur* man half bull, and begot by a bull upon *Pasiphae* the wife of *taur*.

*Minos*, by the contrivance of *Dædalus*. But *Servius* <sup>b</sup> tells us, that *Pasiphae*, falling in love with one *Taurus* secretary to *Minos*, and privately carrying on with him a criminal conversation in the house of *Dædalus*, was brought to bed of two twin-brothers, one of which resembled *Minos*, and the other *Taurus*, and that this gave birth to the fable of the *Minotaur*. But of this fabulous monster, so famous among the poets, and some credulous historians, we have spoken already, in the history of the antient kingdom of *Athens*, to which we refer the reader <sup>c</sup>. *Minos*, highly incensed against *Dædalus*, for being assistant to his queen in her unlawful amours, and hearing that he was fled into *Sicily*, and there entertained by *Cocalus* king of the *Siculi*, proclaimed war against that island, fitted out a mighty fleet, and, setting sail, arrived on the coasts of *Agrigentum*. The place where he landed his men, was, from him, called *Minoa*, which name it retained to the time of *Diodorus* the historian <sup>d</sup>. *Minos*, on his arrival, sent embassadors to *Cocalus*, intreating him to deliver up *Dædalus* to justice, rather than to draw a war upon himself, and his country. Hereupon *Minos* and *Cocalus* came to an interview, wherein *Cocalus* having promised to do all *Minos* required of him, the latter, trusting to the fair promises of that treacherous prince, was prevailed upon to go to his house without guards, where he was privately stifled in a bath. *Cocalus* delivered the body of the king to the *Cretans*, who had attended him in that expedition, giving out, that his death had been occasioned by his slipping accidentally into the hot and scalding baths. His soldiers buried him with great pomp, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory, building near it a temple in honour of *Venus*, which was much resorted to for many ages. In after-times, when *Agrigentum* was built, the bones of *Minos* were discovered, and sent by *Thero* into *Crete*. The *Cretans*, who had followed *Minos* into *Sicily*, upon his death, settled in that island, and built the city of *Minoa*, so called from *Minos*. In process of time they possessed themselves of some places in the heart of the country, and built the city of *Engyum*. From *Engyum* they made frequent inroads into the neighbouring countries; and, being reinforced with a new colony of *Cretans*, who were driven upon the coasts of

*Cretans*  
settle in  
*Sicily*.

<sup>a</sup> Vol. vi. p. 180, 181.

<sup>b</sup> Vol. vi. p. 179, note (I).

<sup>c</sup> *SERVIVS* in l. vi. *Æneid*.

<sup>d</sup> *DIODOR. SICUL.* l. iv.

*Sicily*, as they were returning home under the conduct of *Merion*, after the destruction of *Troy*, they subdued many of the bordering states, and formed themselves into a republic, which was the most considerable in that part of the island \*.

SOME writers, as we have observed above, acknowledged but one *Minos*; but others maintain, that there were two; and add, that they were both no less famous for the wise laws they published, than for the conquests they made. Be that as it will, the *Minos* we are here speaking of was the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, the grandfather of *Idomeneus*, and contemporary with *Ageus* king of *Athens*; and this *Minos* was, according to *Plato* † and *Aristotle* ‡, the author of the laws which are so highly commended by them, and which it will not be improper to give some account of in this place. The main scope which *Minos* aimed at in the forming of his laws, was, as *Strabo* informs us †, to procure happiness for his subjects, by rendering them virtuous. To attain this end, he first banished idleness and luxury, the sources, as he calls them, of all vice, from his dominions. He found means to keep all his subjects employed either at home or abroad, not suffering any, however distinguished above the rest, to lead an idle and indolent life; but obliging them either to serve in the army, or apply themselves to agriculture, which he brought into great reputation. In order to establish a kind of equality among his subjects, he decreed, that, in each city, the children should be brought up together, and early taught the same maxims, exercises, and arts. They were accustomed, from their tender years, to bear hunger and thirst, to suffer heat and cold, to walk over steep and rugged places, to skirmish with each other in small parties, and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance with their armour, which was afterwards called the *Pyrrhic* †. As *Crete* was a mountainous and uneven country, the youth were not taught here, as elsewhere, to ride, or wear heavy armour, but to use their bow dextrously; and in this they far excelled all other nations in the world. One of *Minos's* institutions, which *Aristotle* greatly admires, was, that all his subjects should use the same diet, and frequently take their repasts together, without any distinction between the poor and rich. This, as *Aristotle* observes †, introduced a kind of equality among all ranks of people, accustomed them to a frugal and sober life, and cemented friendship and unity between them, by the usual gaiety and mirth of the table. The public defrayed the charges of these meals, one part of the revenues of the state being

The laws  
of Minos.

\* Idem ibid.

† PLATO, de leg. l. i.

‡ ARIST. de rep.

l. ii. † STRABO, l. x. p. 480.

‡ STRABO, ibid.

† ARIST.

ubi sup.

applied to the uses of religion, and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the public meals. After their repast, the old men discoursed of the actions and virtues of their ancestors, and of such as had distinguished themselves, either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in peace; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose these great persons to themselves, as their models for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

ANOTHER of *Minos's* institutions, which *Plato* admires the most<sup>d</sup>, was, to inspire early into the youth an high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws, of their own country, not suffering them to dispute, or call in question, the wisdom of their constitution, but commanding them to look upon their laws as dictated by the gods themselves. He had the same regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he enjoined every one to honour in a peculiar manner; and, that nothing might lessen the respect due to their age, he ordained, that, if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth. A custom established by *Minos* in *Crete*, and, in after-ages, adopted by the *Romans*, gives us reason to believe, that even the slaves were better treated in *Crete*, than any-where else; for, in the feasts of *Mercury*, the masters waited on their slaves at table, and performed about them the same offices, which they received from them the rest of the year. This was to put men in mind of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, and to signify to the masters, that their servants were of the same nature with themselves<sup>e</sup>. The laws of *Minos* were antiently in so great repute, that *Lycurgus* passed a considerable time in *Crete*, employing himself in the study of the *Cretan* constitution, and forming his laws upon the model of those that then obtained in that island. *Plato* tells us, that *Crete*, under the government of so wise a prince, became the abode of virtue, probity, and justice; and that the laws, which he established, were so well founded in justice and equity, that they subsisted in their full vigour even in his time, that is, above nine hundred years after they had been first published. It is true, the *Cretans* degenerated by degrees from their antient probity; and at length, by an intire change of manners, became the most vicious nation that was known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*. *Polybius* writes<sup>f</sup>, that the *Cretans*, in his time, were avaricious and self-interested to such a degree, as to think no lucre fordid. *Suidas* and *Callimachus* g give them

Character  
of the late  
Cretans.

<sup>d</sup> PLATO, ubi supra, hymn. in Jov. ver. 8.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. <sup>f</sup> POLYB. l. vi. <sup>g</sup> CALLIM.



the character of lyars and impostors; and St. *Paul* quotes against them, as truth, the testimony of one of their own poets, perhaps *Epimenides*, who paints them in very disgraceful colours. The impurity of their amours is but too well known from the accounts given us of them by *Strabo*<sup>b</sup>, *Servius*<sup>c</sup>, and *Athenæus*<sup>d</sup>. But this change of manners, in whatever time it happened, does not affect the probity of the antient *Cretans*, nor lessen the glory of their legislator. We cannot help adding here, that, when we reflect on the justice, equity, and humanity, of king *Minos*, and the high commendations which the most eminent and judicious writers among the antients have bestowed upon him, we are inclined to believe those authors mistaken, who ascribe to him the imposing of that cruel tribute on the *Athenians*. *Plato*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, &c. are indeed of that opinion; but a learned modern proves with a great deal of erudition, that they were mistaken, and confounded the legislator we are speaking of, with another *Minos*, who, to avenge the death of his son, made war upon the *Athenians*, and imposed that bloody tribute, to which *Theseus* put an end, by killing *Taurus* the king's general, and intirely defeating the troops under his command<sup>e</sup>.

Deuca-  
lion,

*MINOS* was succeeded by his eldest son *Deucalion*, who, renewing the antient alliance between the *Cretans* and *Athenians*, gave his sister *Phædra* in marriage to *Theseus*, by whom he had *Acamantes* and *Demonior*. *Phædra* is said to have fallen passionately in love with her son-in-law *Hippolytus*; and, because he would not comply with her unlawful demands, to have accused him to her husband, as if he had attempted to ravish her. Hereupon *Theseus*, suspecting the truth of what she said, summoned *Hippolytus* to answer the accusation. But *Phædra*, fearing she should be discovered upon the tryal of the cause, laid violent hands on herself<sup>f</sup>. *Deucalion* was, according to *Hyginus*, one of the *Argonauts*. *Plutarch* tells us out of *Glidemus*, that he was killed by *Theseus* at *Gnoffus* in *Crete*<sup>g</sup>. After *Deucalion* reigned *Creteus*, or, as *Diodorus* and *Pausanias* call him, *Catreus*. He was brother to *Deucalion*, and son of *Minos* by *Pasiphae*, or, as others will have it, by *Merope*. Being told by the oracle, that he should be killed by his son *Althæmenes*, he banished him his dominions. But, after some years, hearing that he had settled in the island of *Rhodes*, and being delirous to see him before he died, put to

Creteus.

<sup>b</sup> STRABO, l. x. <sup>c</sup> SERVIVS ÆNEID. l. x. ver. 325. <sup>d</sup> ATHEN. DEIPN. l. xiii. &c. <sup>e</sup> M. BANIER. MEM. DE L'ACAD. DES INSCRIPT. tom. iii. <sup>f</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. APOLLODOR. l. iii. POM- FON. SABIN. l. ii. <sup>g</sup> PLUT. IN THEF.

sea ; and, arriving with a few ships in the night, was taken by the inhabitants for a pirate, and, in a scuffle, accidentally killed by his own son \*. Upon the death of *Cretus*, the kingdom fell to *Idomeneus*, the son of *Deucalion* by *Cleopatra*. *Idomeneus*. He assisted the *Greeks* at the siege of *Troy* with fourscore ships, and distinguished himself there, if we may believe the poets, in several single combats. After the destruction of that city, his ships being in great danger by a violent storm, he vowed to sacrifice, if he got safe home, the first person he met. It happened, that his eldest son came first out to meet him, whom he, pursuant to his vow, either did, or attempted to sacrifice. ~~He~~ Upon his subjects refusing to receive him, he sailed into *Italy*, and built there the city of *Petilia* near *Salentinum*, a cape of *Calabria* <sup>p</sup> (L). The famous historian *Di-Elys*, surnamed *Cretensis*, was his secretary, as *Eustathius* informs us <sup>q</sup>. This author is said by *Septimius*, *Cedrenus*, *Suidas*, and *Isaacius Porphyrogenitus*, to have written the history of the *Trojan* war in *Greek*, but with *Phœnician* letters. The book which now goes under the name of *Di-Elys Cretensis*, is a spurious piece. Upon the death or banishment of *Idomeneus*, *Meriones* the son of *Molus* by *Memphis*, and grandson of *Meriones*. *Minos*, was raised to the throne. He had attended *Idomeneus* to the *Trojan* war, and there signalized himself, as we read in *Homer*, *Virgil*, and the other antient poets. He died after a short reign, and was buried in *Crete*, with great pomp, near the tomb of *Idomeneus*. The monuments of both these princes were still to be seen in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, not far from the city of *Gnosus*. On that of *Idomeneus* was the following inscription, *Idomeneus, who was born in Gnosus, lies in this tomb, and had by him I Merion the son of Molus.*

\* DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13. APOLLODOR. l. iii. <sup>p</sup> VIRGIL. iii. & xi. *Æneid*. ISAAC TZETZES, p. 166. <sup>q</sup> EUSTATH. in *Iliad*. p. 537.

(L) *Joannes Tzetzes* relates this in a quite different manner ; for he tells us, that *Idomeneus*, on his departure from *Troy*, appointed one *Leucos* to govern the kingdom in his absence, promising to give him, on his return, his daughter *Clisithere* in marriage, and make him his heir. *Leucos* governed for some time with great justice and equity ; but at last was prevailed upon by *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa* to put

to death *Meda* the wife, and *Clisithere* the daughter of *Idomeneus*, and seize the kingdom for himself. *Idomeneus*, finding, on his return, *Leucos* in possession of the crown, attempted to drive out the usurper, but was himself obliged to withdraw from the island, which was intirely addicted to *Leucos*, and seek a new settlement for himself, and those who had attended him to *Troy*,

Etearchus.

They were both adored by the *Cretans* as demigods, and invoked in all the wars they undertook<sup>r</sup>. Many years after the death of *Meriones* or *Merion*, we find *Etearchus* reigning in *Crete*, and residing, not at *Gnoſſus*, the seat of the former kings, but at *Oaxes*. The actions, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, are buried in oblivion. However, it is not improbable, that *Etearchus* was descended from *Minos*, and consequently of the same family with the princes whose reigns we have hitherto described; since *Suidas* tells us, that the race of *Minos* enjoyed the sovereignty of *Crete* to the destruction of that kingdom, that is, till monarchy gave way to a republican government. The family of *Minos*, though deprived of the sovereign power, continued, even after that change, in great splendor, as *Tzetzes* informs us<sup>s</sup>; and *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Sergius Galba* pretended to be descended from *Minos* by the mother's side<sup>t</sup>. All we know of *Etearchus*, the last king of *Crete*, is, that, by the wicked contrivances, and groundless calumnies, of his queen, he was so estranged from *Phronima* his daughter by his first wife, that he delivered her up to one *Themison*, a merchant of *Thera*, injoining him to drown her in the sea. *Themison*, though he had bound himself by an oath to do whatever *Etearchus* should command him, yet could not prevail upon himself to put this barbarous command in execution: having therefore, to comply with the obligation of his oath, let her down into the sea by a rope, he drew her up again unhurt, and carried her to *Thera*, his native country, where she was admitted among the concubines of *Polymnestus*, by whom she had *Battus* the founder of *Cyrene* u.

The republican government introduced.

MONARCHICAL government being abolished, in what manner, or on what account, we find no-where recorded; the chief power was lodged in the Senate, which was composed of thirty senators, and is called by *Aristotle* x, the public council or the nation. In that assembly affairs of the greatest consequence were examined, and resolutions taken, which however were of no force, till the people had confirmed them by their suffrages. Next in authority to the senate were the *cosmi*, so called from the Greek word *cosmos*, signifying order; these magistrates being appointed for the maintaining of good order in the state. They had much the same power as the *ephori* at *Sparta*, were ten in number, and chosen, like the *ephori*, out of the body of the people, the meanest of the populace having an equal right to this dig-

<sup>r</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 15.  
in Galba. <sup>u</sup> HERODOT. l. iii.  
c. 10.

<sup>s</sup> TZETZES, p. 67. <sup>t</sup> Suet.  
<sup>x</sup> ARISTOT. de repub. l. ii.

nity with the most illustrious families of the republic. They were, in a certain manner, the balance between the people and the senate, and a check upon both; for, without their approbation, no decree was of any force. Out of their body the senators were chosen, none being admitted into the senate, who had not before given some proofs of their prudence, equity, and disinterestedness, in the college of the *cosmi*. In time of war they commanded the armies of the republic with an absolute and unbounded power, but were afterwards liable to be called to an account; whereas the senators were not accountable to any for their administration. In this condition continued the island of *Crete* for many ages. The inhabitants were ever at war among themselves, each city aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole island; but as the authors, who wrote the history of *Crete*, have not reached us, we are quite in the dark as to the particulars of those civil commotions. All we know is, that, in the time of *Philip* the father of *Perses*, the *Gnossians* and *Gortynians* had reduced all the other cities of the island, and divided their conquests; so that the *Cretans* were no longer free, but subject to one of these cities, and obliged to acknowledge their subjection by an annual tribute<sup>t</sup>. These domestic troubles enraged in *Crete* for many ages, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of perfecting themselves in all the arts of war; whence they were in such repute among other nations, that most of the states and princes then at war took care to have always in their armies some bodies of *Cretan* bowmen and slingers, the *Cretans* having been in all ages, as *Pausanias* observes<sup>u</sup>, remarkable for their skill and experience at the sling and bow.

THEY were a great help, as *Xenophon* informs us, in the retreat of the ten thousand<sup>v</sup>. Many of *Alexander's* victories, if we believe *Arrian*, were owing to the *Cretan* auxiliaries<sup>x</sup>. *Livy* has not forgot the advantages which *Eumenes*, and the consul *Manlius*, gained by means of the archers and slingers of *Crete*, the one over *Antiochus*, the other over the *Gauls*, in the famous battle fought near mount *Olympus*. After the *Romans* once became acquainted with *Crete*, they employed the inhabitants in all their expeditions, keeping constantly in their pay numerous bodies of *Cretan* auxiliaries, who, generally speaking, behaved with great gallantry. In the war of *Antiochus*, they entered into an alliance with *Rome*, having been induced thereunto by *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*. But,

<sup>t</sup> POLYB. l. iv.<sup>u</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis.<sup>v</sup> XENOPH.

l. iv.

<sup>x</sup> ARRIAN. de expedit. Alex.<sup>y</sup> LIV. l. xxxvii. c.

41. &amp; l. xxxviii. c. 21.

The Romans  
quarrel  
with the  
Cretans.  
Year of  
the flood  
2280.  
Bef. Chr.  
68.

notwithstanding the treaty of friendship subsisting between the two republics, the *Cretans* entered into measures with other potentates, without consulting the *Roman* senate. In the war which the *Romans* carried on against *Mithridates*, they were said to maintain a private correspondence with that prince, and likewise to have assisted the pirates who infested the *Mediterranean*, and committed great ravages on the coasts of *Italy* itself. This gave the *Romans* a specious pretence of enslaving an island, which had, to that time, been free from all foreign subjection; but the true motive that prompted them to undertake this war, was, as *Florus* informs us <sup>2</sup>, a desire of conquering that island. The *Romans*, who were so fond of their own liberties, made it their chief business to deprive all other nations of theirs. This expedition being resolved on, it fell to the lot of *Q. Hortensius* to command the troops that were to be employed in it; but, as he had spent his whole life in peaceable employments, and was altogether unqualified for military expeditions, he readily resigned the command of the troops to his colleague *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who postponed setting sail till the time of his consulship was expired. In the mean while the *Cretans* sent an embassy to *Rome*, consisting of thirty of the most illustrious men of the island, who, by their earnest solicitations, and humble supplications, moved the senate to compassion; insomuch that they were ready to renew with them their antient treaties. But *P. Lentulus Spinther* alone opposed the good-will of the senate towards the *Cretans*, by representing, that *Rome* could never be mistress of the seas, nor keep them clear of pirates, till *Crete* was reduced to the state of a province. His opposition made the fathers change their minds, and so many and hard conditions were then demanded of the suppliants, that they chose rather to maintain a war, than comply with them. The ambassadors being dismissed, *Metellus* set sail with three legions, and, arriving on the coast of *Crete*, landed his men without opposition. The *Cretan* republic was then governed by two chiefs, *Lajthenes* and *Panares*. The former had greatly contributed to the victory which the pirates had gained the year before over *Antonius*; and therefore, not doubting but the *Romans* would make it a preliminary, that he should be given up to their vengeance, encouraged the people to take up arms, and raised forces in all parts of the island. In a short time four and twenty thousand men were armed, and brought into the field. *Metellus*, in order to draw them to a battle, advanced towards *Cydonia*, at that time the capital of the island, as if he designed to besiege it. *Lajthenes*,

The progress of the Roman arms in Crete.

<sup>2</sup> FLOR. l. iii. c. 7.

to prevent the siege, met the Roman general on his march, gave him battle, but was intirely defeated, and obliged to save himself by flight to *Gnossus*. *Metellus*, being master of the field, laid siege to *Cydonia*, which *Panares*, after a faint defence, delivered up to the conqueror, upon a promise, that both he and the inhabitants should be spared. From thence *Metellus* advanced to *Gnossus*, where *Lasthenes* had shut himself up; but the cowardly general, instead of putting the city into condition to hold out a siege, set fire to it, and retired. The city of *Lycus*, though well fortified, surrendered as soon as the Roman army approached the walls. Thus *Metellus*, in one campaign, possessed himself of the best part of the island, though defended by the *Cilician* pirates, as well as by its own inhabitants <sup>a</sup>.

THE next year early in the spring *Metellus* took the field, and, having defeated the united forces of the *Cretans*, and *Cilician* pirates, drove the latter from the castles, which they had built on the rocks near the sea, and the former from most of their strongholds in the centre of the country. But, as he treated both the inhabitants and the pirates with the utmost severity, they sent an embassy to *Pompey*, who had been lately appointed proconsul of the seas with an unbounded authority, intreating him to come and put the last hand to the reduction of *Crete*, and offering to surrender to him without making the least resistance. *Pompey*, who was always ready to undertake the work of other generals, heard the ambassadors with pleasure, and promised to come and conclude an advantageous peace with them. Accordingly, having received hostages, he sent from *Pamphylia*, where he then resided, *L. Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to proclaim all over the island, that *Pompey* had the sole right of making treaties in all the places of his proconsulate; and that *Metellus* had no right to assume the title of general in a country, which was within the province the senate had given to *Pompey* <sup>b</sup>. This shameful claim of *Pompey* caused a kind of civil war in the island, the Romans disputing with one another who should give the last stroke to the *Cretans*. *Octavius* joined the pirates and people of the island to oppose *Metellus*'s conquest; and he, on the other hand, not fearing the additional forces, which *Pompey* had sent against him, pursued his conquests with resolution. He besieged *Eleuthera*, and, having gained over one of the chief citizens, who for several nights together poured down upon one of the towers so many barrels of vinegar as softened it, made himself master of the

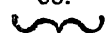
<sup>a</sup> APPIAN. legat. xxx. LIV. l. xcix. FLOR. l. iii. c. 7. <sup>b</sup> FLOR. ubi supra. CIC. pro lege Manilia. PLUT. in Pomp.

town by beating it down. From *Eleuthera* he turned towards *Lappa*, a strong city, which *Octavius* in person undertook to defend. But, though *Octavius* made a vigorous defence, yet the place was at last taken by assault, and all the *Critans*, and *Cilicians* found in it put to the sword. As for *Octavius* and the *Romans*, *Metellus* dismissed them without their arms amidst the hisses of his soldiers. *Pompey* therefore sent new supplies to *Octavius*, and ordered *Sisenna* to sail from the coast of *Achaia* to *Crete*. But *Sisenna* dying soon after his arrival, *Octavius* took upon him the command of his troops, and, in conjunction with the pirates and *Cretans*, endeavoured to stop the career of *Metellus's* conquests. But that brave commander, having taken *Hierapytna*, the strongest place then in the island, obliged *Octavius* to save himself on board his ships, and abandon the island. Upon his departure *Lasthenes* and *Panares* laid down their arms, and all the inhabitants of the island submitted to the yoke. *Metellus* changed their form of government, obliged them to live according to the laws of *Rome*, imposed an annual tribute upon the whole island, and thereby reduced it to a *Roman* province, alter it had enjoyed its liberties for a series of many ages. *Orosius* tells us, that *Metellus* reduced the island in two years time <sup>a</sup>. But *Velleius Paterculus* <sup>c</sup>, *Eutropius* <sup>f</sup>, and others, write, that the *Romans* spent three whole years in that undertaking, having to do with men no less brave than themselves. *Metellus* was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of *Creticus*, or the *Cretan*, which *Plutarch* gives to *Antonius* the father of the famous *Marc Antony*, who began indeed this expedition, but lost in it both his fleet, and his life.

Crete reduced to a Roman province.

Year of the flood 2282.

Bef. Chr. 66.



## S E C T. V.

### The History of Cyprus.

*Namss.*

**T**HE island, which we are now to write of, was known to the antients by the following names; *Acamis*, *Cerastis*, *Aspalia*, *Amathus*, *Macaria*, *Cryptos*, *Colinia*, *Sphacia*, *Paphia*, *Salaminia*, *Aerosa*, and finally *Cyprus*. It was called *Acamis* from one of its promontories, *Amathus*, *Paphia*, and *Salaminia*, from three of its antient cities; *Macaria* from the fruitfulness of its soil; *Aerosa* from its copper-mines; *Colinia* or *Collinia* from its many hills; *Sphacia* from its antient inhabit-

<sup>a</sup> APPIAN. legat. xxx. LIV. l. c. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 38.

<sup>d</sup> OROSIUS, l. vi. c. 4.

<sup>c</sup> VELL. PATERCUL. ibid.

<sup>f</sup> EUTROP. l. vi.

TROP. l. vi.

ants the *Sphæces*; *Ceraftis* from the many promontories, which, like so many horns, as the Greek word intimates, shoot into the sea. Whence it borrowed the name of *Aspalia*, we know not. Some etymologists have changed the name of *Aspalia* into that of *Asperia*, and pretend that the island was so called from the unevenness of its ground: were we allowed in this manner to throw out, put in, and change letters as we please, it would be no difficult matter to give etymologies. As to the name which it is now generally known by, some authors derive it from the Greek word *cryptos*, signifying *hidden*, this island being often hid, say they, by the waves from the eye of the sailor; others will have it called *Cyprus* from *Cyrus*, who is said to have founded here the city of *Aphrodisia*. But this etymology is still worse than the former, the island having been known by the name of *Cyprus* in *Homer's* time, that is, six hundred years before the birth of *Cyrus*. *Isidorus* thinks it was called *Cyprus* from a city of that name &c. But the most common opinion is, that it borrowed its name from a shrub, called by the *Greeks* *cypros*, which, though very scarce in other countries, grows here in great plenty. What kind of shrub this was, is still matter of dispute among authors. With the flower of this shrub the antient inhabitants made a very sweet oil, which is much commended by *Pliny* <sup>b</sup>. The name of *Ceraftis*, as we have observed above, was given it from the great number of its promontories; and this appellation is founded on truth, no island, that we know of, having more promontories than *Cyprus*. On the west it has the promontories of *Acamas*, now *Capo S. Pisano*, *Drepanum*, now *Trepano*, *Zephyrum*, now *Capo Calidoni*, or *Punta Malota*; on the south, *Phrurium*, now *Capo Bianco*; *Curias*, or *Capo delle Gatte*; *Gades*, or *Capo Chiti*; *Throni*, or *Capo Pila*; on the east, *Pendalium*, now *Capo di Greco*, *Clides*, now *Capo di S. Andrea*; on the north, *Coronyon*, now *Capo Cornochiette*; and, besides, a great many others of less note. *Androcles*, as quoted by *Tzetzes*, tells us, that the island was antiently called *Ceraftis*, because inhabited by men with horns; which opinion has been followed by the poets, namely by *Ovid* <sup>i</sup>.

THE cities of most note in *Cyprus* were, according to *Cities*. *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* <sup>k</sup>, on the north side of the island; *Ar-Arfinoe*, so called from a queen of *Egypt*, the island of *Cyprus* having been long subject to the kings of that country. *Solz*, *Soli* or *Soli*, which borrowed its name from *Solon* the famous law-giver of the *Athenians*, who, during his banishment, having

<sup>b</sup> ISIDOR. l. xiv.  
<sup>k</sup> X. ver. 222.

<sup>h</sup> PLIN. l. xii. c. 24.  
<sup>k</sup> STRAB. l. xiv. sub finem.

<sup>i</sup> OVID. metam.



visited the petty king of *Epea*, advised him to remove his city from a mountainous and barren country into a fruitful and pleasant plain. The king followed his advice, and was so pleased with the new situation of his metropolis, that, out of gratitude to *Solon*, who had given him such good advice, he called it *Sola* or *Soli* from his name <sup>1</sup>. *Strabo* takes notice of a famous temple in this city consecrated to *Venus* and *Ifis*.

**Lapithus, or Lapathus.** *Lapithus* or *Lapathus*, on the banks of a small river bearing the same name. This city was in former times of so great note, that it gave the name of *Lapithia* to the neighbouring country. The two cities of *Aphrodisias* and *Carpasia* are likewise placed by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* on the same coast, and mentioned by most of the ancient geographers. Here also

**Cerines, Tremitus.** stood the cities of *Cerines* and *Tremitus*. *Cerines*, in former ages called *Ceurania*, is said to have been built by *Cyrus the Great*, when he first subdued the nine kings of this island, and united the whole country to the crown of *Persia*. *Tremitus* is often mentioned by *Sozomenus* in the account he gives us of the miracles, which he supposes to have been wrought by the bishop *Spiridion*, a native of that city <sup>m</sup>. On the

**Salamis.** eastern coast stood the following cities: *Salamis*, built by *Teucer* the son of *Telamon*; who, being, on his return from the siege of *Troy*, banished by his father *Telamon*, for not revenging on *Ulysses* the death of his brother *Ajax*, retired to *Cyprus*, and there built a city, which he called *Salamis* after the name of his own country <sup>n</sup>. This city was in after-ages called *Constantia*, and some are of opinion, that *Famagosta*, the present metropolis of the island, was built on its ruins (M). On this side of the island, over-against the promontory, called by *Pliny* *Dinaretum*, are the small islands named *Glides*, two

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in *Solon*. p. 93.  
HORAT. l. i. od. 7.

<sup>m</sup> SOZOM. l. i. c. 10.

Vide

(M) This city is stiled by *Diodorus* (100) the first of all the *Cyprian* cities, and said to have once excelled most of the *Greek* cities in power and riches. *Tacitus* (1) speaks of a magnificent temple built here in honour of *Jupiter Salaminus*; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* of three other temples dedicated to *Pallas*, *Agraulos*, and *Diomedes*. In that

of *Agraulos*, was yearly offered an human sacrifice, till that cruel ceremony was abolished by *Dipbilus* king of *Cyprus* (2). *Salamis* in *Cyprus* is called by *Lucan*, *Seneca*, and *Manilius*, the other *Salamis*, to distinguish it from another city of the same name in an island adjacent to *Eleusis*, called also *Salamis*.

(100) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xiv.  
*alysin.* l. ii.

(1) *Tacit. annal.* l. iii.

(2) *Porphyr. de*

in number, according to *Strabo*, and three, according to *Pliny*. On the fourth coast the antients place *Throni*, a town *Throni*. so called from the promontory on which it stood; *Citium*, *Citium*. the birth-place of *Zeno* the famous stoic. Here *Cymon* the *Athenian* died, after having reduced great part of the island <sup>o</sup>. *Plutarch* tells us, that he died at the siege of this place <sup>p</sup>; and *Diodorus*, that he took it before his death <sup>q</sup>. *Josephus* is of opinion, that this city was built by *Cittim* the son of *Javan*, and from him called *Citium*, or, as *Pliny* will have it, *Cetium*. *Malum*, which was likewise taken by *Cymon*, as *Diodorus* in- *Malum*. forms us <sup>r</sup>. *Ptolemæus Lagi* ruined this city, and transplanted the inhabitants to *Paphos* <sup>s</sup>. *Amathus*, so called from its *Amathus*. founder *Amathus* the son of *Aerias*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cyprus* was famous for three temples; one, and the most antient of all, was dedicated to *Venus Paphia*, by *Aerias*; the next in point of antiquity was consecrated to *Venus Amathusia*, by *Amathus* the son of *Aerias*; and the third to *Jupiter Salaminus*, by *Teucer* the son of *Telamon* <sup>t</sup>. That city of *Amathus*, as most others in this island, was consecrated to *Venus*, as appears from *Virgil* <sup>u</sup>, and the other antient poets. *Ovid* speaks of copper-mines in the neighbourhood of this city <sup>w</sup>, and *Pausanias* mentions a famous temple here consecrated to *Venus* and *Adonis* <sup>x</sup>. On the west side of the island were the cities *Palæpaphos*, or *Old Paphos*, about ten furlongs from the *Palæpa-* shore. Here *Venus* is said to have first appeared after she was *phos*. formed out of the froth of the sea; and hence the city was in a peculiar manner sacred to that goddess. The young women here used to prostitute themselves to such strangers as came ashore, in order to raise money for their portions. About 60 furlongs from *Palæpaphos* stood *Neapaphos*, or *New Paphos*, *Neapa-* built, according to *Strabo* <sup>y</sup>, by *Agapenor*, nephew to *Lycurgus*, *phos*. and famous for its harbour, and a stately temple dedicated to *Venus*; for both these cities were under the peculiar protection of *Venus*: whence they are often confounded by the antient writers, especially the poets. *New Paphos* was utterly ruined by an earthquake, but rebuilt by *Augustus*, and thence called *Augusta*, a name which it did not long retain <sup>z</sup>. As to the inland towns, *Ptolemy* mentions only three, viz. *Chybrus*, *Trimethus*, and *Tamassus*, or *Tamascus*, to which *Strabo* adds a fourth, viz. *Limenia*; but these were places of small note, though *Ovid* calls the territory of *Tamascus* the most fruitful

<sup>o</sup> CORN. NEPOS, in ejus vita. <sup>p</sup> PLUT. in Cymon. <sup>q</sup> DIO-

DOR. l. xix. c. 79. <sup>r</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>s</sup> Idem ibid. <sup>t</sup> TACIT. l. iii.

annal. c. 62. <sup>u</sup> VIRGIL. Æneid. l. x. ver. 51. <sup>w</sup> OVID.

metamorph. l. x. ver. 220. <sup>x</sup> PAUSAN. in Boeot. cap. ult.

<sup>y</sup> STRAB. l. xiv. sub finem. <sup>z</sup> DIO, l. iv. p. 537

spot in Cyprus <sup>a</sup>. The copper, that was found in the mines adjoining to this city, was deemed the best in the world. The following cities are mentioned by Pliny, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias*, *Stephanus*, and others; but we are quite at a loss as to their situation; *Cingria*, *Marium*, *Golgi*, *Epidarum*, *Cresium*, *Erythraea*, *Lacedæmonia*, *Tegessus*, *Mesina*, *Hyle*, *Tembro*, *Ledrum*, or *Leuteon*. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Marium* was governed by a king of its own <sup>b</sup>. *Golgi* was a small, but very antient town; for the *Cyprians*, as *Pausanias* informs us <sup>c</sup>, worshiped *Venus* in the small town of *Golgi*, before *Agapenor* settled with his colony at *Paphus*. This city is mentioned by *Catullus* <sup>d</sup>, *Lycophron* <sup>e</sup>, and *Ennius* <sup>f</sup>, who speak of it as a place consecrated in a special manner to *Venus*.

Berytus,  
Cnidus,  
and Cyte-  
ra, not  
towns of  
Cyprus.

BESIDES the cities we have mentioned, *Meursius* places in Cyprus those of *Berytus*, *Cnidus*, and *Cytera* <sup>g</sup>, being led into this mistake by misunderstanding the ancient writers, whom he quotes. To prove that *Berytus* stood in Cyprus, he produces a passage out of *Strabo* <sup>h</sup>; wherein that author, after having spoken of *Citium*, and told us, that it was the birth-place of *Zeno*, adds, that it is fifteen hundred furlongs, that is, an hundred and eighty-seven miles and an half, distant from *Berytus*; and hence *Meursius*, in other respects a most accurate writer, concludes that *Berytus* is reckoned by *Strabo* among the cities of Cyprus. But he ought to have inferred from these very words of *Strabo*, that *Berytus* could not stand in Cyprus, since no two places in the whole island, if we adhere to the measures laid down by that geographer, can be at so great a distance from each other, the island being, according to him, but fourteen hundred furlongs in length. Besides, it is very plain from the context, that *Strabo*, in the above-mentioned passage, speaks of *Berytus* in Syria; and not of any city bearing that name in Cyprus. The city of *Cnidus* *Meursius* places in Cyprus, being induced thereunto by a passage in *Johannes Tzetzes*, where that writer, speaking of the country of *Ctesias* the historian, tells us, that he was a native of the *Cyprian Cnidus*, from which epithet our author concludes that *Cnidus* stood in Cyprus. But it is very plain, both from *Pliny* <sup>i</sup> and *Pausanias* <sup>k</sup>, that the epithet of *Cyprian* was given to the city of *Cnidus*, because *Venus*, the *Cyprian* goddess, as she is styled by the poets, was the tutelary deity

<sup>a</sup> OVID. *metam.* l. x. ver. 643.  
c. 59.

<sup>c</sup> PAUSAN. *Arcad.* c. 5.

<sup>b</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv.

<sup>d</sup> CATULL. *carmin.* xxxvii.

de Vener. <sup>e</sup> LYCOPHR. in *Alexandra*, ver. 588.

<sup>f</sup> THEOCR.

*idyll.* xv. ver. 100. <sup>g</sup> MEURSIUS in libro de Cyprio.

<sup>h</sup> STRAB.

<sup>i</sup> PLIN. l. xiv. p. 469.

<sup>j</sup> PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5.

<sup>k</sup> PAUSAN.

*Attic.* c. 1.

of the place, and no less religiously worshipped there than in *Cyprus*. But, granting *Tzetzes* to have placed *Cnidus* in *Cyprus*, the authority of *Strabo* ought to have been of more weight with *Meursius*, than that of the writer he quotes: that antient geographer tells us, in express words, that *Ctesias*, the physician and historian, was born in *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria*<sup>1</sup>, wherein he is followed by all the writers both antient and modern, who speak of that historian. As to *Cythera*, our author, in reckoning it among the cities of *Cyprus*, quotes in favour of his opinion two passages out of *Virgil*; in the first that poet joins together *Cythera* and the *Idalian* forest, which was without all doubt in *Cyprus*<sup>m</sup>; in the other he joins the city of *Cythera* with *Amathus* and *Paphos*, both cities of great note in this island<sup>n</sup>. But *Venus*, whom *Virgil* introduces in both places speaking of the cities that were consecrated to her, does not confine herself to the cities of *Cyprus* alone. She mentions, as is evident from the context, such places as were peculiarly addicted to her worship, whether in *Cyprus*, or elsewhere. Now the island of *Cythera*, and its metropolis, bearing the same name, were both consecrated to *Venus*, who had there a famous temple much resorted to by all the nations of *Greece*, as we read in *Pausanias*<sup>o</sup>. It is true the scholiast of *Hesiod* places *Cythera* in *Cyprus*; but herein he contradicts, which is often the case, the author whom he pretends to explain. For that poet, speaking of the froth from which *Venus* is supposed to have sprung, says, that it was first carried to *Cythera*, and from thence to the island of *Cyprus*<sup>p</sup>. From these words it is manifest, that *Cythera* was not, according to *Hesiod*, a city of *Cyprus*.

*CYPRUS* was, by the antient geographers, divided into *Divisions* four districts or provinces; viz. *Paphia* to the west, *Amathusa* to the south, *Lapitha* to the north, and *Salaminia* to the east. In after-ages it was divided into twelve provinces by the princes of the *Lusignan* family, who were put in possession of it by *Richard I.* of *England*, and held it for seventeen generations. The names of these twelve divisions were, *Nicosia*, *Famagusta*, *Paphia*, *Audima*, *Limissa*, *Masorum*, *Salines*, *Messoria*, *Crusocus*, *Pentalia*, *Carpassus*, and *Cerines*. These were so denominated from the chief cities of each district; besides which cities, and several others of less note, there were no fewer than eight hundred villages. This island, even under the tyrannical yoke of the *Turks*, is so considerable,

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. l. xiv. p. 451.<sup>m</sup> VIRGIL. *Æneid.* i. ver. 684.<sup>n</sup> Idem *Æneid.* x. ver. 51.<sup>o</sup> PAUSAN. *Lacon.* c. 23.<sup>p</sup> HESIOD. ad theogon. ver. 192.

as to be governed by a beglerbeg, who has seven fangiaks under him.

*Extent,  
climate,  
&c.*

CYPRUS extends from east to west along the coast of *Cilicia* about an hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad. It lies between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and was antiently deemed one of the most fruitful island of the *Mediterranean*; but is at present in great part uncultivated, and the air in most places very unwholsome, by reason of the fens and marshes. The honey of *Cyprus* is much commended by the antients, and likewise the wine, oil, wool, &c. but, above all, the copper, of which we have already spoken. Among the rarities of *Cyprus* we may reckon a certain kind of insects, which, as *Aristotle*<sup>a</sup> informs us, were produced and lived in the fire, but died when taken out of the flames. This, in our opinion, is no less improbable than what *Pliny* tells us of the earth of *Cyprus*, which never failed, if that author may be credited, to throw up in the night the dead bodies that were committed to it in the day-time<sup>r</sup>.

*Inhabit-  
ants.*

THIS island was first discovered by the *Phœnicians*, as *Eratosthenes* informs us<sup>s</sup>, about two or three generations, according to Sir *Isaac Newton's* computation<sup>t</sup>, before the days of *Asterius* and *Minos* kings of *Crete*, that is, about one thousand and six years before the Christian æra. It was, says *Eratosthenes*, when first discovered, so overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the *Phœnicians* first cut down the wood for the melting of copper; and afterwards, when they began to sail without fear on the *Mediterranean*, that is, presently after the *Trojan* war, they made use of that wood to build ships, and even great navies. But, not being able thus to destroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down what trees he pleased, and to possess all the ground he could clear. Thus far *Eratosthenes*. *Herodotus* likewise supposes the *Phœnicians* to have been the first who peopled the island. But *Josephus* tells us, that the descendants of *Cittim* the son of *Javan*, and grandson of *Japhet*, were the original inhabitants of *Cyprus*. According to his account, *Cittim*, seeing his brother *Tarsish* settled in *Cilicia*, where he built the city of *Tarsus*, settled with his followers in this opposite island; and either he, or his descendants, laid the foundations of the city of *Citium*, which, according to *Ptolemy*, was the most antient in the island. As *Cyprus* was too narrow to contain the great numbers of those who attended him, and their descendants, he left here so many as might serve in

<sup>a</sup> ARISTOT. histor. animal.  
STRABONEM, l. xiv. p. 684.

<sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 7.

<sup>s</sup> Apud  
<sup>t</sup> SIR IS. NEWT. chron. p. 183.  
time

time to plant the country; and with the rest passed over into *Macedon*, as we shall relate in the history of that antient kingdom. In process of time other nations, invited by the fertility of the soil, came and settled here, namely *Phœnicians*, *Athenians*, *Salaminians*, *Arcadians*, and *Ethiopians*; for *Herodotus* <sup>u</sup> says, that *Cyprus* was inhabited by colonies from these different countries.

THE government of *Cyprus* was, without all doubt, mon- <sup>Govern-</sup>  
archical; for we find kings reigning here in the earliest ages. <sup>ment and</sup>  
The first king we read of in history is *Cinyras*, the grandson <sup>kings.</sup>  
of *Pygmalion*. and father of *Adonis*. He was the son of *Paphus*, who is supposed to have been the first that introduced into the island the worship of *Venus*, and is said to have built the city which bears his name <sup>w</sup>. He had *Adonis* by his own daughter *Myrrha*. His father *Paphus* is feigned by the poets to have been the son of *Pygmalion* by a woman, who had been before an ivory statue. *Pygmalion*, say they, coming into the island of *Cyprus*, and seeing all the women living there very licentious, resolved never to marry. Afterwards, as he was a famous statuary, he made an ivory statue of such perfection, that, falling in love with it, he prayed the god det's *Venus* to procure him a wife as beautiful as the statue he had made. The goddess heard his prayer, and changed the statue into a fair damsel, by whom he had *Paphus* the father of *Cinyras*, and first king of *Cyprus* <sup>x</sup>. *Cinyras* is said to have possessed immense riches, insomuch that *the wealth of Cinyras* became a proverb <sup>y</sup>, to express an overgrown estate. As the worship of *Venus* was first established in *Cyprus* by *Paphus* the father of *Cinyras*, both he and his descendants were buried in the temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*, an honour which was granted to no other family. The priesthood of *Venus* was likewise entailed, we may say, on their race, a dignity which they maintained for many ages after the throne was seized by others; nay, we read of one of this family, by name *Sosratus*, enjoying the priesthood of *Venus* in the reign of *Vespasian*, and greatly favoured by that prince, and his son *Titus*, who often consulted him about future events <sup>z</sup>. *Belus*, one of the successors of *Cinyras*, is said to have reigned in *Cyprus* at the arrival of *Teucer* the son of *Telamon*, and to have assisted him in laying the foundations of *Salamis*, which, in process of time, became the metropolis of the whole island. *Cinyras*, and his successors, whose names have

<sup>u</sup> HERODOT. l. vii. c. 90.    <sup>w</sup> ARNOB. l. iv. & seqq. TA-  
CITUS, l. xviii.    <sup>x</sup> OVID. metamorph. l. x, ARNOB. l. vi.  
<sup>y</sup> ERASM. chilian.    <sup>z</sup> TACITUS annal. l. ii.

not reached us, were not kings of the whole country, but only of *Paphos*, and the adjoining province. Besides the kingdom of *Paphos*, we find eight other kingdoms mentioned by the antients. Of the kings of *Salamis* we shall have occasion to speak at length hereafter. The names of the others, that have been transmitted to us, are ; *Philoicyprus* king of *Soli*, contemporary with *Solon*, as *Plutarch* informs us <sup>a</sup> ; *Aristocyprus* one of the former, mentioned by *Herodotus* <sup>b</sup> ; *Pasicyrates*, or *Pasicyprus*, said by *Athenæus* to have succeeded *Aristocyprus* <sup>c</sup>. *Timonax*, *Pygmalion*, *Praxippus*, *Stasæus*, *Idmæneus*, *Moschion*, *Diphilus*, *Solon*, and *Themison*, are mentioned by the antients as reigning in *Cyprus* ; but what kingdoms they held, are what we no-where find recorded. The kingdom of *Salamis* was by far the most powerful in *Cyprus*, the *Salaminian* princes having in process of time subdued the whole island, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

*History of Cyprus.* THE island of *Cyprus* was parceled out, as we have observed already, among several petty kings, each of them reigning with an uncontroled authority till the time of *Cyrus the Great*, who subdued them by his lieutenants, but left them at the same time in possession of their respective kingdoms, obliging them only to pay an annual tribute to him, and his successors, and to send supplies of men, money, and ships, when required. The *Cyprian* princes lived thus subject to the *Persians* till the reign of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, when they attempted to shake off the yoke, being encouraged thereunto by *Onesilus* king of *Salamis*. But as from this period the history of *Cyprus*, as transmitted to us, is no other than that of the kingdom of *Salamis* ; before we relate the event of this war, we shall give an account of that kingdom, and of the princes who reigned there before the accession of *Onesilus* to the throne.

*Kings of Salamis, and history of that kingdom.* THE first king of *Salamis*, and founder of that kingdom, was *Teucer* the son of *Telamon*, who signalized himself at the siege of *Troy*, if we may believe the poets. Upon his return, being banished his country, he retired to *Cyprus*, where he built the city of *Salamis*, and founded a new kingdom, about 1160 years before the Christian æra. *Justin* tells us, that, before he settled in *Cyprus*, he went into *Spain*, and left some of his retinue in that country, where, in after-ages, *New Carthage* was built ; and *Philostratus* speaks of *Teucer's* belt, which was to be seen many ages after in the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades*, now *Cadiz*. *Virgil* <sup>d</sup> makes

Teucer.  
Year of  
the flood  
1188.  
Bef. Chr.  
1160.

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in *Solone*.  
NÆVS, l. iv. c. 20.

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 113.

<sup>d</sup> VIRGIL. *Æneid*. l. i. ver. 625.

<sup>c</sup> ATHENÆUS.

*Teucer* contemporary with *Belus*, the father of *Dido*, which is a great mistake in point of chronology; since *Carthage* was built by *Dido*, only sixty-five years before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome* \*. *Lactantius* † tells us, that *Teucer* introduced into the island of *Cyprus* the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to *Jupiter*, which continued till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. *Ajax*, the son of *Teucer*, is said to have built a stately temple at *Olbus* in *Cilicia*, and to have transmitted the priesthood to his posterity, a dignity greatly valued in antient times, the chief priest of *Olbus* being lord of that part of *Cilicia*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Tracheotis*. After the descendents of *Ajax* were deprived both of the priesthood, and the sovereignty annexed to it, the name of *Ajax* was still retained, and given to all those who enjoyed that dignity, though no-ways related to the *Teucrian* family. As to the immediate successors of *Teucer*, in the kingdom of *Salamis*, we are quite in the dark. Many years after him reigned *Nicocreon*; but did nothing which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. His daughter *Arfinoe* is mentioned by *Ovid* ‡. The next king we find reigning in *Salamis* is *Euelthon*, who, as we read in *Herodotus* §, first submitted to the *Egyptians*, and afterwards to the *Persians*, assisting *Cambyses* in his expeditions with men, money, and ships. In his reign *Pheretima*, queen of the *Cyreneans*, being driven out of her kingdom with her son *Arcefilaus*, fled to *Salamis*, and, being there kindly entertained, solicited *Euelthon* to assist her with an army, in order to re-establish her family in *Cyrene*. But the king, not caring to engage in a war, made her rich presents, hoping to content her by that means, and redeem himself from her importunities. The queen accepted the presents, and seemed to be highly pleased with them; but always added, that though they were very valuable, yet an army would be far more acceptable to her. At length *Euelthon* presented her with a reel and distaff of gold; and, finding she repeated her acknowledgement in the same terms, told her plainly, that these were more proper presents for women than armies †. He sent a censer of great value, and most curious workmanship, to the temple of *Delphi*, which was to be seen in *Herodotus*'s time in the treasury of the *Corinthians* ‡.

*SIROMUS* and *Cherfis* are mentioned by *Herodotus* as reigning at *Salamis* †; but performed nothing which that writer has thought worth relating. The latter left three sons, *Gor-*

*Euelthon.*  
Year of  
the flood  
1824.  
Bef. Chr.  
524.

\* VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. i. † LACTAN. l. i. c. 21. ‡ OVID. metamorph. l. xiv. § HERODOT. l. iv. c. 162. † HERODOT. l. v. c. 104. ‡ Idem ibid. † Idem ibid.



Onesilus  
usurps the  
throne, and  
revolts  
from the  
Persians.  
Year of  
the flood  
1848.  
Bef. Chr.  
500.

gus, *Onesilus*, and *Philaon*. *Gorgus* succeeded his father, but was soon driven out by his brother *Onesilus* in the following manner. *Onesilus*, having often solicited the king to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and, finding that he could not prevail upon him to revolt, resolved to possess himself of the crown, not doubting but, as he was a declared enemy to the *Persians*, all the *Cyprians* would join him; the island being then grievously oppressed by the *Persian* governors. He had scarce taken this resolution, when news were brought him of the *Ionian* revolt. Whereupon he renewed his instances with greater earnestness than ever, and did all that lay in his power to persuade his brother to join the rebels; but, finding him inviolably attached to the *Persian* interest, he gained a considerable party among the *Salaminians*, and, with their assistance, while *Gorgus* was one day out of the city, he seized on the gates, and caused himself to be proclaimed king. *Gorgus*, being thus excluded, fled to the *Persians*; and *Onesilus*, sending ambassadors to all the cities and princes of the island, prevailed upon them to take up arms, and drive out the *Persian* garisons. The city of *Amathus* alone refused to come into his measures; whereupon he closely besieged it; but the inhabitants making a vigorous defence, before he could reduce the place, the *Persians*, having drawn together all the forces they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, passed over into *Cyprus*, and, having landed their men, marched strait to *Salamis*. *Onesilus*, not finding himself in a condition to make head against so numerous an army, sent messengers to the *Ionians*, soliciting their assistance, and inviting them to join against the common enemy. The *Ionians*, with all possible expedition, equipped a fleet, and set sail for *Cyprus*. Upon their arrival the *Cyprian* kings, having summoned a council of war, invited to it all the commanders of the *Ionian* fleet, and spoke to them thus: "Men of *Ionis*, we give you the choice, either to engage the *Persians* by land, or the *Phœnicians*, who are cruising with their fleet off the island, by sea. If you choose to fight the *Persians*, bring your men ashore, that we may go on board your ships, and fight the *Phœnicians*. But, if you had rather try your strength against the *Phœnicians*, do as you think best; for we are ready either to engage the *Persians* by land, or the *Phœnicians* by sea, being determined, at all events, to preserve the liberties of *Cyprus* and *Ionis*." The *Ionians* answered, that they were sent by the general council of *Ionis* to defend the island by sea, and not to deliver their ships to the *Cyprians*, in order to fight the *Persians* by land; and that they would endeavour to do their duty according to the instructions they had received.

The

The council was scarce dismissed, when the *Persian* army appeared in the plains of *Salamis* ; upon which the confederate kings of *Cyprus*, drawing up their forces in order of battle, placed the flower of their army, consisting of *Salamini- Engage-*  
*ans* and *Solians*, against the front of the *Persians*, and *ment be-*  
the rest of the *Cyprians* against the enemy's auxiliaries. *One- between the*  
*filus* took upon him to engage *Artybius*, commander in chief *Cyrians*  
of the *Persian* forces, who was mounted on an horse, as our *and Per-*  
historian tells us, that had been taught to stand upright, and *sians.*  
tread under his feet the person he was pushed against. *One-*  
*filus* therefore charged one of his officers, a man of great  
boldness, and well experienced in military affairs, to mind  
nothing but the general's horse, and to prevent him from doing  
any mischief in the time of the engagement. As the armies  
drew near, the king of *Salamis* advanced against *Artybius*,  
whose horse beginning to rear, the officer struck him with a  
sith, and cut off both his feet at one blow ; *Onefilus* having  
at the same time wounded *Artybius*, both the horse and the  
rider fell to the ground. But the *Persians*, not at all disheart-  
ened at the death of their leader, charged the *Cyprians* with  
incredible vigour ; and the *Cyprians*, on the other hand, ex-  
erting themselves in imitation of their general, the victory  
was long doubtful, many falling on both sides. But at length  
*St. Jensen* king of *Curium* revolting to the enemy with all the  
forces under his command, and the *Salamini- The Cy-*  
in chariots, soon after following his example, the *Cyprians prians de-*  
were put to flight with great slaughter. Among others, *One- feated*  
*filus*, who had been the occasion of this war, was killed in *with great*  
the flight, and with him *Aristocyprus* king of *Soli*, and son *slaughter.*  
of that *Philocyprus*, whom *Solon* commended above all other *and One-*  
kings in the verses he made during his stay in *Cyprus*. The *filus kil-*  
*Amathusians*, to be revenged on *Onefilus* for having besieged *led.*  
their city, cut off his head, and placed it over one of the  
gates of *Amathus*, where a swarm of bees having filled the  
skull with honey, the *Amathusians*, consulting on that occa-  
sion the oracle, were told, that, if they interred the head,  
and sacrificed yearly to *Onefilus*, as an hero, their affairs should  
prosper. The *Amathusians* obeyed the oracle, and continued  
to offer sacrifices to *Onefilus* to the time of our historian. The  
*Persians*, having thus gained a complete victory over the  
*Cyprians*, soon reduced all the cities that had revolted, except  
*Soli*, which held out for six months against the whole power  
of *Persia* ; but at last, the wall, being undermined by the  
enemy, was obliged to surrender. The *Salamini- Gorgus*  
heard of the death of *Onefilus*, but they recalled *Gorgus*, and *restored to*  
placed him again on the throne. Thus the *Cyprians*, having *the throne.*

enjoyed their liberty during the space of one year, were reduced to their former state of slavery <sup>m</sup>.

Nico-  
crates.  
Timar-  
chus.

GORGUS was succeeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his eldest son *Nicocrates*, and he by his brother *Timarchus*. But all we know of them is, that the former made a curious collection of books, which he purchased at a great rate, as *Athenæus* informs us <sup>n</sup>; and that the latter had, as we read in *Pliny* <sup>o</sup>, a double row of teeth. This writer seems to insinuate, that *Timarchus* was not only king of *Salamis*, but also of *Paphos*.

Evagoras

I.

Year of  
the flood  
1888.

Bef. Chr.  
400.

TIMARCHUS was succeeded by *Evagoras* I. the son of *Nicocrates*, in whose reign the *Athenians*, having equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, gave the command of it to *Cimon*, injoining him to drive the *Persians* from the island of *Cyprus*. But of the success that attended the *Athenian* admiral in this expedition, and the peace soon after concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the *Athenians*, we have spoken elsewhere <sup>p</sup>.

Protago-  
ras.

PURSUANT to the articles then agreed on, the *Persians* withdrew all their garrisons from *Cyprus*, leaving the several kings, among whom the island was parceled out, to govern their respective kingdoms, without any dependence on the kings of *Persia* <sup>q</sup>. Not long after the conclusion of this peace *Evagoras* died, if we believe *Diodorus Siculus*, in banishment, having been driven out of his kingdom by his nephew *Protagoras* <sup>r</sup>, who held it for some years, but performed nothing worth relating. The island of *Cyprus* continued free from any foreign yoke, from the conclusion of the peace we have spoken of, till the sixteenth year of the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, when, by the famous treaty concluded by *Ahakidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, with *Tiribazus*, general of the *Persian* forces in *Asia Minor*, that island was again subjected to the *Persians*, with all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*. At this time reigned at *Salamis* *Nicocreon* son of the usurper *Protagoras*, famous for his cruelty; of which the following instance is related by *Laertius*, *Philo*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Pliny*. Taking offence at a satirical saying of the philosopher *Anaxarchus*, he caused him to be put into a great mortar made for that purpose, and to be pounded to death with iron pestles <sup>s</sup>.

Nico-  
creon.

Year of  
the flood  
1961.

Bef. Chr.  
327.

Nico-  
cles.

UPON the death of *Nicocreon*, *Nicoles* the son of *Timarchus* was raised to the throne. During his reign a stranger

<sup>m</sup> HERODOT. l. v. c. 104—114.

<sup>n</sup> ATHENÆUS, l. i. c. 1.

<sup>o</sup> PLIN. l. xi. c. 37.

<sup>p</sup> See vol. v. p. 257, 258.

<sup>q</sup> PLUT.

in Cim. THUCYD. l. i. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. p. 73.

<sup>r</sup> DIO-

DOR. SICUL. l. xii.

<sup>s</sup> LAERT. in vit. philosoph. PLIN. l. vii.

c. 23. NONUS in orat. 47, &c.

from *Phœnicia*, called by some *Abdymon*, coming to *Salamis*, and being kindly entertained by *Nicoles*, requited the favours he received at the king's hands, by driving him, with the assistance of the *Persians*, from the throne. Under this tyrant *Evagoras II.* was born a prince of great merit and extraordinary virtue. He was the son of *Nicoles*; and, being brought up by his parents with great care, gave early proofs of those virtues, which, if *Isocrates* may be credited, made him the perfect model of a good king<sup>t</sup>. He was distinguished, as the same author tells us, among the youth by the beauty of his aspect, the vigour of his body, and, most of all, by the modesty and innocence of his behaviour, which are the greatest ornaments of that age. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions; a great fund of genius, an easy conception, a most lively penetration, which nothing escaped, &c. qualities, which might have exempted him from all study and application; and nevertheless he spent great part of his time in improving his mind by reading, as if he had been quite destitute of talents, and obliged to supply by study what nature had denied him. As he advanced in years, his virtues became so conspicuous, as to give no small jealousy to the tyrant then on the throne, who was well apprised, that so shining a merit could not continue in the obscurity of a private life. And indeed *Evagoras*, after the death of his father, waited only for an opportunity of recovering the crown, which was due to him by his birth. But in the mean time one of the principal citizens, having murdered the tyrant, seized on it for himself, and, being supported by the *Persians*, put all to the sword who attempted to oppose him. On this occasion *Evagoras* was obliged to save himself by abandoning the island, and retiring to the continent. Having spent some time at *Soli* in *Cilicia*, and hearing there, that his countrymen were grievously oppressed by the new usurper, he resolved, at all events, to rescue them from the calamities they groaned under; and accordingly, being attended only by fifty followers, he passed over into *Cyprus*, and expelled the usurper, the *Persians* not being able to make head against the *Cyprians*, who joined him all to a man. Being thus by his own valour, and the affection of his subjects, restored to the throne of his ancestors, he soon rendered his small kingdom the most flourishing of the whole island. *Artaxerxes* king of *Persia* attempted to drive him out, and place anew on the throne the usurper, who was greatly attached to the *Persians*; but that prince, being diverted by the *Greek* war,

Evagoras II.

His character and excellent qualities.

Is raised to the throne of his ancestors.

<sup>t</sup> ISOCRAT. in *Evag.*

and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the last, put off the enterprize to a more proper season.

Makes  
himself  
master of  
the greater  
part of  
the island.

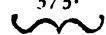
IN the mean time *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himself with the kingdom of *Salamis* alone. He extended his dominions, and, by degrees, made himself master almost of the whole island. The *Amathusians*, the *Solians*, and the *Citians* alone, of all those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to the king of *Persia*; who, being alarmed at the rapid progress of *Evagoras*, promised them an immediate and powerful support, which however he could not afford them so soon as he expected, being employed elsewhere in more important affairs. But, having at last concluded a peace with the *Greeks*, he bent all his force against *Evagoras*, being determined to drive him quite out of the island. But of this war, and the conditions, on which a peace was, in the end, concluded between *Evagoras*, and *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, we have spoken at length elsewhere <sup>x</sup>.

Nicocles  
II.

Year of  
the flood  
1975.

Bet. Chr.

373.



NOT long after the conclusion of this peace, *Evagoras* was murdered by one of his eunuchs named *Thrasidæus*, and succeeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his son *Nicocles*. *Diodorus*, confounding the name of his son, who succeeded him, with that of the eunuch by whom he was murdered, tells us, that he was treacherously put to death by the eunuch *Nicocles*, and that, upon his death, the eunuch seized on the kingdom <sup>y</sup>. That he was murdered by an eunuch, we are told also by *Aristotle* <sup>z</sup>; but the eunuch's name was *Thrasidæus*, as we read in *Theopompus*, who adds, that *Nicocles* the son of *Evagoras*, upon the death of his father, took quiet possession of the kingdom of *Salamis* <sup>a</sup>. *Nicocles* celebrated the funeral of his father with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The discourse, intitled *Evagoras*, served for his funeral oration. It was composed by *Isocrates*, to inspire the young king with a desire of treading in the steps of his father. The same philosopher wrote two other orations addressed to *Nicocles*, whose name they still bear. In the first of these *Isocrates* shews the duty of a king to his subjects; and, in the second, the duty of subjects to their king. *Nicocles* rewarded the author with twenty talents, as *Plutarch* informs us in the life of that philosopher <sup>b</sup>. *Nicocles* seems to have reigned but a few years; for we find his son *Evagoras* in possession of the throne before the revolt of *Cyprus*, which happened in the very beginning of the reign of *Ochus*, who succeeded *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

<sup>x</sup> See vol. v. p. 279—282.

<sup>z</sup> *ARISTOT.* politic. l. v. c. 10.

num. 176.

<sup>b</sup> *PLUT.* in *Isocrat.*

<sup>y</sup> *DIONOR. SICUL.* l. xv.

<sup>a</sup> *Apud PHOT.* in biblioth.

It is surprising, that most authors should confound this *Nicocles* with another of the same name, who reigned at *Salamis* in the time of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, and revolted from him to *Antigonus*. *Nicocles*, the son of that *Evagoras*, of whom we have spoken above, was succeeded by his son named also *Evagoras*, which has occasioned great confusion among those who have written of the affairs of *Cyprus*. *Evagoras* II. was, according to the learned bishop *Usher* <sup>c</sup>, succeeded by his son *Nicocles*, and *Nicocles* again by his son *Evagoras*, who was driven out by his uncle *Protagoras*. While the latter was in possession of the throne, the *Cyprians*, being ill used by their *Persian* governors, attempted to shake off the yoke by joining the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, who had already revolted. Hereupon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idrieus* king of *Caria*, in-joining him to invade the island of *Cyprus*, and make war upon the inhabitants. *Idrieus*, in compliance with his command, having equipped a fleet, sent it, with eight thousand *Greek* mercenaries, under the conduct of *Phacion* the *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, to make a descent in the island. This *Evagoras* was the son of *Nicocles*, as we have hinted above; and, having been driven out by his uncle *Protagoras*, he gladly joined the *Persians*, in hopes of recovering his crown. His knowledge of the country, and the party he might still have in the island, made him a very proper person to command in this expedition. *Cyprus* had still nine kings, but subject and tributary to the king of *Persia*. They all joined in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the *Persian* yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city. The troops under the command of *Phacion* and *Evagoras* landed in *Cyprus* without any opposition; and, being reinforced with numerous bodies of volunteers from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, enticed hither with the hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of so wealthy an island, they began with the siege of *Salamis*, which they invested by sea and land. But, *Protagoras* making a vigorous defence, *Ochus*, who was intirely bent on the reduction of *Egypt*, compounded with him, and the other *Cyprian* princes, redressing all their grievances, and confirming them in the government of their respective territories <sup>d</sup>. The greatest difficulty which *Ochus* met with in bringing about this accommodation, was the contenting of *Evagoras*, who laid claim to the kingdom of *Salamis*; but, he being convicted before *Ochus* of having committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, *Protagoras* was confirmed in the kingdom of *Salamis*, and amends was made *Evagoras*, by conferring on him the

Evagoras III.

Cyprians revolt

from the Persians.

Year of the flood

1997.

Bef. Chr.

351.

Peace between them and the Persians.

<sup>c</sup> *USHER*. ad annum mundi 3654. p. 504.

<sup>d</sup> *DIODOR. SICUL.* l. xvi.

government of another place ; but he, being guilty there of the same misdemeanours, was obliged to save himself by flight into the island of *Cyprus*, where he was seized, and put to death, by *Protagoras*.

*Cyprus falls to Antigonus, but taken from him by Ptolemy.*

Year of the flood  
2037.  
Bef. Chr.  
311.



*Nicocles, his wife, and his brothers, destroy themselves*

FROM this time, to the reign of *Ptolemy*, the first of that name who reigned in *Egypt*, we find no mention made of the *Cyprian* kings. They submitted, without all doubt, to *Alexander*, upon the same terms which had been granted them by the *Persian* monarchs, as *Arrian* seems to insinuate\*. Upon the death of that conqueror, his generals divided among them the conquests he had made, in which division *Cyprus* fell to *Antigonus*. But, while that prince was engaged in *Asia Minor* with *Cassander*, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, having invaded *Cyprus* with a powerful fleet, reduced most part of the island, and obliged the kings, who reigned there, to do him homage. Among these, *Nicocles* king of *Paphos* being accused of holding underhand a correspondence with *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy* sent two of his intimate friends, *Agasus* and *Palluraeus*, into *Cyprus*, with instructions to dispatch *Nicocles*, lest, by his insinuations, the other princes should revolt, and join *Antigonus*. These, arriving in *Cyprus*, unexpectedly surrounded the house of *Nicocles* with a body of men sent them for that purpose by *Menelaus*, who commanded in *Cyprus* for *Ptolemy*. *Nicocles*, finding no means to escape, attempted first to clear himself of what was laid to his charge ; but, seeing no one hearkened to what he said, he drew his sword, and slew himself on the spot. *Axiothea* his wife, hearing of her husband's death, first killed all her daughters, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, and then laid violent hands on herself. The news of such a dreadful massacre so afflicted the brothers of *Nicocles*, that, retiring each of them to their own habitations, they set fire to their houses, and perished, with their whole families, in the flames†. This *Nicocles* is supposed to have been the last of the *Teucrian* family, and to have possessed not only the kingdom of *Paphos*, but that also of *Salamis*. Be that as it will, the kings of *Cyprus* from this time deserve rather the title of governors than kings, being subjects and mere vassals to the kings of *Egypt*.

*Demetrius invades Cyprus.*

Year of the flood  
2042.  
Bef. Chr.  
306.



\* ARRIAN. de expedit. Alexand. p. 34.  
POLYANUS stratag. l. viii.

† DIOROR. l. xx.

against

against *Ptolemy*. But, the *Rhodians* refusing to comply with his request, and protesting that they would maintain a strict neutrality, he passed into *Cilicia*, highly dissatisfied with their conduct, and determined to make them feel in due time the effects of his resentment. In *Cilicia* he raised an army of fifteen thousand foot, and four hundred horse, which he embarked on a great number of transports, and conveyed over into *Cyprus*, under the convoy of one hundred and sixty-three ships of war. Being landed without the least opposition, he encamped near the shore, in the neighbourhood of *Carpasia*, where he drew his ships to land, and surrounded them with a deep ditch, and a double rampart. Having thus secured his navy, he advanced first to the cities of *Urania* and *Carpasia*, which he took by storm; and then, leaving a sufficient guard to defend his trenches, he marched to *Salamis*, with a design to lay siege to that important place <sup>a</sup>. *Menelaus*, *Ptolemy's* <sup>Menelaus Ptolemy's</sup> brother, who was then in *Salamis*, upon intelligence of the enemy's approach, drew out of the neighbouring garrisons a <sup>brother de-</sup> body of twelve thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, with a design to divert him from besieging the city; but *Demetrius*, <sup>seated by</sup> falling upon him, put his army to flight, and, pursuing him to the very gates of the city, took three thousand of his men prisoners, and killed about a thousand in the flight, and the pursuit. The prisoners he treated with great humanity, and incorporated them among his own troops; but, finding they were ready on all occasions to abandon him, and fly over to *Menelaus*, he put them on board his transports, and sent them all to his father *Antigonus* <sup>Deme-</sup> <sup>trius.</sup>

*MENELAUS*, being fully persuaded, that *Demetrius*, elated <sup>Salamis</sup> with his success, would lay siege to *Salamis*, made the due <sup>besieged.</sup> preparations on his side for a vigorous defence; and at the same time dispatched three messengers to *Ptolemy*, acquainting him with the state of affairs in *Cyprus*, and soliciting him to send what succours he could, with all possible expedition. In the mean time *Demetrius*, having viewed the situation and fortifications of the place, began to prepare the necessary engines for the reduction of it; which, he foresaw, would cost him dear, the garrison being very numerous, and *Menelaus* resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Having sent for workmen out of *Asia*, and brought from thence a great quantity of iron, timber, and other materials, he made an immense number of warlike engines of an extraordinary bigness, and, amongst others, the famous *helepolis*, of which we have spoken in the history of *Rhodes* <sup>b</sup>. When the engines were ready, *Deme-*

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in Demetrio. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv.

<sup>b</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. ibid. <sup>c</sup> See above, p. 176, 177.



*trius* began to batter the walls with such fury, that in a few days several breaches were opened ; but, when he thought himself already master of the place, *Menelaus* found means to set fire to his engines, which was so violent, that, notwithstanding the endeavours of *Demetrius's* men to extinguish the flames, they consumed in a short time all the machines, together with the *belepolis*, and the men that were in it. This obliged *Demetrius* to suspend his attacks ; and in the mean time *Pto* upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against *Demetrius*, set sail from *Egypt*, with a fleet of an hundred and forty ships of war, and two hundred transports, carrying ten thousand men for the land-service. With this fleet he arrived at *Citium*, about two hundred furlongs from *Salamis*, and from thence dispatched messengers by land to *Menelaus*, desiring him to send the ships, which, to the number of sixty, were in the port of *Salamis*, to join the fleet. But *Demetrius*, foreseeing that *Ptolemy's* design was to venture an engagement by sea, had the precaution to leave ten of his ships in the mouth of the harbour, which was very narrow, to prevent *Menelaus's* squadron from sailing out. The rest he drew up in line of battle ; and, having commanded the cavalry to keep near the sea-side, that they might be ready, in case of any misfortune, to assist those who should swim to land, he advanced towards the enemy with an hundred and eight sail. The two fleets engaged with the utmost fury and resolution ; that of *Demetrius*, consisting mostly of *Phœnicians*, *Saracens*, and *Athenians*, soon put *Ptolemy's* left wing in confusion, and drove most of the ships ashore. On the other hand *Ptolemy*, who commanded in the right wing, gained the like advantage over the enemy's left, took several of their best gallies, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight ; but, having pursued them too eagerly, he was attacked on his return, while his men were tired, by *Demetrius*, and, after an obstinate resistance, put to flight. *Demetrius* chased him with his ships in line of battle, and took seventy of his gallies, with all his transports, on board of which were all his provisions, arms, money, military engines, and eight thousand land-forces. After this overthrow, *Ptolemy* returned to *Egypt*, with eight gallies only, the rest of his numerous fleet being either broken or destroyed. Upon his retreat, the whole island of *Cyprus*, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, which *Ptolemy* had there, fell into the hands of *Demetrius*. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, and *Lentifus* the son of *Ptolemy*, were among the captives ; but *Demetrius* sent them both home, with their friends and dependents, without ransom, to requite

*Ptolemy*  
over-  
thrown in  
a sea-  
fight.

*Cyprus*  
submits to  
*Demetrius*.

Year of  
the flood  
2044.  
Bef. Chr.  
304.



requite the like kindness shewn him by *Ptolemy* after the battle of *Gaza*. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces, and thereby greatly reinforced both his fleet and army <sup>h</sup>.

*DEMETRIUS*, immediately after this victory, dispatched *Aristodemus* the *Milefian*, with the news of it, to his father *Antigonus*. When he arrived at court, and was brought in to *Antigonus*, he stood silent for some time, keeping him in suspense; and then, as in a transport of joy, he uttered aloud these words, "Prosperity and happiness to king *Antigonus*!" "We have overthrown king *Ptolemy* at sea; *Cyprus* is ours; we have taken sixteen thousand eight hundred men prisoners." *Antigonus* answered, "Prosperity and happiness to thee too! Nevertheless, because thou hast kept me so long in suspense, thou shalt in some degree be punished, and wait in thy turn for thy reward." *Antigonus* was so elated with this victory, that thenceforth he assumed the title of king, and gave it likewise to his son *Demetrius*; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, honoured *Ptolemy* with the same title, that he might, though defeated, be upon the level with the conqueror. This example was followed by *Lyfimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Selcucus*, who from that time, in all their letters, orders, decrees, and other writings, stiled themselves kings <sup>b</sup>. *Antigonus*, and, after his death, *Demetrius*, held the island of *Cyprus* for the space of eleven years, at the end of which *Ptolemy* recovered it, while *Demetrius* was engaged against the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. He equipped a numerous fleet, and, landing in *Cyprus*, over-ran the whole island, before *Demetrius* had the recovered least notice of his design. The city of *Salamis* alone held out by *Ptolemy* some time against him; but was at length obliged to surrender, my. and open its gates to the conqueror. In this city he found the mother, wife, and children, of *Demetrius*, whom he generously set at liberty, with all their friends and domestics, loading them with rich presents, and appointing a squadron of his best ships to convey them, with whatever belonged to them, into *Greece*, where *Demetrius* then was <sup>l</sup>.

FROM this time *Cyprus*, according to what we read in profane writers, continued subject to the kings of *Egypt*, till they were, with the utmost injustice, deprived of it by the *Romans*; but, from the book of the *Maccabees* <sup>m</sup>, where *Ptolemæus Macron* and *Nicanor* are mentioned as governing the island under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it is plain, that *Cyprus* was again, at least for some time, brought under subjection to the

<sup>h</sup> PLUT. in *Demetrio*. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv.

c. 2.

<sup>i</sup> PLUT. in *Demetrio*.

<sup>k</sup> PLUT. *ibid*. DIODOR.

SICUL. JUSTIN. ubi supra. 1 *Maccab*. i. 9.

<sup>l</sup> PLUT.

*ibid*.

<sup>m</sup> 2 *Maccab*. x. xii.

Year of the flood  
2055.

Bef. Chr.  
293.

*Cyprus*  
seized by  
the Ro-  
mans.  
Year of the flood  
2290.

Bef. Chr.  
58.

kings of *Syria*. Be that as it will, the seizing of it by the *Romans* is reckoned the most flagrant piece of injustice their republic was ever guilty of. We shall, in a few words, give a distinct account of this memorable event, which will for ever reflect ignominy and disgrace on the *Roman* name. *Ptolemy Lathurus* king of *Egypt* left two sons, who divided their father's dominions between them. One known by the name of *Ptolemy Auletes*, that is, the *flute-player*, had for his share the kingdom of *Egypt*. The other called *Ptolemy*, without any surname, had the island of *Cyprus*. While the latter reigned in *Cyprus*, *Publius Clodius*, a young *Roman* nobleman, of a very bold and enterprising genius, being taken by the pirates on the coasts of *Gilicia*, sent to *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, intreating him to send him a sum of money wherewithal to pay his ransom. As *Ptolemy* was a prince of a ferdid and covetous temper, he sent him only two talents; with the pirates despising, they chose rather to release him without ransom, than to accept of so small a sum. Soon after *Clodius* being adopted by a plebeian, and chosen tribune of the people, he employed all his power and authority, which were very great, against the king of *Cyprus*, representing him as a most wicked man, and one who was unworthy to wear a crown. He was indeed a vicious prince: but what right had *Rome* to reform the manners of independent kings? However, as *Ptolemy* possessed immense riches, the people were easily prevailed upon to concur with the revengeful *Clodius* to his ruin, and pass a decree, declaring, that *Ptolemy* had forfeited his throne by his ill conduct, and that his dominions were fallen to the *Roman* people<sup>n</sup>. The senate could not oppose this unjust decree; for they had long sought for some pretence to strip that wealthy prince of his treasures; and the only shew of justice they could find for it was, that *Alexander* the late king of *Egypt*, dying at *Tyre*, had left the *Roman* people his heirs; and that therefore the kingdom of *Egypt*, and with it *Cyprus*, which was then deemed a part of the kingdom of *Egypt*, had, in virtue of that donation, passed to the *Romans*. This will had been insisted on at *Rome* soon after the death of *Alexander*, and motions had been there made for the seizing both of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*; but, as they had some years before taken possession of *Bithynia*, by virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, by the like will of *Apion*, and reduced them to *Roman* provinces, the senate thought it would bring them under the imputation of being too desirous of grasping all foreign dominions, should they, on this pretence, make them-

<sup>n</sup> PLUT. in Cat. Uticensi. DION CASSIUS, l. xxxviii. L. FLO-  
RUS, l. iii. c. 9. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 684.

selves masters likewise of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*; wherefore, dropping at that time their claim to the deceased king's dominions, they only sent to *Tyre*, for the effects he had left there at his death<sup>o</sup>. But now this claim as to *Cyprus* was revived, and to gratify the revenge of *Clodius*, and the insatiable avarice of the people of *Rome*, a decree passed for the seizing of *Cyprus*, *A decree passes for the seizing of Cyprus* though the king then on the throne had been declared a friend and ally of *Rome*, and had never done any thing to incur the displeasure of that haughty and imperious republic<sup>p</sup>.

THE decree for the dispossessing of *Ptolemy* being passed, *Clodius*'s next care was, to find out a proper person to put it in execution. *Cato* was then using his utmost endeavours to guard the republic against the attempts of *Clodius*; so that his presence was not at all agreeable to the factious tribune, who therefore resolved to get rid of so troublesome a censor, by sending him out of the way on this expedition. He paid him a visit, and acquainted him, that the people had honoured him with a commission, which was very reputable for him, and necessary for the good of the public. "Vice reigns," said he, "in *Cyprus*, and the throne is debased by it. *Rome* had therefore made choice of a man of spotless probity to establish virtue there. Go then, *Cato*; and make the purity of the *Roman* laws be revered in an island, which is infamous for its vices." *Cato*, who was well apprised of the snare, replied, "That he could not leave his country, when it was threatened with far greater and nearer dangers." "Well then," returned *Clodius*, "I will compel you to do what you refuse to the request of your friends." And accordingly, having assembled the comitia, he procured an order for *Cato* to set out without delay for *Cyprus*, and dethrone the king. Thus the virtuous *Romans*, by the most unjust and iniquitous decree possible, ordered a friend and ally of theirs to be deprived of his dominions; and the rigid *Cato* had so little sense of justice as to obey and execute those wicked orders. The tribune, after the decree was passed, pressed *Cato* to depart immediately, but did not provide so much as a ship to carry him to *Cyprus*. He was commissioned to drive the king from his throne, but was not allowed either men or money to execute the enterprize, or even a guard, to protect him against the insults of a provoked enemy. He therefore went on board the first ship he met with bound for *Cyprus*; and, being attended only with a few domestics, arrived at *Rhodes*, whence he sent one *Canidius* into *Cyprus*, charging him to try whether he could prevail upon *Ptolemy*, by fair

*Cato appointed to put the decree in execution.*

<sup>o</sup> VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 45. CIC. in orat. 1. & 2. in Rullum. <sup>p</sup> PLUT. in Catone. VELL. PATERCUL. ubi supra.

Ptolemy  
ends his  
life with  
poison.

means, to give up his dominions to the republic. *Canidius* offered him, in *Cato's* name, the high-priesthood of *Venus* at *Paphos*; on the revenues of which he might have lived in a state of plenty and honour. This offer *Ptolemy* rejected; but, on the other hand, not having courage enough to engage in a war with *Rome*, he resolved to put an end to his life and reign at the same time. Accordingly, having put his beloved treasures, which he had been accumulating for many years, on board one of his largest ships, he sailed out of the harbour, with a design to sink the vessel, and perish, together with his riches; but when he came to the execution of his design, he could not find in his heart to destroy his treasure, though he persisted in the resolution of destroying himself: he therefore returned ashore; and having laid up all his wealth again in the treasury, poisoned himself, not being able to survive his disgrace, though he could not bear that his wealth should be lost. Upon the king's death, *Cato*, without opposition, took possession of the island in the name of the republic, and seized the treasures, which had been the chief cause of that unfortunate prince's ruin. They amounted to 7000 talents; that is, 1,356,250 *l.* sterling, and were the next year carried to *Rome* by *Cato*, and lodged there in the public treasury. This wicked and unjust proceeding of the *Romans* is generally ascribed to the tribune *Clodius*; but the senate were no less to blame than the tribune; for they not only approved of the decree depriving *Ptolemy* of his kingdom, but conferred extraordinary honours upon *Cato* for having put it in execution. *Cato* himself, notwithstanding his boasted virtue, shewed no more integrity on this occasion than the wicked *Clodius*; for he not only accepted of that commission, but, after his return, gave a plain instance of his approving whatever had been done. As soon as *Clodius* ended his tribuneship, *Cicero* accused him before the senate, and endeavoured to persuade the fathers to annul all the laws he had made during his authority. But on this occasion, *Cato* declared in favour of his greatest enemy against his best friend; saying, that, if the acts of *Clodius* were annulled, the treasures brought from *Cyprus* ought to be restored to the inhabitants of that island: and, to prevent this, the virtuous *Cato* prevailed upon the senate to confirm such acts of *Clodius*, as regarded the deposing of the king, and the seizing of his moveable riches and dominions.

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in *Catone*. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 4. DION CASSIUS, l. xxxix. p. 101. FLORUS, l. iii. c. 2. l. xiv. p. 684. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. ii. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xiv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 45. <sup>r</sup> VELLEIUS PATERCUL. ubi supra.

## S E C T. VI.

*The History of Samos.*

THE name of *Samos* was, in ancient times, common to *Name:* three islands; viz. *Cephalenia*, *Samothracia*, and this which we are now to write of. *Cephalenia* had the name of *Samos*, from its metropolis *Sama*, as *Thucydides* informs us<sup>s</sup>; and *Samothracia* from a colony of *Samians*; who, being driven out of their own island by their domestic tyrants, settled in that<sup>t</sup>. The island, still known by the name of *Samos*, was in former ages distinguished from the other two by the epithet of *Ionian*, being inhabited chiefly by the *Iones*, to whose confederacy it belonged. It had also the following names, *Parthenia*, according to *Aristotle*, the most ancient of all<sup>u</sup>, *Dryusa*, *Anthemusa*, *Melamphyllus*, *Cyparissia*, *Parthenoarusa*, *Stephane*<sup>w</sup>, *Anthemus*, and *Parthenias*<sup>x</sup>. Whence it had the name of *Samos*, which, in process of time, prevailed over all the rest, is uncertain: some writers, quoted by *Strabo* y, are of opinion, that it was so called from the *Sacæ*, a people of *Thrace*, who settled in the island; but *Strabo* himself seems to insinuate, that it borrowed this name from some hero, a native of the country. As this island is full of eminences and precipices, it is not unlikely that the name of *Samos* was given it on that account, since the word *Samos* was used by the ancient *Greeks*, as *Constantine Porphyrogenitus* informs us, to signify any high place or eminence.

SAMOS lies between the continent of *Asia* and the island of *Situation:* *Icaria*; being divided from the former by a strait, according to *Strabo* 875, but in reality, above a thousand paces broad; and from the latter by another, which is eight miles over. The strait, which parts *Samos* from the continent of *Asia*, is called by the *Turks*, *The little Bogazi*; that word signifying, in their language, a canal or strait; and the other, which separates it from the island of *Icaria*, *The great Bogazi*. As all the vessels trading from *Constantinople* to *Syria* and *Egypt* pass through one of these straits, the course by *Mycene* and *Naxia* being too long, they are still frequented by pirates, as they were in *Strabo's* time. In the middle of the little strait stands a rock, between which and the island of *Samos* lies the small island of *Narthecis*, mentioned by

<sup>s</sup> THUCYD. l. ii.<sup>t</sup> SUIDAS verbo Σαμοθράκη.<sup>u</sup> Apud

FLIN. l. v. c. 31.

<sup>w</sup> PLIN. ibid.<sup>x</sup> STRAB.

l. xiv. p. 438.

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid.

*Strabo*<sup>2</sup>, who places it over-against the cape *Posidium* in *Samos*, famous for a stately temple built there by the *Samians* in honour of *Neptune*, whence it had the name of *Posidium*, or *Neptune's Cape*. The island of *Samos* lies between the 28th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and is about eighty-seven miles in circumference.

The city of  
Samos.

THE metropolis of *Samos*, and the only city in the country mentioned by the antients, bore the same name as the island. It stood on the south coast, partly in the plain, and partly on the hills; being divided into the upper and lower town. The former took up the hills about the present city of *Cora*, which is near three miles from the sea; and the latter the plain, which extends from the present port of *Tigani* to the cape of *Juno*<sup>2</sup>. *Strabo* tells us, that this city was built by *Tembrio* and *Pracles*, or, as some read it, *Patrocles*, who settled here with a colony of *Ionians*. But *Vitruvius*<sup>b</sup> is of opinion, that *Samos* and the thirteen towns of the *Ionian* confederacy, were all built by *Ion* the *Athenian*, who gave his name to the country of *Ionia*. The city of *Samos* was, in the flourishing times of *Greece*, very populous, wealthy, and well fortified. We may judge of the ancient splendor and greatness of this city from the ruins of it, which are still to be seen, and fully described by a modern traveller<sup>c</sup>. *Herodotus*<sup>d</sup> takes notice of three things very remarkable at *Samos*; the first was a way opened through a mountain, seven furlongs in length, eight feet in height, and as many in breadth. A canal twenty cubits deep, and three feet broad, was carried along the side of the aperture, and served to convey, through various pipes, the water of a plentiful spring into the city. *Eupalinus* of *Megara*, the son of *Naustrophus*, was the contriver and director of this work. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the spring, which tempted the *Samians* to undertake so great a work, was that which is still to be seen at *Metelinous*; for that spring is by far the best of the island, and the bored mountain stands between the small town of *Metelinous*, and the ruins of ancient *Samos*<sup>e</sup>. The entrance of the opening, which was carried quite through the mountain, is to be seen to this day, but the other parts have been long since filled up. The second thing, which *Herodotus* observed at *Samos*, was a mole, or pier, an hundred and twenty foot high, which formed the harbour, and advanced above two furlongs into the sea. Such an extraordinary work in those early times shews, that the *Samians* were among the first of the *Greeks* who applied themselves to navigation; and indeed we find

Three re-  
markable  
things at  
Samos.

<sup>2</sup> STRAB. *ibid.*    <sup>3</sup> Idem *ibid.*    <sup>b</sup> VITRUVIUS *archit.* l. iv. c. i.    <sup>c</sup> TOURNEFORT. *voyage au Levant*, &c. vol. i.    <sup>d</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. c. 60.    <sup>e</sup> TOURNEFORT. *ibid.*

them employing *Aminocles* the *Corinthian*, the ablest ship-builder of his time, near three hundred years before the *Peloponnesian* war<sup>f</sup>. The third thing counted by *Herodotus* among the wonders of *Samos* was the famous temple of *Juno*, the most spacious, as that historian affirms, which he ever saw<sup>g</sup>. The ruins of this edifice are still to be seen about half a mile from the sea, and the like distance from the river *Imbrasus*. A modern traveller gives us a distinct account of them, which it would be too long to insert here<sup>h</sup>. *Menodorus* the *Samian*, who wrote a treatise on the curiosities of that island, tells us, that this temple was built by *Caricus*, and certain nymphs<sup>i</sup>; for he supposes the island to have been first possessed by the *Carians*, so called, according to him, from *Caricus* their leader. *Pausanias* writes, that it was the work of the *Argonauts*, who brought from *Argos* to *Samos* a statue of the goddess, and placed it in a magnificent temple built by them in this island, which was in a peculiar manner sacred to *Juno*, who was supposed to have been born here on the banks of the river *Imbrasus*, under one of those trees which we call *agnus castus*. The stump of this tree was shewn, as the same author informs us, for many ages in the temple, and no less honoured than *Juno* herself<sup>k</sup>. The statue of the goddess, as the same *Pausanias* tells us, was the work of *Smilis*, a famous sculptor of *Ægina*, and contemporary with *Dædalus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*<sup>l</sup> speaks of this temple, as one of the most stately buildings of antiquity, and adds out of *Æthlius*, a very antient author, that the *Samians* at first worshiped only the stump of a tree, which was afterwards formed into a statue. The *Tyrrenian* pirates, if we believe *Menodorus*<sup>m</sup>, having attempted to carry away this statue, and put it already on board one of their ships, were kept in the harbour with contrary winds, till they carried it back to the temple; the fame of this pretended miracle drew crouds of votaries from all parts, and greatly increased the worship which was paid to the *Samian Juno*.

THE *Heræan* games, which were instituted by the *Greeks* in honour of *Juno*, whom they called *Here*, were celebrated in this island with the utmost magnificence. The fabulous opinion, which prevailed in *Samos*, that *Juno* had lived there from her earliest infancy till she became marriageable, and that *Jupiter* had married her there, gave rise to the solemnity which they annually celebrated in honour of that goddess.

The He-  
ræan  
games.

<sup>f</sup> THUCYD. l. i.  
ubi supra.

<sup>g</sup> HERODOT. ibid.

<sup>h</sup> TOURNEFORT.

<sup>i</sup> Apud ATHENÆUM, l. iii.

<sup>k</sup> PAUSAN.

<sup>l</sup> CLEM. ALEXAND. Stromat. l. i.

<sup>m</sup> MENODOTUS

apud ATHEN. ibid.



The *Samians* then renewed the nuptial rejoicings in her temple, where was, amongst other statues, one of this their tutelary goddess under the figure of a new-married woman, to perpetuate the memory of her marriage with *Jupiter*. We have still remaining, in the ancient monuments, several traces of the zealous worship the *Samians* paid to *Juno*. Most of the *Samian* medals are stamped with the figure of this goddess, holding a sceptre in her hand, to shew her dominion over the island, and have on the reverse a peacock her favourite bird. The temple of *Juno*, where the *Heræan* solemnities were performed, was one of the most ancient of *Greece*, having been built, if we believe *Herodotus* <sup>a</sup>, by one *Rhæcus* the son of *Phileus*, a native of *Samos*, soon after the *Ionians* settled in the island. This ancient temple was burnt down to the ground by the *Persians*, but soon after rebuilt, and so enriched with gifts, that there was no room for statues and pictures <sup>o</sup>. *Verres*, on his return from *Asia*, notwithstanding the miracle which had saved the goddess from the *Tyrrhæmians*, did not scruple to rattle the temple, and strip it of all its rich moveables, as appears from *Tully*, who upbraids him with this impiety <sup>p</sup>. The pirates shewed no more respect to the goddess and her temple in *Pompey's* time. In a court adjoining to the temple was an immense number of statues done by the most famous statuarys of *Greece*, and amongst others three of a colossean size, all on the same base, representing *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*. They were the work of *Myron*, who made the brazen cow, so much celebrated by the *Greek* wits of those days in their epigrams, which have been translated by *Ansonius* into *Latin*. *Marc Antony* carried these three statues to *Rome*; but *Augustus* restored those of *Minerva* and *Hercules* to the *Samians*; that of *Jupiter* he kept at *Rome*, and placed it in a little temple which he caused to be built on the capitol. The amours of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were painted on the cieling of the temple, and represented so naturally, that *Origen* reproaches the gentiles with exposing them to the eyes of the multitude <sup>q</sup>.

*Str.*

THE fruitfulness of its soil is highly commended by the ancients, namely by *Strabo*, who seems to prefer it in this respect to the most fertile countries in *Asia*. Here the trees, if we believe *Æthlius*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, yielded fruit twice a year <sup>r</sup>. *Pliny* takes notice of the pomgranates of *Samos*, some of which had red grains, others white <sup>s</sup>. The only thing which *Strabo* did not admire in *Samos* was the wine,

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. c. 60.    <sup>o</sup> PAUSAN. ubi supra.  
<sup>p</sup> CIC. att. iii. in Verr.    <sup>q</sup> ORIGEN. l. iv. contra Celsum.  
<sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. xiii. c. 10.

<sup>s</sup> CIC. ATHEN.

which

which was but very indifferent in his time, though all the neighbouring islands were famous on account of their excellent wines.

THE *Samians* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation; for *Herodotus* speaks of them as trading to *Egypt*, *Thera*, and *Spain*, before any of the other *Greeks*, except *Sostratus* of *Ægina*, were acquainted with those countries. They are said by *Pliny* to have been the first contrivers of vessels fit for the transporting of cavalry <sup>1</sup>. *Samos* was in former ages famed for earthen ware, which, if we believe *Gellius* <sup>2</sup>, was first made in this island, and in great request among the antients, who used the *Samian* earthen ware in their most splendid entertainments <sup>3</sup>. The earth, about the present village of *Bavonda*, is still deemed very proper for potters ware; but nobody in the island now follows that profession, the inhabitants being supplied with that ware from *Ancona* and *Scio*.

THE island of *Samos* was first peopled, according to *Strabo* <sup>4</sup>, *Inhabitants and colonies from Ithaca and Cephallenia*. Some ages after the *Ionians*, having seized part of *Caria*, passed over into the island of *Samos*; and, settling there under the conduct of *Tembrio* and *Patrocles*, united the city of *Samos* to the *Ionian* confederacy. This happened, as *Eusebius* informs us <sup>5</sup>, in the twelfth year of the reign of *Rehoboam* king of *Jerusalem*. *Heraclides* <sup>6</sup> tells us, that this island lay desolate till the time of *Macareus*, the son of *Æolus*; who, having killed the wild beasts that infested it, settled there, and continued in possession of the island till the arrival of the *Carians*. But, whoever were the first inhabitants, it is certain, that the city of *Samos* in after-ages held a considerable rank among the twelve cities of the *Ionian* confederacy, being celebrated by the antients, as no-ways inferior either to *Miletus* or *Ephesus*, which were the chief cities of the *Ionians*.

THE *Samians* were first governed by kings; for *Herodotus* <sup>7</sup> names one *Amphicrates* reigning at *Samos*; but how long this kind of government continued, or on what account it was abolished, is what we find no-where recorded. From the kings the administration passed into the hands of the *geomori*, who formed a kind of senate, and had much the same power as the ephori of *Sparta*. This form of government gave room to a democracy, and the democracy to an oligarchy.

<sup>1</sup> Id. m. ibid.

<sup>2</sup> GELL. noct. Attic. l. v.

<sup>3</sup> PLIN. l.

xxxv. c. 16. CIC. in Ver. <sup>4</sup> STRAB. l. xiv. p. 439. <sup>5</sup> EUSEB. in chron.

<sup>6</sup> HERACLID. de polit.

<sup>7</sup> HERODOT. l. iii.

c. 59.

The *Samians* continued for many ages free from all foreign subjection ; but were often reduced to a state of slavery by their domestic tyrants, as we shall relate in their history.

History of  
Samos.

THE first enterprize of the *Samians*, mentioned in history, is their sailing to *Egypt*, and planting a colony there in the city of *Oasis*, which, as *Herodotus* informs us <sup>b</sup>, was inhabited by *Samians* of the *Æschryonian* tribe. But, as to the time of this expedition, we are quite in the dark, as also of their first voyage to *Tartessus* in *Spain*, which is related by *Herodotus* thus. A *Samian* vessel, bound homewards from *Egypt* under the command of one *Colæus*, was, by stress of weather, driven into the harbour of *Platæa*, an island of *Libya*. From thence *Colæus* set sail, with a design to recover the coasts of *Egypt* ; but had scarce left the island, when a violent easterly wind arising carried him, in spite of all his endeavours, beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, nor did it ever cease or abate till he arrived at *Tartessus*. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants, flocking to the shore, bought their commodities at such prices as they were pleased to set upon them ; whence the profits they made were so considerable, that, upon their return to *Samos*, they made with the tenth part of their gain, amounting to six talents, a basin of brass, surrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of *Juno*, supported by three statues of brass in a kneeling posture seven feet high <sup>c</sup>. In the reign of their king *Amphicras* they made war upon the inhabitants of *Ægina* ; but all we know of this expedition is, that it reduced both parties to great extremities <sup>d</sup>. The war happened before the reign of *Cambyses* king of *Persia* ; for in his time the *Æginates*, entering into an alliance with the *Cretans*, revenged themselves on the *Samians* for the evils they had suffered on this occasion, as we shall see anon. The *Samians*, as the same *Herodotus* informs us <sup>e</sup>, maintained their liberties both against *Cræsus* and *Cyrus*, after those princes had reduced the other *Ionian* states on the continent. They were expert mariners, and had a considerable fleet, which protected them against any foreign invasion. However, they were very early brought under subjection by their own tyrants. Among these we may reckon the *geomori*, that is, the nobility of *Samos*, so called from their dividing the lands among themselves after they had intirely suppressed the popular faction. During the usurpation of the *geomori*, the inhabitants of *Megara* having attacked the city of *Perinthus*, which the *Samians* had built and peopled, a war was kindled between these two nations.

Tyrants of  
Samos.  
The geo-  
mori.

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. c. 26.      <sup>c</sup> Idem l. iv. c. 152.  
l. iii. c. 59.      <sup>e</sup> Idem l. i. c. 28.

<sup>d</sup> Idem

The *geomori*, who then governed with an absolute sway, commanded thirty ships of war to be equipped, and committed the management of the war to nine commanders, each of whom had an equal power. These falling upon the *Megarenses* routed them with great slaughter, and took six hundred prisoners. Being elated with this victory, they resolved to try whether they should be attended with the same success against their domestic enemies; for these commanders were all of the popular faction. Accordingly having armed the six hundred *Megarenses*, whom they had taken prisoners, on their return they attacked the *geomori*, while they were assembled in council, put most of them to the sword, and restored the democracy<sup>†</sup>. Not long after a war breaking out between the *Samians* and *Æolians*, the former chose one *Sy-Syloson* to command their forces, who, as he was an ambitious tyrant of man, instead of attacking the enemy, remained at *Samos*, under various pretences, till such time as he had gained both the officers and soldiers over to his party, and then made himself master of the city in the following manner: The *Samians* used annually to perform, with great solemnity, certain ceremonies in honour of *Juno* in the temple of that goddess, which stood without the walls of the city. As they were then ready to engage in a war, *Syloson*, under pretence of piety, prevailed upon the citizens to march all at once in procession from the market-place to the temple. This procession he led himself, but, stealing away as soon as the crowd got into the temple, he returned to the city, and, by means of the soldiers he had left on board the fleet in the harbour, possessed himself of all the important posts; so that the citizens, on their returning home, were forced to submit to their new tyrant, having neither courage nor arms to oppose him<sup>‡</sup>.

ABOUT this time the *Samians*, by disobliging the *Corinthians*, sowed the seeds of those animosities, which broke out between the two nations in the following age. The matter is thus related by *Herodotus*<sup>h</sup>: *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth*, to revenge the death of his son on the *Corcyrians*, by whom he had been murdered, seized three hundred youths of the chief families of *Corcyra*, and put them on board certain *Corinthian* ships, in order to send them to *Sardis*, where they were to be made eunuchs, and, as such, serve *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*. But the ships that transported them, touching at *Samos*, the *Samians* advised the *Corcyrian* youths to take sanctuary in the temple of *Diana*, and would not suffer the *Corinthians* to remove them from thence, saying, that they

<sup>†</sup> PLUT. in problemat.

<sup>‡</sup> POLYÆNUS, l. i.

<sup>h</sup> HERODOT.

l. iii. c. 139. & l. vi. c. 13.

were under the protection of the goddess. The *Corinthians* beset the temple, in order to prevent any provisions from being conveyed to them, and by that means oblige them to abandon their asylum. But the *Samians*, assembling their youth of both sexes, under colour of celebrating a festival in honour of *Diana*, ordered them to dance round the temple with cakes of flour and honey in their hands, to the end that the *Corcyrians* might snatch them from them, and by that means sustain themselves. This practice they continued till the *Corinthians*, after having waited a long time, thought fit to leave the island; when the *Samians*, putting the youths of *Corcyra* on board their ships of war, conveyed them safe to their native country. This the *Corinthians* remembered, and many years after joined the *Lacedæmonians* in the war, which they made upon the *Samians*, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

Æætes.

Poly-  
crates.Year of  
the flood

1817.

Bef. Chr.

531.



THE *Samians*, after the death of *Syloson*, enjoyed their liberty for some time, but were again brought under subjection by one of their chief citizens named *Æætes*, of whom mention is made by *Herodotus*<sup>1</sup>. *Æætes* had three sons, *Polycrates*, *Pantagnotus*, and *Syloson*. *Polycrates*, in his father's life-time, formed a design of seizing on the government, but could not put it in execution till some years after his death, the *Samians* guarding themselves with great care against any attempts of that nature. However, he at length compassed his design in the following manner: As his father had left an immense treasure, he gained the affection of the populace, by living in a most splendid and elegant manner. He made frequent entertainments, inviting to them even those of the lowest rank among the people. He provided, at a vast expence, the richest furniture that had ever been seen till his time in the island, and was ever willing to lend his silver and gold plate, or stately beds, to such as were to solemnize marriages, or make entertainments. Being by this means become the darling of his people, he imparted his design of making himself absolute to his brothers, promising to share with them the island, and such other acquisitions as he might make. They readily came into his measures: whereupon it was agreed, that they should fall upon the people with a body of armed men, whom *Polycrates* had gained with large promises, while they were celebrating a feast in honour of *Juno*, and that *Polycrates* should at the same time possess himself of the city. The antients tell us, that *Polycrates*, in this undertaking, was assisted by fifteen men only, not venturing to admit others into the conspiracy for fear of being betrayed; so uni-

<sup>1</sup> Idem ibid.

versally did the love of liberty prevail among the *Samlans* \*. With this small body he made himself master of the most important places of the city, reduced the citadel called *Astypalæa*, and maintained himself in it against the utmost efforts of the *Samians*, till he was relieved by a body of *Naxians* sent him by *Lygdamis* tyrant of *Naxos*. With this reinforcement he settled himself on the throne, after having either banished or put to death all those who had declared against him. Having thus got rid of his enemies, he amply rewarded his friends, by conferring upon them the chief employments of his new kingdom; he divided the island, pursuant to his promise, with his two brothers; but, soon after repenting of what he had done, caused *Pantognostus* to be put to death, and banished *Syloson*. By this means, being master of the whole island, he began to entertain thoughts of enlarging his dominions; and, that he might not be diverted by the king of *Egypt*, he entered into an alliance with *Amasis*, who then reigned there. The friendship between these two princes was cultivated with mutual presents: amongst others *Amasis* sent to *Samos* two statues of himself curiously carved in wood, which were still to be seen in the time of *Herodotus* standing behind the gates of the temple of *Juno*. Having nothing to fear on the side of *Egypt*, which was then a powerful kingdom, he equipped a fleet of an hundred galleys, and, putting on board a thousand chosen archers and other land forces, he fell upon the neighbouring islands, being in all his enterprizes attended with such success, that he attacked no place without mastering it. He did not spare even his friends and allies, saying, that they would be more obliged to him, if he restored to them what he had taken, than if he had left them in the quiet possession of their lands and dominions. After he had reduced most of the islands, he landed his forces on the continent of *Asia*, and made himself master of many cities on the coast; insomuch that ambassadors were sent to him from all the neighbouring states, offering to submit upon what terms he was pleased to impose. The *Lesbians* alone opposed him, but were intirely defeated in a sea-fight, in which he took a great many prisoners, and, condemning them all to the chain, employed them in surrounding the city of *Samos* with a deep and wide ditch. When news was brought to *Amasis* of the success that attended him in all his expeditions, he is said to have written to him a letter, advising him to guard himself against the consequences of good fortune, by parting with the thing he most valued. *Polyrrates*, having read the

Poly-  
crates re-  
duces the  
neighbour-  
ing islands.

\* STRAB. l. xiv. PAUSAN. in Attic. POLYÆNUS, l. i. ARCHÆ-  
NÆUS, l. xii. c. 9. DION CHRYS. orat. xvii.

letter, approved of the advice given him by his friend, and, after deliberating with himself what thing he would be most unwilling to part with, came at last to this resolution: He had a seal cut in an emerald, and set in gold by one *Theodorus* a *Samian*: this he valued above all his treasures: and therefore, to counterbalance his good fortune, going on board a gally of fifty oars, and advancing far into the deep, in the

*He throws a signet of inestimable value into the sea.* presence of all those who attended him, he threw the emerald into the sea. He then commanded them to sail back, and, on his return, was greatly grieved for the loss of such an inestimable treasure. But a few days after a fisherman having taken a fish of an extraordinary size, and thinking it a present worthy of *Polycrates*, carried it to the palace. *Polycrates* was highly pleased with it, and, having invited the fisherman to dine with him, ordered it to be dressed that very

*Which is referred to him.* day. When the servants opened the belly of the fish, they found, to their great surprize, the emerald lodged there, and immediately carried it to *Polycrates*, who, being persuaded that such an extraordinary event could not be imputed to chance, but to a particular providence of the gods, acquainted

*Amasis king of Egypt alarmed at his good fortune, renounces his friendship.* *Amasis* with his throwing the signet into the sea, and the manner in which he had recovered it. *Amasis*, having read his letter, and, not doubting but some great misfortune would soon or late befall him, immediately dispatched an herald to *Samos*, injoining him to renounce in his name the friendship of *Polycrates*, and dissolve all the obligations of hospitality, that had been contracted between them; lest the calamities, which threatened *Polycrates*, should affect him with that grief which a friend owes to the misfortunes of a friend<sup>1</sup>.

*Polycrates enters into an alliance with Cambyfes.* *POLYCRATES*, being no longer under any engagements with the king of *Egypt*, sent ambassadors to *Cambyfes* king of *Persia*, injoining them to conclude an alliance with that prince, and offer him what forces he required for the expedition he was meditating against *Egypt*. *Cambyfes* readily accepted of the offer made him by the ambassadors, and at the same time acquainted *Polycrates*, that he stood in no need of land-forces, but wanted a fleet to convey his troops into *Egypt*. Hereupon

*Polycrates*, having equipped forty galleys, sent them to *Cambyfes* with all those *Samians* on board, whom he suspected of seditious designs, requesting him not to suffer them ever to return to their native country. Some writers affirm, that these *Samians* never arrived in *Egypt*; but in their passage, having called a council of war, resolved not to proceed farther

<sup>1</sup> See vol. ii. p. 95. HERODOT. l. iii. c. 40—43. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 1. & l. xxxvii. c. 1. SOLIN. c. 35. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 11. LUCIAN. in Charonte.

than the *Carpathian* sea. Others tell us, that they arrived in *Egypt*; but, finding themselves there carefully watched by the *Persians*, laid hold of the first opportunity to make their escape, and, on their return to *Samos*, met the fleet of *Polycrates*, which they defeated, and landed safe in their own country, where they fought an unsuccessful battle at land, and afterwards set sail for *Lacedæmon*. Some writers say, that in this action too they carried the day. But this opinion, as *Herodotus* rightly observes, is quite groundless; for they would not have been obliged to implore the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, if they had found themselves in a condition to make head against the forces of the tyrant. Besides, it is very improbable, that one who had a numerous army of mercenaries, and a chosen body of *Samian* bowmen in constant pay, should be overcome by so unequal a number as those were who returned from *Egypt*, especially if we consider, that *Polycrates*, as *Herodotus* informs us, to prevent any treachery, had shut up the wives and children of all the *Samians* in the arsenal, resolving to burn them, together with the naval stores, if he found himself betrayed to the exiles<sup>m</sup>.

THESE *Samians*, thus expelled by *Polycrates*, had recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom they were at first received but very indifferently; for, having made a long speech, setting forth the calamities they had suffered, the *Lacedæmonians* gave them no other answer, than that they had forgot the first part of their speech, and therefore did not understand the last. The *Samians*, being a second time admitted into the assembly, brought with them an empty basket, and, shewing it, only said, *It is empty*, signifying thereby, that they wanted bread. The *Lacedæmonians* answered, that the basket alone sufficiently declared their wants, and immediately decreed to assist them. The *Samian* writers, quoted by *Herodotus*, tell us, that the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the defence of the exiles, in requital of the assistance they had formerly received from them in a war with the *Messenians*; but the *Lacedæmonians* say, that they espoused their cause, not out of any good-will to the exiles, but to be revenged on the *Samians* for having formerly intercepted a curious bason, which they had sent as a present to *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, and robbed them the year before of a rich present, which the king of *Egypt* had sent them. But, whatever was the motive that prompted them to assist the banished *Samians*, they equipped a powerful fleet, and, being joined by the *Corinthians*, whom the *Samians* had formerly disobliged, as we have related above,

<sup>m</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. c. 39, & seqq. STRAB. l. xiv. ÆLIAN. var. histor. l. ix. c. 4. MAX. TYRIVS, ferm. xxi.



Who assist set sail for Samos, and laid siege to the capital of the island. them with Polycrates made a vigorous defence, and, frequently sallying a powerful out, cut great numbers of the aggressors to pieces. In one fleet, and of these sallies the Samians, being intirely routed, were pursued with great slaughter to the very gates of their city, the capital which the Lacedæmonians would have taken, had they followed the example of their leaders Archias and Lycrpes. For these two entered the city together with the flying Samians, and, finding their retreat cut off, died valiantly, fighting within the walls. The Lacedæmonians continued before the place for the space of forty days; but, finding they could not master it, raised the siege, and returned to Lacedæmon. Some writers tell us, that Polycrates, having agreed to pay them on their departure a large sum of money, caused a great many pieces of lead to be coined and gilt, and with these purchased a peace, without lessening his treasures, or enriching the enemy<sup>n</sup>.

The exiled AFTER their departure, those Samians who had brought the war upon Polycrates, finding themselves abandoned, set sail to the island of Siphnus, which is one of the Cyclades. The affairs of the Siphnians were then in a flourishing condition, and their riches immense; that island so abounding in mines of gold and silver, that the tenth of the money they coined, being sent yearly to Delphi, equalled the greatest treasure there; for they divided once a year the riches which they drew from their mine, sending the tenth part of the whole as a present to Apollo. One year after, having made the usual offering, they consulted the oracle, to know whether their prosperity should continue long, and received this answer from the Pythian: "When the public structures shall be clothed in white, let the wise men beware of a wooden force, and red ambassadors." The prytæcan court and porticoes at Siphnus were then adorned with white Parian marble; and yet the Siphnians did not understand the meaning of the oracle, even upon the landing of the Samians, though they sent immediately one of their ships, which, according to the Samian fashion, was painted red, with ambassadors to the city of Siphnus. The Samians, being admitted to audience, desired a loan of ten talents; but, receiving a denial, returned to their companions, and ravaged the territories of Siphnus. Whereupon the Siphnians, drawing together all their forces, engaged the Samians; but were defeated, and many of them taken prisoners, for whose ransom the Samians received an hundred talents. With this supply they repaired their ships, and sailed to Hermione, the inhabitants of

which  
they lay  
waste.

<sup>n</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. c. 44. & 56.

which place, through fear of being treated by them as the *Siphnians* had been, gave them the island of *Thyreia*, situate near *Peloponnesus*, which they committed to the care of the *Træzenians*, and pursued their course to the island of *Crete*, where they founded the city of *Cydonia*, after having driven *They* out of that part of the island the *Zacynthians*. They continued in this settlement five years, and built the temple of *city of Dictynna*, with several others, which were still standing in *Cydonia* the time of our historian. But in the sixth year they were intirely defeated, together with the *Cretans*, in a sea-fight, by the inhabitants of *Ægina*, who took off the prows of their ships, and placed them in the temple of *Minerva*. Thus the *Æginates* revenged themselves on the *Samians*, for having formerly made war upon them without any provocation, under the conduct of their king *Amphicrates*, as we have hinted above \*. The *Samians*, being driven from *Crete*, sailed, if we believe *Eusebius* †, to *Italy*, and there founded the city of *Dicæarchia*, called afterwards *Puteoli*, and at present *Puz-zolo*.

BUT to return to *Polycrates*; upon the departure of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Samian* exiles, he began to entertain thoughts of subduing all *Ionia*, together with the *Asiatic* islands, an enterprize, as *Herodotus* observes, which no one before him had ever attempted. He raised a numerous army, equipped the greatest fleet that had been seen in those seas till that time, and made all the other necessary preparations for so difficult an undertaking. But, before he could accomplish his design, he was cut off by an untimely death, which is thus related by *Herodotus*: *Oroetes*, a *Persian*, who had been appointed governor of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*, and another of the same nation, by name *Mitrobates* governor of *Dascylium*, falling one day out, *Mitrobates* upbraided *Oroetes* for not having reduced the island of *Samos*, which lay so near his government, and had been brought under subjection by *Polycrates*, with the assistance only of fifteen men. This reproach left a deep impression on the mind of *Oroetes*, who, from that time, watched all opportunities of being revenged, not on *Mitrobates*, who had affronted him, but on *Polycrates*, as the cause of the affront, though he had never seen him, or been any ways injured by him ‡. Other antient writers say, that *Oroetes* sent a messenger to *Polycrates* about some private affairs, and that *Polycrates* happening, on the arrival of the messenger, to be lying on a couch, *Anacreon* of *Teos*, the famous lyric poet, sitting by him, he did not condescend to give the mes-

\* HERODOT. l. iii. c. 59.  
DOTT. ibid. c. 120, & seqq.

† EUSEB. in chron.

‡ HERO-

senger any answer, or even look at him, continuing the whole time he delivered his message with his face towards the wall. This, they say, was what provoked the haughty *Persian*, and prompted him to put *Polycrates* treacherously to death. *Oroetes* resided at that time in the city of *Magnesia*, whence he sent one *Myrsus* the son of *Gyges*, a *Lydian*, to *Samos*, injoining him to acquaint *Polycrates*, that he had heard what great things he had in view, but had been at the same time informed, that he wanted money to put his projects in execution. Wherefore he designed to assist him with great treasures, provided he would engage to protect him against *Cambyses*, who was determined, according to the private intelligence he had received, to take away his life. The messenger was ordered to add, that, if *Polycrates* questioned the truth of what he said concerning the treasures, he might easily satisfy himself in that particular, by sending one of the most trusty persons he had about him to see them. *Polycrates* received this proposal with joy, and immediately sent his secretary *Mæandrus* to take a view of the treasures. When *Oroetes* heard he was coming with this design, he caused eight chests to be filled with stones, which he covered with some pieces of gold, and by that means deceived *Mæandrus*, upon whose information *Polycrates* resolved to go in person to *Oroetes*, though he was earnestly dissuaded by his friends, and, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the gods themselves (N). But he, despising their advice, set out with divers of his friends, among whom was *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, the most skilful physician of his time. When he arrived at *Magnesia*, the treacherous *Oroetes* caused him to be seized and crucified, a

(N) *Herodotus* tells us, that his daughter dreamed she saw her father elevated in the air, and anointed by the sun; and that, being deeply affected with her dream, she endeavoured by all means to divert him from his intended voyage, accompanying him even to the sea-side; and assuring him, that nothing but misfortunes could attend his enterprize. But *Polycrates*, rejecting all advice, embarked on a gally of fifty oars, threatening his daughter, who left no stone unturned to prevent his journey, that, if he returned

safe, she should long continue unmarried. Upon his arrival at *Magnesia*, being seized by *Oroetes* and crucified, the dream of his daughter, says *Herodotus*, was accomplished; for, as he hung on the cross, exposed to the rays of the sun, he was first all covered over with the sweat of his body, and afterwards, a violent shower happening to fall, washed, we may say, by *Jupiter*, who sent it (3). By the help of such distorted interpretations, there is no dream but what may be easily fulfilled.

(3) *Herodot.* l. iii. c. 124.

death, as *Herodotus* observes, unworthy of a man, who far excelled, in all respects, the greatest heroes of his age <sup>p</sup>. *Valerius Maximus* <sup>q</sup> and *Tully* <sup>r</sup> tell us, that he was crucified by *Orontes*, for so they call him, governor under *Darius Hy-staspis*, upon the top of mount *Mycale*, which is a promontory of *Ionia* over-against *Samos*. But it is very plain from all the antients, that *Darius* was then only one of *Cambyse's* guards, and that *Polycrates* came to this tragical end, while *Cambyse* was delirious in *Egypt*. *Pliny* <sup>s</sup> in this agrees with *Herodotus*; for, according to him, *Polycrates* was put to death in the 230th year of *Rome*, which, if we follow *Varro*, fell upon the sixty-fourth *Olympiad*.

THUS died *Polycrates*, a prince, who, to the hour of his death, had never felt the least shock of adverse fortune, being attended, during the whole course of his life, in every thing he undertook, with all the success and prosperity he could have wished for. All the antients speak of his prosperity as miraculous, and, amongst others, *Valerius Maximus*, who tells us, that he never formed a design which he did not with great ease put in execution, nor earnestly wish for a thing which he did not obtain, as if fortune had been wholly employed in waiting upon him <sup>t</sup>. He was, without all doubt, a man of most extraordinary parts, and, if we believe *Herodotus* <sup>u</sup>, superior in wisdom, greatness of mind, and other princely qualities, to all the *Greek* tyrants, not even those of *Syracuse* excepted. He took great delight in the conversation of learned men; and used to spend great part of his time, when at leisure from public affairs, with *Anacreon* and *Pythagoras*. The former he once presented with five talents, and the latter he recommended in a very obliging manner to *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, when that philosopher undertook, for his improvement, a journey into that kingdom. He embellished the city of *Samos* with many magnificent and stately buildings, which, as *Aristotle* informs us <sup>w</sup>, were still standing in his time; nay, great part of the palace, which he built for himself, was remaining in the time of the *Roman* emperors; for *Caligula*, as we read in *Suetonius* <sup>x</sup>, had some thoughts of repairing that noble fabric, which was a subject of admiration even in those days. As to his character, there is no small disagreement among authors, some painting him as a cruel tyrant, and others representing him as a prince of great humanity and moderation. *Diodorus Siculus* <sup>y</sup> tells us, that he oppressed his own subjects in a most tyrannical manner, and

His character.

<sup>p</sup> HERODOT. *ibid.* STRAB. l. xiv. PAUSAN. in Atticis. <sup>q</sup> VAL. MAX. l. vi. cap. ult. <sup>r</sup> CIC. l. iii. de finibus. <sup>s</sup> PLIN.

l. xxxiii. c. i. <sup>t</sup> VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 11. <sup>u</sup> HERODOT.

*ibid.* <sup>w</sup> ARISTOT. l. v. polit. c. 11. <sup>x</sup> SVET. in Calig.

<sup>y</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. c. 5.

with no less cruelty treated such strangers as happened to come into his country ; which so shocked *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, that, after having advised him in vain to rule with more humanity and moderation, he at last renounced the friendship which he had contracted with him, saying, that he foresaw the miserable fall that would soon overtake one who governed so tyrannically. This, as we have seen above, is related in a very different manner by *Herodotus*, who seems to have entertained a far better opinion of *Polycrates* ; for he commends him as a prince of great generosity ; and, speaking of his unhappy end, says, that he was put to death in a manner unworthy of his dignity and grandeur, and not to be mentioned without indignation<sup>2</sup>. But *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrus*, *Jamblichus*, *Gellius*, and *Eusebius*, seem to agree with *Diodorus* ; for they are all unanimous in telling us, that *Pythagoras* (O) abandoned his

<sup>2</sup> HERODOT. ubi supra.

(O) This celebrated philosopher was a native of *Samos*, and for some time a great favourite of *Polycrates* ; but, on his return from *Egypt*, *Phanice*, and *Chaldaea*, whither he had travelled for his improvement, not being able to endure the tyranny of *Polycrates*, he retired to that part of *Italy* which was called *Magna Græcia*, and founded there a famous sect of philosophers. Most writers acknowledge him to be the inventor of arithmetic, which *Plato* (4) ascribes to the *Egyptian Mercury*, and some others to *Palamedes* (5). *St. Austin* (6) speaks of a goddess *Numeria*, whom the pagans worshiped as the goddess of numbers, believing they had been first introduced by her. *Pythagoras* is said to have been the first who taught the immortality of the soul. As to the transmigration of souls, which was the principal part of his philosophy, some writers endeavour

to excuse him, saying, that he meant only the sensitive soul, or vital principle, of the animal. We are told, he was never seen to weep or laugh. *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrus*, *Jamblichus*, and others, who have written his life, greatly vary among themselves as to the particulars and circumstances of his death ; some saying he was assassinated, others that he died suddenly, &c. He died, according to *Eusebius* (7), in the fourth year of the seventieth *Olympiad*, and eightieth or ninetieth of his life. *Cedrenus* tells us, that he wrote an account of the war which *Cyrus* made upon the *Samians*, and relates from him, that *Cyrus* was killed in this war. But that writer was certainly mistaken, since *Plutarch*, *Lucian*, and *Porphyrus*, assure us, that *Pythagoras* resolved to leave nothing in writing. *Josephus* likewise (8) informs us, that in his time no one

(4) *Plato in Phæd.*  
(6) *Augustin, de Civit. Dei*, l. iv.  
*antiqu. l. ii.*

(5) *Vide Bedam in lib. de Computo & Isidor. l. iii.*  
(7) *Euseb. in Chron.*

(8) *Joseph.*

his native country, because he could not endure the tyranny of *Mæandrus*.

POLYCRATES was succeeded in the tyranny by *Mæandrus* his secretary, whom, upon his departure for *Magnesia*, he had appointed

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Bef. Chr.

piece ascribed to this philosopher was allowed to be genuine; and *Rufinus*, in his answer to *St. Jerom*, who had quoted *Pythagoras*, urges, that there were no genuine writings of that philosopher remaining; to which *Jerom* replied, that what he had said of him was not meant of his writings, but of his opinions, which he had learnt from *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and *Seneca*. However, *Diogenes Laertius*, in his life, mentions three books written by him, namely, of *instruction*, *politics*, and *natural philosophy*. The book of verses, which bears his name, and is a collection of the opinions and maxims of the *Pythagorean* philosophers, was not written by him, but by one *Lysis*, if we believe *Laertius*, a *Pythagorean* of *Sarepta*, who retired from *Thebes*, and was preceptor to *Epaminondas*. Others ascribe this book to *Philolaus*, some to *Epicharmus*, and some to *Empedocles*.

*Pythagoras* was not the only great man this island produced; *Chærilus*, *Conon*, *Cacophylus*, *Pythagoras* the statuary, &c. were natives of *Samos*, and are men-

tioned by *Strabo*, and other ancient writers, as the ornaments of the ages they lived in (9). *Chærilus* wrote in verse the actions of *Xerxes* and *Darius* kings of *Persia*, and of *Archelaus* king of *Macedon*. *Josephus* quotes some of his verses on the expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, wherein he speaks of a nation serving under that prince, come from *Phænice*, using an unknown language, and dwelling on the mountains of *Solyma* near a great lake; which, in the opinion of *Josephus*, is plainly meant of the *Jews*, the mountains of *Solyma*, and the lake of *Asphaltites*, being in their country. *Suidas* and *Strabo* (10) cite other verses from the same poem; and *Hesychius* tells us, that the *Athenians* gave him a statue of gold for each verse of the poem he wrote on the victory obtained by the *Greeks* over *Xerxes*. Some writers have confounded *Chærilus* the *Samian* with another poet bearing the same name, who lived in the time of *Alexander*. The latter was a wretched writer, as appears from what *Horace* says of him in the following verses:

523.

*Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille  
Chærilus, incultus qui versibus & male natis  
Rettulit acceptos, regale numisma, Philippos* (11).

And elsewhere (12),

*Fit Chærilus ille,  
Quem bis terque bonum cum risu miror, &c.*

(9) *Strab.* l. vi. (10) *Idem*, l. vii. (11) *Horat.* l. ii. *post.* x. *ver.* 232.  
(12) *Idem de art. poet.* *ver.* 357.

*Offers to  
resign the  
sovereign-  
ty.*

appointed to govern during his absence. When *Mæandrus* heard of his death, he took the whole power into his own hands, *Syloson* the late king's brother being then in banishment. *Mæandrus* was a man of great probity, and therefore no sooner saw himself invested with the sovereign power, but he resolved to resign it, and restore his countrymen to their former liberty. Having therefore erected an altar to *Jupiter the deliverer*, and marked out the ground for a temple, he summoned a general assembly of the citizens, and addressed them thus: "You know that I was entrusted with the sceptre, and all the power, of *Polycrates*, and that the government is wholly in my hands. But I will not be guilty of a crime, which I should condemn in another. The arbitrary power assumed by *Polycrates* over men equal to himself, was never approved of by me, neither shall I ever approve of it in any other person. Now that the decree of the gods has been fulfilled in him, I surrender the government into your hands, and proclaim an equal liberty to all. Only I desire you would grant me six talents out of the treasures of *Polycrates*, and confer upon me and my descendants for ever the priesthood of the temple of *Jupiter the deliverer*, as a just reward of the benefits you are to receive by my means." Having thus spoken, one *Telsearchus*, a leading

*Chærilus* the Samian lived before *Alexander*, and withdrew from *Samos* to the court of *Archelaus*, where he died. Some of his verses, which have been transmitted to us by *Aristotle* (13) and *Tatian*, shew, that he was no contemptible poet.

*Conon* was a famous mathematician, and is said to have written seven books of astronomy. He lived in an intimate friendship with *Archimedes*, and taught him, as *Pomponius Mela* informs us, the first rudiments of mathematics. It was he who gave out, that the hair of *Berenice* the wife of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, was taken up into heaven, and there transformed into seven stars called from thence *Coma Berenices*. He is mentioned by *Strabo*

(14), *Virgil* (15), and others. *Creophylus* was an excellent poet, and contemporary with *Homer*, who presented him, as we read in *Strabo* (16), with a poem on the taking of the city of *Oecbalia*. This poem is mentioned also by *Pausanias* and *Callimachus*; but both these writers make *Creophylus*, and not *Homer*, the author of it. *Creophylus* entertained *Homer* in his house, and is said by some to have been his master, and to have had great share in the composing of the divine work, as *Cicero* styles it, which passes under the name of that inimitable poet. *Hierophyle*, one of the sibyls, was likewise a native of *Samos*, and is commonly known by the name of the *Sæmian sibyl*.

(13) *Aristot. rhetor.*  
(16) *Strab. l. xiv.*

(14) *Strab. l. xiv.*  
(17) *Pausan. in Messen.*

(15) *Virgil, eclog. 3. ver. 40.*

man among the *Samians*, bitterly inveighing against him, in-<sup>But is dis-</sup>dicted upon his giving an account of the public money he had <sup>verted</sup> spent during the short time he had governed. *Mæandrus*, from it by perceiving by the tenor of his speech, that, if he divested him-<sup>the impru-</sup>self of the power, he could be no longer safe in his own coun-<sup>dent con-</sup>try, and that some other would soon usurp it, resolved to keep possession of the government; and accordingly, retiring to the <sup>Telefear-</sup>citadel, and sending for the citizens, under colour of giving chus. them an account of the public treasures, he seized their persons, and kept them under close confinement, to prevent insurrections in the city. In the mean time *Mæandrus* falling sick, his brother *Lycæretus*, imagining he could not recover, put all the prisoners to death, that he might with more ease usurp the sovereignty. But *Mæandrus* recovered, and ruled quietly in *Samos* till he was driven out by the *Persians*, who placed *Syloson*, the brother of *Polycrates*, in his room.

THIS event is related by *Herodotus*<sup>a</sup> in the following man-<sup>Syloson</sup> ner. *Syloson*, being banished by his brother, as we have re-<sup>how raised</sup>lated above, retired into *Egypt*, where *Cambyfes* was at that to the time making war upon *Anafis* king of that country. While throne. he resided at *Memphis*, *Darius*, who was one of *Cambyfes*'s guards, and made then no great figure, was greatly taken with a scarlet cloak which *Syloson* wore, and asked him whether he would sell it. *Syloson*, perceiving him to be passionately fond of the garment. answered, that he would not part with it for any riches, but would willingly give it him, if he cared to receive it as a present. *Darius* accepted the offer; and *Syloson*, who was then but in very indifferent circumstances, thought himself a loser by his forward generosity. But, when he heard that *Darius*, after the death of *Cambyfes*, and destruction of the mages, was advanced to the throne, he hastened to *Susa*, and desired audience of the king, telling the guards, that he had been a benefactor to him; which when *Darius* heard, he answered with surprize, "What *Grecian* "is this who pretends to have conferred benefits upon me, "and to be respected on that account? I have but lately taken "possession of the kingdom, and have seen here few or none "of that country; neither can I remember that I am at all "obliged to any *Grecian*. However, bring in the man, that "I may hear what he says from his own mouth." *Syloson* was immediately introduced, and asked by the interpreters who he was, and what he meant by saying, that he had been a benefactor to the king. Then *Syloson* related what had passed in *Egypt* between *Darius* and himself; which the king remembering, answered: "O thou most generous man! art thou

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. c. 149.



Mæandrus agrees to depart the island.

“ then the person from whom whose hands I received that present, which though small in itself, yet at that time, when I had no power, was of more value to me than any thing that can be offered me at present ? I will reward thee plentifully with gold and silver, that thou mayest not repent thy kindness to *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*.” *Syloson* replied, that he neither asked gold nor silver, but only that he would save his country, which ever since the death of his brother *Polycrates* had been possessed by one who had no claim to it. “ Give me,” said he, “ *Samos* without blood, and without expelling my countrymen.” *Darius*, having heard his request, immediately sent an army, under the conduct of *Otanes*, one of the seven, to *Samos*, ordering him to act agreeable to the directions of *Syloson*. *Otanes*, arriving on the coast of *Samos*, landed his forces without the least opposition. As they drew near the city, *Mæandrus*, with those of his party, offered to depart the island, under a promise of indemnity and protection. *Otanes* readily agreed to the proposal, and a truce was concluded on both sides.

Charilaus the king's brother falls treacherously on the Persians, but is repulsed.

In the mean time *Charilaus*, another brother of *Mæandrus*, who had been shut up in a dungeon for several crimes he was guilty of, having overheard what was doing, and, from an aperture of his prison, observed the *Persians* sitting before the castle without the least apprehension, demanded to speak with his brother. He was accordingly brought into his presence, when he began, with most opprobrious and reviling language, to stir him up against the *Persians*, calling him a coward for parting so tamely with a kingdom, and demanding leave to do for him what he had not courage enough to do for himself. He engaged, if he would but trust him with the command of his forces for a few days, not only to make the *Persians* repent their coming, but to drive them out of the island. *Mæandrus* accepted the offer, not that he imagined his troops able to cope with the *Persians*, but out of envy of *Syloson*, and in order to weaken the power of the *Samians*, before he took possession of the island. For he knew that the *Persians* would not fail to take a severe revenge on the *Samians* for the outrages they should suffer ; and as for himself, he could make his escape out of the island when he pleased, having made a private passage under-ground, leading from the castle to the sea. *Charilaus* no sooner saw himself at the head of the troops, but, salving out of the citadel upon the *Persians*, who expected no hostilities, every thing having been already agreed on, he surprised and killed the chief men among them. But the rest of the army, taking the alarm, came in to their relief, and repulsed the *Samians* into the castle. *Otanes*, being provoked at the great loss he had sustained, commanded his army, notwith-

notwithstanding the orders given him by *Darius* not to kill or take any *Samian* prisoner, to put all they met to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. So that, while one part of his forces was employed in besieging the castle, the rest were busied in plundering the houses, and murdering the inhabitants, without sparing even such as had taken sanctuary in the temples. *Mæandrus* made his escape by sea, and fled to *Lacedæmon*, where, soon after his arrival, having commanded his slaves to take out and cleanse his gold and silver plate, he conducted *Cleomenes*, the son of *Anaxandrides*, then king of *Sparta*, to his house, hoping he might take a fancy to some of his rich moveables, and thereby give him an opportunity of gaining him over to his views. The king was greatly surprised at the workmanship of some cups, which *Mæandrus* perceiving, pressed him to take whatever he pleased, and repeated his offer several times. But *Cleomenes* constantly refused to accept of any thing; and, being afterwards informed that other citizens had received his presents, he went immediately to complain of him to the ephori, who, fearing lest he should introduce luxury among them, commanded him to depart *Peloponnesus* that very day <sup>b</sup>.

*Mæan-  
drus dri-  
ven out.*

*Flies to  
Sparta,*

*but is ba-  
nished that  
state.*

THE *Persians*, upon the flight of *Mæandrus*, put *Samos*, *Syloson*. plundered and depopulated as it was, into the hands of *Syloson*. *Otanes* the *Persian* general is said to have repeopled it, upon a vision he saw in a dream, and a distemper with which he was seized. *Syloson*, seeing himself in possession of the island, and supported by the *Persians*, oppressed his subjects to such a degree, that most of them, abandoning their native country, settled either in the neighbouring islands, or on the continent; so that *Samos* became again almost destitute of inhabitants, the lands lying every-where untilld, and the whole country resembling a desert <sup>c</sup>.

*SYLOSON*, after a short reign, was succeeded by his son *Æaces*, who attended *Darius* in his expedition into *Scythia*, and is counted by *Herodotus* among the *Ionian* tyrants, who had no small share in the esteem of *Darius*. *Æaces* being driven out, as well as the other tyrants of *Ionia*, by *Aristagoras* the *Milesian*, the *Samians* openly declared against *Darius*, and joined the other *Ionians* in the revolt. But, when the two fleets, the *Ionian* consisting of three hundred and sixty-three ships, and the *Persian* of six hundred, were ready to engage near *Lade*, a small island over-against *Miletus*, *Æaces*, who served on board the *Persian* fleet, sent a messenger to the

*Æaces.*

*Year of  
the flood  
1850.*

*Bcf. Chr.  
497.*

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. l. iii. c. 143, & seqq. PLUT. in apophtheg. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. iv. c. 5. EUSEB. in chron. JULIAN. in epist. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. <sup>c</sup> PLUT. l. xiv. EUSTATH. in DIONYS. HERODOT. l. vi. c. 13.

Many of  
the Sa-  
mians set-  
tle in Si-  
cily.

*Samians*, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy, since they could not possibly prevail against the king, who, if that fleet were destroyed, could fit out another five times as powerful. The *Samians* hearkened to this message, and in the heat of the engagement, hoisting sail, abandoned their confederates, and returned with fifty ships to *Samos*. However, eleven of the *Samian* ships refused to obey their leaders, and, together with the *Chians*, fought till they were quite disabled. The commanders of these were rewarded by the community of *Samos* with an inscription on a pillar declaring their names and families, in order to transmit their memory to posterity, and this monument was still standing in *Herodotus's* time<sup>d</sup>. The example of the *Samians*, who retired in the beginning of the fight, being followed by the *Lesbians*, and all the confederates except the *Chians*, the *Persians* gained a complete victory, took *Miletus*, and were preparing to invade *Samos*, in order to replace *Diaces*, to whom they were chiefly indebted for their success, on the throne of *Samos*. But many of the *Samians*, choosing rather to abandon their country than to live in subjection to him and the *Persians*, set sail for *Sicily*, being invited thither by the *Zancleans*, who were desirous to have in their territory a city inhabited by the *Ionians*, and had allotted for that purpose a place on the coast which faces the *Tyrrhenian* sea, and was then called the *Beautiful coast*. Upon their arrival in *Sicily*, they found the city of *Zancle* quite abandoned, the *Zancleans* being, with their king *Scythes*, employed in the siege of a *Sicilian* city. Hereupon a *Saxilian* tyrant of *Rhegium*, and an enemy to the *Zancleans*, insinuated to the *Samians*, that it would be more advantageous for them to seize on the city of *Zancle* in the absence of the inhabitants, than to settle  
'And seize on the coast designed for their establishment. The *Samians* on the city were easily prevailed upon to follow his advice, which the of *Zancle*. *Zancleans* understanding, hastened to recover their city, calling to their assistance *Hippocrates* tyrant of *Gela*, their ally. But *Hippocrates*, betraying his friends, agreed with the *Samians* to leave them in possession of the city, and deliver up to them the rest of the *Zancleans*, provided they yielded to him one half of the slaves, and of the plunder of the city, with all the booty that should be found in the country. Thus the *Samians* made themselves masters of one of the greatest and most beautiful cities of *Sicily*. As to the *Zancleans*, they were either banished, or reduced to slavery by *Hippocrates*, to whom they were delivered by the *Samians*, pursuant to their agreement. *Scythes* their king was banished, with his brother *Pytho-*

<sup>d</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 13.

genes, to *Inycum*, whence he made his escape to *Himera*, and, there embarking, passed over into *Asia* to *Darius* \*.

In the mean time the *Persians*, after the reduction of *Miletus*, put over with their fleet to *Samos*, and reinstated *Æaces* <sup>Æaces re-</sup> in his former government, for the eminent service he had rendered them, by persuading his countrymen to abandon the rest of the *Ionians* in the engagement at *Lade*. *Samos* by this means was the only city, of all those which revolted from *Darius*, that escaped undestroyed. *Æaces*, being thus restored.

*Æaces*, being thus restored to his authority, continued faithful to the *Persians*, and served under *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*, obliging the *Samians*, contrary to their inclinations, to assist the *Persians* with their navy against their countrymen. During the *Grecian* war *Æaces* died, and was succeeded by *Theomestor*, whom *Xerxes* raised to that dignity for his courageous behaviour in the sea-fight at *Salamis*, on which occasion he took several of the *Greek* ships, and distinguished himself in a most eminent manner; as also did *Phylacus*, another *Samian*, who was not only admitted into the number of those, who, from deserving well of the king, were called by the *Persians* *Oro-flores*, but rewarded with large possessions, and great wealth †.

Theomestor.

Year of the flood  
1879.  
Bef. Chr.  
469.

THE *Samians* continued thus subject to the *Persians*, and their own tyrants, who were but mere tools of the *Persian* kings, till the famous victory gained by the *Greeks* at *Mycale*, when they were restored to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties. Before this engagement, while the *Grecian* fleet was anchored at *Delos*, under the command of *Leotychides* the *Lacedæmonian*, the *Samians*, without being suspected either by the *Persians*, or their own tyrant *Theomestor*, sent three of *Greece* their chief citizens, *Lampon*, *Athenagoras*, and *Hegestistratus*, to assure the commanders of the *Greek* navy, that the *Ionians* would not fail to revolt from the *Persians* as soon as their fleet appeared. *Hegestistratus*, who spoke for the rest, added, that, if they entertained the least suspicion of their sincerity, they were all three ready to remain with them as hostages. *Leotychides*, after hearing him, had the curiosity to ask his name, and understanding that he was called *Hegestistratus*, which in *Greek* signifies leader of an army, he resolved forthwith to set sail, and attack the *Persian* fleet, which lay then off of *Samos*. Having therefore obliged the three *Samian* ambassadors to confirm with an oath the truth of what they had said, he retained *Hegestistratus*, taking his name for a presage of success, and suffered the other two to return home. The next day *Leotychides*, having offered a solemn sacrifice to the

The Samians side  
with the  
Persians.

\* HERODOT. l. v. c. 23.  
c. 89.

† Idem, l. viii. c. 85. & ix.

gods, put to sea, and, standing towards *Samos*, came to an anchor near the temple of *Juno*. But the *Persians*, being informed of their approach, made towards the continent, and, hauling their ships ashore, fled to their land-forces, which were encamped at *Mycale* to the number of sixty thousand men. In the mean time the *Persian* generals caused all the *Samians* to be disarmed, fearing they were disposed to favour the enemy, because they had already redeemed all the *Athenians* taken in *Attica* by the forces of *Xerxes*, brought them to *Samos*, and thence sent them back to *Athens*, furnished with provisions for their voyage. The *Samians*, though thus disarmed, in the very beginning of the engagement, revolted to the *Greeks*, and assisted them in the best manner they could. Their example was immediately followed by the rest of the *Ionians*, who, abandoning the *Persians*, joined their countrymen, and greatly contributed to that victory, which put an end to the designs of *Xerxes* upon *Greece* &.

*The Samians and other islanders enter into an alliance with the Athenians.*

FROM *Mycale* the *Greeks* returned to *Samos*, where it was proposed, in a council held by the chief commanders, to transplant the *Ionians* out of *Asia*, where they were exposed to the insults of the *Persians*, into *Greece*, and there bestow upon them the cities and lands of those *Greeks* who had sided with the *Persians*. But this motion was not approved of by the *Athenians*, apprehending that the *Ionians*, if once transplanted into *Greece*, would no longer look upon *Athens* as their mother-city. They therefore only obliged the *Samians*, *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and other islanders, who had revolted to them from the *Persians*, to swear, that they would continue in their alliance, and then set sail, together with them, for the *Hellepont*, to pursue the war on that side against the *Persians*.

*The Samians revolt from the Athenians.*

THE *Samians*, being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke, continued stedfast in their alliance with the *Athenians* for the space of thirty-seven years, governing themselves intirely by their own laws, and enjoying the full possession of their antient liberties. But, in the sixth year of the thirty years peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, they revolted from the *Athenians*, which brought on a war between them and the people of *Athens*. But of that war we have spoken at length elsewhere<sup>b</sup>, and therefore shall only add here, that the *Samians*, as well as the *Byzantines* their allies, were in the end obliged to submit to such terms as *Pericles*, who commanded the *Athenian* forces, thought fit to impose upon them.

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. ix. c. 89, 90. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. JUSTIN. l. ii. c. 14. <sup>b</sup> See vol. vi. p. 425, & seqq.

FROM this time the *Samians* continued subject to the *Athe- Great di-*  
*nians* till the twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, when *sturbances*  
the common people of *Samos*, taking up arms against the no- in *Samos*.  
bility, who had again usurped all the power, slew two hundred  
of them, banished the rest, and divided their lands and houses  
among themselves. This so pleased the *Athenians*, at whose *The form*  
instigation the people had revolted, that they restored to them of govern.  
all their antient privileges, and allowed them to govern their ment un-  
republic according to their own laws. The ensuing year, *desigors se-*  
when the government of the four hundred was set up at *veral*  
*Athens*, the great men among the *Samians*, to the number of *changes.*  
three hundred, formed a new conspiracy against the demo-  
cracy; and, being assisted by *Pisander*, and other *Athenians*  
who favoured the oligarchy, they attempted to make them-  
selves masters of the city, with a design to murder all those  
who were for the popular faction. But the people, having  
timely notice of their design, and being supported by *Leon*,  
*Diomedon*, *Thrafsybulus*, and other *Athenians* who were then  
in *Samos*, and professed enemies to the oligarchy, repulsed  
them, and, having killed about thirty of the three hundred  
conspirators, obliged the rest to submit to the democracy. In  
this state the island of *Samos* continued long subject to the  
*Athenians*, and was resorted to by such of them as could not  
endure the tyranny of the four hundred usurpers. When  
*Athens* was besieged and taken by *Lyfander* the *Lacedæmonian*  
admiral, after his famous victory at *Ægospotamos*, the island  
of *Samos* was also reduced by the conqueror, who abolished  
the popular government, and put the whole power into the  
hand of ten men, who from their number were called the *The decad-*  
*decadarchæ*. This form of government continued for the *farchæ, or*  
space of near ten years, till the *Athenians*, having regained the *deciar-*  
sovereignty of the seas by their signal victory over the *chæ.*  
*Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*, restored the democracy, and took a new  
possession of the island. But soon after, the *Samians*, revolt-  
ing from *Athens*, entered into a confederacy with the *Lace-*  
*dæmonians*; but, being in the mean time attacked by *Tigranes*  
one of the *Persian* governors of the *Lesser Asia*, and by him  
brought under subjection to the king of *Persia*, they had re- *The Sa-*  
course to the *Athenians* their antient allies, who immediately *mians*  
sent *Timotheus* to their assistance. *Timotheus*, landing his men *often*  
in the island, laid siege to the city, and in a few days obliged *change*  
the *Persians*, who held it, to capitulate, and leave the *Samians* *masters.*  
in the full possession of their antient liberties\*. From this  
time the island of *Samos* continued faithful to the *Athenians*  
till they were reduced by the *Romans*, who obliged the *Sa-*

\* *PROBUS* in *Timotheus*.

*mians*, and other islanders, to pay a yearly tribute to *Rome*. But in the *Roman* times the *Samians* were a very inconsiderable people, and had quite degenerated from the valour of their ancestors. Not being able to defend themselves, they were an easy prey to the princes of *Macedon*, *Syria*, and *Pergamus*. They became subject to *Rome* upon the death of *Eumenes*, the last king of *Pergamus*, who bequeathed, as the *Romans* pretended, his dominions to their republic. *Augustus* restored them, for what service we know not, to their former liberty, suffering them to live according to their own laws, in the same manner as they had done during their alliance with *Athens*. By this indulgence the island, which had come into the hands of the *Romans* in a mean condition, flourished again, and in a short time became so populous, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their country, which could not maintain such multitudes, and settle in the neighbouring island of *Icaria*, which was then but thinly inhabited<sup>1</sup>. In this happy state they continued till the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced *Samos*, with the other *Greek* islands, to a *Roman* province<sup>m</sup>.

## S E C T. VII.

*The History of the other Greek Islands.*

BESIDES the *Greek* islands we have already described, there are many others, which we cannot dismiss this subject without taking some notice of, as they make no small figure in the ancient history of *Greece*. These lie partly in the *Ægean* and *Icarian*, and partly in the *Cretan*, *Myrtean*, and *Ionian* seas, or in the *Propontis*; whence we shall, with *Strabo*<sup>n</sup>, begin our account of them, describing first such as are on the coast of *Asia*, and therefore reckoned by all geographers among the *Asiatic* islands. In the *Propontis*, now the *Sea of Marmora* (P), the following islands are taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*,

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. l. xiv. DION, l. liv. EUSEB. chron. <sup>m</sup> SUTON. in Vespas. <sup>n</sup> STRAB. l. xiii. p. 425.

(P) The *Propontis*, so called, according to *Suidas*, because it lies before the *Pontus*, and is, as it were, an inlet into that sea, extends from the *Hellepont* to the *Bosporus Thracicus*, and is about three hundred miles in compass, being confined on the north by *Thrace*, and on the south by the

kingdom of *Pontus*. It is now called by the *Turks* the *White-Sea*, in opposition to the *Pontus Euxinus*, which they stile the *Black Sea*; and the *Franks* the *Sea of Marmora*, from an island formerly known by the name of *Proconnesus*, which name in process of time was changed by

*Strabo, Pliny, Mela, &c. viz. Proconnesus, Besbicus, Phæbe, Islands of Alone, Physia, Ophioessa, Gonimi, and Liparæ. Proconnesus, the Pro-* or, as others write it, *Præconnesus*, was antiently known *pontis*. likewise by the name of *Elaphonnesus*, that is, *The island of Proconnesus* °, it being particularly remarkable, as the scholiast of *Apollonius* observes, for the vast numbers of stags with which it was stocked (P). *Ptolemy* places this island on the coast of *Thrace*, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers, who speak of it as lying on the coast of *Asia* over-against *Cyzicum*; whence the *Proconnesian* marble, as *Pliny* observes, is often from that city called *Cyzican* (Q) P.

BESBICUS,

° PLIN. l. iii. c. 4. Scholiast. APOLL. ad l. ii. v. 272. P PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 6.

by the *Latins* into that of *Marmora*, by reason of the excellent marble found in its quarries.

(P) *Pliny* (14), *Strabo* (15), and *Vitruvius* (16), greatly commend the marble quarries of *Proconnesus*; and tell us, that the stately palace of *Mausolus* at *Halicarnassus* was lined with this marble, which, according to *Vitruvius*, received a brighter polish than any other. Hence *Constantine the Great*, if we believe *Zosimus* (17), made use of the *Proconnesian* marble only in embellishing the public structures of his new city.

(Q) *Stephanus* and *Scylax* speak of *Proconnesus* and *Elaphonnesus* as two different islands; and tell us, that in the former were antiently two cities both bearing the name of the island, and distinguished by the epithets of the *New* and *Old Proconnesus*: the first, say they, was built by the *Milesians*, and the other by the inhabitants of the island. *Aristæas* and *Bion* were both natives of *Proconnesus*. *Aristæas* was born, according to *Suidas*,

in the fiftieth *Olympiad*, and lived in the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Cræsus*. He was the son of *Democharis*, or, as others will have it, of *Causirobius*. He wrote a *theogony* in prose, and the history of the *Arimaspians*, an *Hyperborean* people, in verse. This poem, as *Suidas* informs us, was comprised in three books. He is quoted by *Herodotus* in the following words (18):

*Aristæas*, a poet of *Proconnesus*, and son to *Causirobius*, says in his verses, that he was transported by *Apollo* into the territories of the *Issedonians*; beyond whom the *Arimaspians* dwell, who are a people having but one eye; that the next region abounds with griffins, which guard the gold of the country; and that the *Hyperboreans* are situate beyond them, their country bordering on the sea; that all these nations, except the *Hyperboreans*, were continually employed in making war on their neighbours; that the *Issedonians* were expelled by the *Arimaspians*, the *Scy-*

(14) *Plin. l. xxxv. c. 6.*

(15) *Strab. ubi supra*

(16) *Vitruvius,*

*l. vi. c. 7.* (17) *Zosimus, l. ii. c. 20.*

(18) *Herodot. . iv. c. 13, 15.*

“ *thians*



**Bésbicus.** BÉSBIcus, a small island between *Cyzicum* and the mouth of the *Rhyndacus*, is counted by *Pliny* <sup>u</sup> among those islands which,

<sup>u</sup> Idem l. ii. c. 8.

“ *thians* by the *Iffedonians*, and  
 “ the *Cimmerians*, inhabiting the  
 “ coasts of the south-sea, by the  
 “ *Scythians*.” Our historian  
 adds, that *Aristæas* was in no re-  
 spect inferior to any of his fellow-  
 citizens; and that, entering one  
 day into a fuller’s shop, he there  
 died suddenly. Hereupon the  
 fuller, having shut his door, went  
 to acquaint the relations of the  
 deceased with what had happen-  
 ed. The news of his death being  
 spread over the city, a certain  
*Cyzicenean*, arriving from *Artace*,  
 disputed the truth of the report,  
 affirming, that he had met him,  
 and conversed with him in his  
 way to *Cyzicus*. While he ob-  
 stinately persisted in maintaining  
 his assertion, the relations of *Ari-  
 stæas* came with all things neces-  
 sary for removing the body; but  
 could not find *Aristæas* either  
 alive or dead. Seven years after  
 he appeared again in *Proconnesus*,  
 composed those verses which are  
 by the *Greeks* called *Arimaspiæ*,  
 and then disappeared a second  
 time. *Herodotus* adds, that, three  
 hundred and forty years after this  
 second disappearing of *Aristæas*,  
 he shewed himself anew in the  
 city of the *Metapontins*, exhort-  
 ing them to erect an altar to  
*Apollo*, and a statue by the altar,  
 which should bear the name of  
*Aristæas* the *Proconnesian*; he  
 told them on that occasion, that  
 they were the only nation of the

*Italian* coast that had ever been  
 favoured with the presence of  
*Apollo*, and that he himself at-  
 tended the god in the shape of a  
 raven. Having pronounced these  
 words, he vanished; and the *Me-  
 tapontins*, going to consult the  
 oracle of *Delpi* concerning the  
 apparition, were admonished by  
 the *Pythian* to do as they had been  
 directed, if they desired their af-  
 fairs to prosper. In pursuance,  
 therefore, of this oracle, they  
 erected an altar to *Apollo*, and  
 near it a statue to *Aristæas*, which  
 were still remaining in our histo-  
 rian’s time (19). The same story  
 is related by *Pliny* (20), *Apolloni-  
 us* (21), *Maximus Tyrius* (22),  
*Origen* (23), *Hesychius* (24),  
 and *Tzetzes* (25). *Strabo*, *Ta-  
 tian*, and *Pausanias*, likewise  
 mention this author. *Longinus*,  
 in his treatise of the *sublime*,  
 quotes some of his verses, as does  
 also *Julius Pollux*. *Gellius* ranks  
 him among the writers of extra-  
 ordinary events and fables (26);  
 and *Pliny* cites him to prove,  
 that the *Arimaspiæ*, who had  
 but one eye, were continually at  
 war with a kind of wild beasts  
 called *griffins*, that guarded the  
 gold which the *Arimaspiæ* dug  
 out of the mines (27). All these  
 relations are fabulous, and there-  
 fore, in the opinion of *Dionysius  
 Halicarnassensis*, the poem inti-  
 tled *Arimaspiæ* was a spurious  
 piece falsely ascribed to *Aristæas*.

(19) Idem *ibid.*

(20) *Plin. l. viii. c. 3.*

(21) *Apollon. in bist.*

*mirab. (22) Maxim. Tyr. dissert. xxii. § xxviii.*

(23) *Origen. in Cel-*

*sum, l. iii.*

(24) *Hesych. de philosph.*

(25) *Tzetzes, chil. ii. bist. 50.*

(26) *Aul. Gell. l. ix.*

(27) *Plin. l. vii. c. 2.*

which, being first joined to the continent, were separated from it by the violence of the seas, or earthquakes. The others, to which he supposes the same misfortune to have happened, are *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, and *Eubœa*, the first having been separated, according to him, from *Italy*, the second from *Syria*, and the last from *Bœotia*. The other islands in the *Propontis* are of no note; and therefore, leaving them, since we know nothing of them but their bare names, we shall proceed to the *Ægean* sea (R), describing such islands as lie on the coast of *Asia*, and make any figure in history.

## THE

*Tatian* tells us, that *Aristæas* flourished before *Homer*; but *Strabo* will have him to be that poet's master.

*Bion* was contemporary with *Pherecydes*, who flourished about the fiftieth *Olympiad*. He copied the titles, and abridged the works, of *Cadmus* the *Milesian*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us (28). The same author quotes several of his apophthegms. *Cadmus*, whose works *Bion* is said to have abridged, was the first who wrote an history in prose (29), and is commonly believed to have lived before the *Trojan* war. *Strabo* mentions this *Cadmus* (whom we must distinguish from another *Cadmus* a *Milesian* also, but of a much later date), and says, that he, *Pherecydes*, and *Hecateus*, were the first three writers in prose (30).

(R) The *Ægean* sea, now the *Archipelago*, is that sea which separates *Europe* from *Asia*, washing on one side *Greece* and *Macedon*, and on the other *Caria*, *Ionis*, and *Phrygia*. There is a great disagreement among authors about the etymology of its name. *Pliny* will have it to be so called from *Ægis* an island, or

rather a rock, sacred to *Neptune*, and lying between the islands of *Tenos* and *Chios* (31). *Solinus* and the scholiast of *Apollonius* agree with *Pliny*. The island of *Ægis* borrowed its name, according to the same *Pliny* (32), from the Greek word *aix*, signifying a goat, which that island at some distance resembles. *Festus* offers three different opinions: 'The *Ægean* sea, says he, was so named either from its islands, which, lying scattered up and down, look at a distance like so many goats; or from *Ægea* queen of the *Amazons*, who was drowned in it; or because *Ægeus* the father of *Theseus*, apprehending his son might be devoured by the *Minotaur*, threw himself, out of grief, into the sea, and perished. *Strabo* (33) derives it from a city of *Eubœa* called *Æga*; *Statius* from *Ægeon* one of the giants that warred against *Jupiter*, and was by *Neptune*, who overcame him, chained to a rock in this sea; and *Nicocrates* from *Ægeus*, a name antiently given to *Neptune*. *Bochart* recurs, according to his custom, to the *Phœnician* language, and forms the name of *Ægeum* from the word *ax*, signi-

(28) *Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat. l. vi. l. 4.* (29) *Plin. l. ii. c. 5, 6.* (30) *Strab.*  
(31) *Plin. l. iv. c. 11.* (32) *Idem ibid.* (33) *S. rab. l. vii. p. 266.*

The islands  
of the  
Ægean  
sea on the  
coast of  
Asia.

THE antient geographers reckon fifty-three islands from *Tenedos* to *Crete*, and comprehend them all under two general denominations. Those which form a circle round *Delos*, a little island revered by the antients for being reported the birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, they call the *Cyclades* from the Greek word *cyclos*, signifying a circle; such as are at a greater distance from *Delos*, they call *Sporades*, from the Greek word *sporao*, importing to scatter or sow, these islands being scattered up and down the *Ægean* sea. To begin with the *Sporades* on the coast of *Asia*; *Pliny* \* mentions the following islands at the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, over-againſt the country of *Troas*, viz. the *Aſcanian* islands, ſo called, according to ſome, from *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, according to others, from *Aſkenaz* one of *Gomer's* ſons, the islands of *Platæa*, *Lanua*, *Plitania*, *Plate*, *Scopelus*, *Githius*, *Arthedon*, *Cæla*, *Laguffæ*, and *Dilymæ*. Theſe islands are very ſmall, and therefore ſcarce taken notice of by other geographers or hiſtorians. Near them lies the island of *Tenedos*, about two leagues from the ſhore. Behind this island the *Greeks*, as is well known, feigning to return into their own country, lay concealed till their plot againſt *Troy* took effect. But, as we have already given an account of this island, we ſhall only add here, that the learned *Bocbart* derives the name of *Tenedos* from the *Phœnician* word *Tin-edum*, ſignifying red clay,

\* *PLIN.* l. v. c. 31.

\* *Vol.* iv. p. 468.

ſying among the *Phœnicians* wild, cruel, and violent, which he pretends to have been given to this ſea by the *Phœnicians*, who firſt inhabited the islands, by reaſon it is ſubject to frequent ſtorms, which, among ſo many rocks and islands, prove very dangerous (34). The *Icarian*, *Carpathian*, *Cretan* ſeas, ſo called from the islands they waſh, and alſo the *Myrtoan*, are but parts of the *Ægean* ſea taken in its full extent. The *Myrtoan* lies, according to *Strabo* (35), *Pliny* (36), and *Pausanias* (37), &c. between *Crete*, *Peloponneſus*, *Attica*, and *Eubœa*, and not on the ſide of

*Asia*, as *Ptolemy* (38) would have it. That author places *Miletus*, *Jaffus*, *Myndus*, and the other maritime cities of *Caria*, on the *Myrtoan* ſea, wherein he contradicts all the antient geographers as well as hiſtorians. This ſea borrowed its name either from an island called *Myrtus*, as *Pliny* informs us (39), or from *Myrtilus* the ſon of *Mercury*, or a nymph named *Myrton*, as *Pausanias* inſinuates (40). The *Ægean* is now called the *Archipelago*, from the Greek words ἀρχὴς chief, and πᾶνες the ſea, it being the chief and greateſt ſea in thoſe parts.

(34) *Bocbart. phæleg.* l. i. c. 3.  
xiv. c. 11, & 12.

(39) *Plin.* ubi ſupra.

(35) *Strab.* l. xi. p. 85.

(37) *Pauſan.* *Aræad.* c. 14.

(40) *Pauſan.* ubi ſupra.

(36) *Plin.* l.

(38) *Ptol.* l. v. c. 11.

which was found here, and in great request for the making of earthen-ware *γ*.

LESBOS, one of the most considerable islands of the *Ægean* sea or *Archipelago*, was antiently called *Pelasgia*, from the *Næves*. *Pelasgi*, by whom it was supposed to have been first peopled; *Macaria*, from *Macareus* the grandson of *Jupiter*, who settled here; *Lesbos*, from the son-in-law and successor of *Macareus*, who bore that name, &c. It is, according to *Strabo* <sup>a</sup>, sixty-two, according to *Pliny*, fifty-six miles distant from *Tenedos*, divided from the continent of *Asia* by a straight seven miles and an half over, in length seventy miles, and an hundred and sixty-eight in compass. All the antient historians, geographers, and others, who speak of the greater islands in the *Mediterranean* and *Ægean* seas, constantly reckon *Lesbos* in the seventh place, though no two of them agree in the disposing of the rest. This *Bochart* surmised to be mysterious; and accordingly, with the help of his *Phœnician* etymologicon, found out, that the island of *Lesbos* was without change put in the seventh place, because its name was derived from the *Phœnician* word *Esbuith*, signifying seven. But to derive *Lesbos* from *Esbuith*, requires several alterations, and withal a greater stock of anagrammatical wit than is fallen to every-body's share. This island had in former times, if we believe *Pliny* <sup>a</sup>, eight cities of note; *Herodotus* <sup>b</sup> speaks of six, but *Pomponius Mela* and *Scylax* name only five; the former leaves out *Methymna*, and the latter *Arisba*. These cities were, *Arisba*, which was quite ruined by an earthquake; *Pyrreha*, seated on the western coast of the island towards *Greece*, and distant from *Mitylene*, which stands on the other sea, eighty furlongs <sup>c</sup>. This city underwent the same fate as *Arisba*, and also the cities of *Hiera* and *Agamis* <sup>d</sup>. *Eressus*, or *Eresus*, placed by *Ptolemy* between *Pyrreha* and *Mela*, the most southern promontory of *Lesbos*; but, by *Strabo*, between *Pyrreha* and *Sigrium*, the most northern promontory of the island. *Eressus* was the birth-place of the famous philosopher *Theophrastus*, who succeeded *Aristotle* in the *Peripatetic* school. *Antissa*, which was, according to *Strabo* <sup>e</sup>, in antient times an island by itself, and thence called *Antissa*, because it lay over-against *Lesbos*, then known by the name of *Issa*. This city, having disobliged the *Romans*, was destroyed by *Labco*, and the inhabitants transplanted to *Methymna* <sup>f</sup>. *Methymna*, the native city of *Arion*, who is supposed to have been the first inventor of tragedies, and of the *Dithyrambic* verse. This city borrowed its name from *Methymna* one of

<sup>a</sup> BOCHART. phaleg. l. i. c. 3.    <sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. xiii.    <sup>c</sup> PLIN. ubi supra.    <sup>d</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 151.    <sup>e</sup> STRAB. ubi supra.    <sup>f</sup> LIV. STRAB. ibid.    PLIN. l. iii. c. 9.    STRAB. ibid.    l. xlv. c. 31.    PLIN. l. v. c. 31.

Mitylene.

the daughters of *Macareus* <sup>g</sup>, of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon ; and was the second city in rank of the whole island, especially after the inhabitants of *Antissa* were transplanted thither by the *Romans*. *Methymna* was famous for the fruitfulness of its territory, and the excellent wines it produced. When the other cities of *Lesbos* revolted from the *Athenian*., *Methymna* continued steadfast in its former alliance, and proved very serviceable in the reducing of the rest <sup>h</sup>. *Mitylene*, the capital of the whole island, so called from the daughter of *Macareus*, who married *Lesbus*, as we have hinted above. *Cicero* <sup>i</sup> and *Vitruvius* <sup>k</sup> greatly commend this city on account of the flatness of its buildings, and the fertility of its soil. *Strabo* tells us, that it abounded with the necessaries and delights of life <sup>l</sup>, and *Horace* bestows upon it the epithet of famous or renowned <sup>m</sup>. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the present city of *Castro* was built on the ruins of *Mitylene*, there being this day many vestiges of a great city to be seen in *Castro*, and its neighbourhood <sup>n</sup> (A). This city suffered

<sup>g</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.      <sup>h</sup> THUCYD. l. iii.      <sup>i</sup> CIC. de Leg. Agr.  
<sup>k</sup> VITRUV. l. i. c. 6.      <sup>l</sup> STRAB. l. xiii.  
<sup>m</sup> HORAT. l. i. od. 7.      <sup>n</sup> TOURNEFORT voyage au Levant, &c.

(A) But *Mitylene* was not so renowned on account of its magnificent buildings, and fruitful soil, as for the many great men it produced. *Pittacus*, one of the seven sages of Greece ; *Alceus* the famous *Lyric* poet ; *Sappho*, called by *Strabo* a prodigy, by others the tenth muse ; *Terpander*, who was the first that fitted seven strings to the lyre, which gave occasion to the fable of *Orpheus*'s head being heard to speak in this island after it was cut off in *Thrace*, as *Enstatius* ingeniously explains it (1) ; *Hellanicus* the celebrated historian ; and *Callias*, famous for his notes on *Alceus* and *Sappho*, were all natives of *Mitylene*. To these we may add with *Strabo*, *Diophanes* a famous rhetorician, who was tutor to *Tiberius Sempronius Grac-*

*chus*, and afterwards pressed him to revive the *Licinian* law, which occasioned great disturbances in the republic ; *Potamon*, *Ieslode*, *Crinagoras*, and *Theophanes*, all mentioned by *Strabo* as men of great parts and learning. *Theophanes* had a great influence over *Pompey*, who honoured him with his confidence, and an employment of distinction in his troops ; and the *Greek*, in gratitude to his benefactor, wrote the history of his glorious conquests. *Mitylene* was in ancient times the seat of all polite arts and literature. There *Epicurus* read public lectures at thirty years of age (2) ; and *Aristotle* resided two years, to improve by the conversation of the learned men of the place (3). In the *Roman* times, such as were dissatisfied with the

(1) *Enstatius*, in *Dionys.* (2) *Diogen. Laert.* in *vit. philosoph.* (3) *Idem ibid.*

ferred greatly in the *Peloponnesian* war, after it had revolted from the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides* <sup>1</sup>. In the *Mithridatic* war it was the only city that refused to submit to the *Romans*, after the treaty of peace was concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. Wherefore it was besieged, taken, and rased to the ground by *Minucius Thermus*. *Julius Cæsar*, who was then making his first campaign, signalized himself at this siege, and was honoured with several civic crowns. The city was soon after rebuilt, and, in favour of *Theophanes*, restored by *Pompey* to the full enjoyment of all its antient privileges <sup>2</sup>. *Pliny* says, that in his time it enjoyed the same liberty which *Pompey* had granted it. The emperor *Trajan* embellished it with many costly buildings, and called it from his own name *Trajanopolis*; but the antient name prevailed, and in process of time became common to the whole island, which to this day is called *Metelin*.

THE fruitfulness of this island is much spoken of by the antients; it produced great quantities of delicious fruits, and exquisite wines, which, if we believe our modern travellers, still deserve the mighty praises bestowed upon them by *Strabo*, *Horace*, *Athenæus*, *Ælian*, (B) &c. *Triflanus* mentions a medal of the emperor *Geta*, who, according to *Spartianus*, did not dislike good wine, with a *Fortune* on the reverse, holding in her right hand the rudder of a ship, and in her left a cor-

<sup>1</sup> THUCYD. I. iii. & viii.  
PLUT. in Pompeio.

<sup>2</sup> VELL. PATERCUL. I. iii. c. 18.

government at home, or desirous to perfect themselves in polite literature, retired to *Athens*, *Rhodes*, or *Mitylene*. Among the former was *Marcellus*, who, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, withdrew to this city, and was so taken with the conversation of the many learned men he found there, that *Cicero* could not prevail upon him to abandon the place, and return to *Rome*, even after he had obtained his pardon from *Cæsar* (4).

(B) We are told, that, while *Aristotle* was dying, a dispute arose among his disciples about the person who should succeed

him, some thinking *Menedemus* of *Rhodes* the most proper man to keep up the reputation of the *Peripatetic* school, and others declaring in favour of *Theophrastus* the *Lesbian*. The matter was at last referred to *Aristotle* himself, who, having called for some wine of both islands, and tasted them, said, they were both excellent wines, but that the *Rhodian* was not to compare with the *Lesbian*; thereby giving to understand, that *Theophrastus* excelled his competitors as much as the wine of *Lesbos* did that of *Rhodes* (5).

(4) Cic. l. iv. *epist.* 7. Senec. *ad Helvium*, c. 9. (5) Aul. Gell. l. xiii. c. 5.

nucopiæ with a bunch of grapes, and underneath the inscription *Mitylene*. *Pliny* tells us, that the wine of *Lesbos* was deemed no less wholesome than pleasant by *Erasistratus*, one of the greatest physicians of antiquity. The same author speaks of the jasper of *Lesbos*, and of a certain kind of pine-trees yielding pitch. As to the morals of the ancient *Lesbians*, we cannot say any-thing in their commendation; they were given to all sorts of lewdness and debauchery, inasmuch that, to express the lewd and dissolute life of a debauchee, the ancients used to say, that he lived like a *Lesbian* <sup>w</sup>. *Goltzius* exhibits a medal, which does no great honour to the *Lesbian* women.

*Inhabitants.*

THIS island, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was first peopled by the *Pelasgi*; for *Xanthus* the son of *Triopas*, prince of the *Pelasgians*, who came from *Argos*, having first settled in *Lycia*, and there reigned some time over the *Pelasgians*, who had attended him in this expedition, sailed from thence to *Lesbos*, which, as it lay at that time desolate, he divided among his followers, changing its ancient name of *Issa* into that of *Pelagia*. In process of time, that is, after seven generations, the inhabitants being all destroyed by *Deucalion's* flood, the island lay waste and desolate, till *Macareus* happening to touch there, and, being taken with the pleasantness and fertility of the country, settled in it, and built the city of *Olanus*. The fame of his justice and humanity drew many *Ionians* to him, by whose means he possessed himself of some of the neighbouring islands, and in a short time became very powerful. In his time *Lesbos*, the son of *Lapithas*, and grandson of *Æolus*, arriving in this island by the direction of the oracle at *Delphi*, with a new colony, was kindly received by the inhabitants, and being allowed to enjoy, with his followers, the same rights and privileges as those who were there before him, he married *Methymna* the eldest daughter of *Macareus*, after whose death he called the island from his own name *Lesbos* <sup>x</sup>. This is the account *Diodorus* gives us of the first inhabitants of *Lesbos*; but *Strabo* <sup>y</sup>, *Herodotus* <sup>z</sup>, *Thucydides* <sup>a</sup>, *Pausanias* <sup>b</sup>, *Ptolemy* <sup>c</sup>, *Velleius* <sup>d</sup>, unanimously tell us, that it was first peopled by the *Æolians*, and constantly speak of the *Lesbians*, as having come originally from *Æolis*.

*Government and history.*

THE *Lesbians* were, like most of the other Greek nations, first governed by kings; but of these we find four only mentioned in history, viz. *Macareus*, *Lesbus*, *Æolion*, and *Pen-*

<sup>w</sup> SUIDAS, verbo *Λεσβίας*.

<sup>x</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16.

<sup>y</sup> STRABO, ubi supra. <sup>z</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 38, <sup>a</sup> THUCYD.

l. iii. & vii.

<sup>b</sup> PAUSAN. in Phocicis. <sup>c</sup> PTOLEM. l. v. c. 2.

<sup>d</sup> VELLILIUS PATERCUL. l. ii.

*thilus*. *Macareus* is said to have subdued some of the neighbouring islands, viz. *Samos*, whither he sent one of his sons, by name *Cyebolus*, who divided the island among his followers, and ruled over them as king; *Cos*, over which he appointed his second son *Nicanor* king; and *Rhodes*, great part of which was held by his third son *Leucippus*. These conquests *Macareus* made, if we believe *Diodorus* <sup>e</sup>, soon after the flood of *Deucalion*, when the islands were but thinly peopled. But *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* tells us, that *Xanthus the Pelasgian*, long before the reign of *Macareus*, had peopled *Lesbos*, and that *Macareus* did not subdue, but only peopled some of the adjacent islands <sup>f</sup>. *Macareus* was succeeded by *Lebus* the son of *Lapithus*, who, marrying *Methymna* the daughter of *Macareus*, had the island for her dowry. *Æolion* is mentioned by *Homer* as reigning in *Lesbos*; and *Pentbilus* by *Pausanias* <sup>g</sup>, who tells us, that *Pentbilus* was king of *Mycenæ*, and that he subdued great part of *Æolis*, with the island of *Lesbos*, whence he places him among the *Lesbian* kings. In process of time the democratical form of government universally prevailed in all the *Greek* states, and, amongst others, in *Lesbos*, the *Lesbians* having driven out their kings, as *Aristotle* informs us <sup>h</sup>, when they began to rule, not as kings, but as tyrants. Upon this revolution great troubles arose in the island, each city aspiring to the same power over the others, which they could not bear in one man. In this contest the city of *Mitylene* at last prevailed, and by that means became so powerful, that the *Mityleneans*, being disengaged from all wars at home, began to entertain thoughts of making conquests on the continent. Accordingly, having equipped a fleet, they made a descent on the country of *Troas*, which they in great part reduced, and held undisturbed till the time of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who took from them the city of *Sigum*, and put it into the hands of *Hegestratus* his natural son by a woman of *Argos*. This occasioned a war between the *Athenians* and *Mityleneans*, which was carried on with great vigour by the contending parties, till they were reconciled by the mediation of *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth*. The terms of accommodation were, that each party should retain what they possessed, and that the *Lesbians* should be allowed to make what conquests they pleased on the continent of *Asia*. Thus the *Athenians* remained masters of *Sigum*, and the *Mityleneans* quietly possessed the rest of *Troas* (A).

War between the Athenians and Mityleneans.

THIS

<sup>e</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16. <sup>f</sup> DIONYS. HALICARN. l. i. c. 33, 34. <sup>g</sup> PAUSAN. in Corinthiac. <sup>h</sup> ARISTOT. polit. l. v. c. 10.

(A) In a battle fought during this war, the poet *Alcæus* is said to have betaken himself to flight, leaving his armour behind him,



THIS war was scarce ended, when the other cities of *Lesbos*, not being able to brook the yoke laid upon them by *Mitylene*, revolted. Thus a civil war was kindled anew, which *Myrsylus* *seizes on the sovereignty.* *Myrsylus*, a man of great wealth and authority in the island, taking advantage of, seized on the sovereignty, and ruled without controul. *Alcaeus* composed bitter invectives against him, as well as his successor in the tyranny *Megalagyrus* *k.* *The other tyrants mentioned in history are Cleanaëtis, Archæanax, and Melanchrus. Archæanax* is said to have raised some stately buildings with materials brought from *Troy* *l.* *Melanchrus* was driven out by *Pittacus*, with the assistance of *Alcaeus*, who, on this occasion, wiped off the disgrace he had incurred in the *Athenian* war. *Pittacus*, having delivered his country from tyrants, took upon himself to govern it, being warmly pressed thereunto by his fellow-citizens; but, after having reigned ten years, he resigned all the power which he had been vested with, and spent the remainder of his life in study and retirement (B). The *Lesbians* maintained their liberties from the time of his resignation to the reign of *Cyrus the Great*; but were, in that interval, greatly harassed by *Polyrates* tyrant of *Samos*, who, having defeated their

*Pittacus delivers his country from the tyrants.*  
 Year of the flood  
 1767.  
 Bef. Chr.  
 581.

*k* STRABO, l. xiii.

Idem ibid.

which the *Athenians*, who carried the day, hung up in the temple of *Minerva* at *Sigeum*. This disgrace the poet lamented in a poem, which he inscribed to *Menalippus*, who had attended him in his flight (5).

(B) He was not only a great philosopher, but an experienced officer. In the above-mentioned war between the *Athenians* and *Mityleneans*, he had the chief command of the army, on which occasion he gave a signal proof both of his courage and good nature; for, being unwilling to hazard the lives of his fellow-citizens, he challenged *Phrymon* the *Athenian* general to a single combat, notwithstanding he had been victor at the *Olympic* games. *Phrymon* accepted the challenge,

but was conquered and killed by *Pittacus*, who is said to have entangled him in a net, which he had hid under his shield. During his administration, he made many wise laws, which he comprehended in six hundred verses. One of these laws, taken notice of by *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and *Plutarch*, was, that every fault committed by a man when drunk, deserved double punishment. Many of his sentences were written on the walls of the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*; so great was the esteem which the antients entertained of his wisdom. He died ten years after he had resigned the government, in the third year of the fifty-fourth *Olympiad*, and seventieth of his age (6).

(5) *Hæc in Scritis, Pæd. MAX. l. vi. c. 5.*

(6) *Aristot. ethic. c. 6. & Polit. iii. c. 10. Plut. fleet,*

fleet, obliged them to pay him an annual tribute. After the defeat of *Cræsus* king of *Lydia*, they submitted, with the other islanders, to the conqueror, and even agreed, as some authors write, to deliver up to him *Paëtyas*, who, after having persuaded the *Lydians* to revolt, had taken sanctuary in the city of *Mitylene* \*. Being thus made tributaries to the kings of *Persia*, they served *Darius* in his wars, both against *Scythia* and *Greece*. In the former *Cæus*, the son of *Eraxandrus*, commander of the *Mityleneans*, dissuaded *Darius* from breaking down the bridge, which he had laid over the *Ister*, on his march into *Scythia*; for which piece of good advice he was rewarded with the sovereignty of *Lesbos*, which he did not long enjoy, being driven out by *Eristagoras*, at the beginning of the *Ionian* revolt. He was afterwards seized by one *Irragoras*, and delivered up to the *Mityleneans*, who stoned him to death †.

THE *Lesbians*, being thus delivered from the tyranny of *Cæus*, readily came into the measures of *Histiæus* and *Aristagoras*; but, in the sea-fight near *Lade*, over-against *Miletus*, they followed the example of the *Samians*, retiring in the heat of the engagement, and abandoning their allies. By this means the *Persians*, having gained a complete victory, soon reduced *Lesbos*, as well as the other islands. The *Lesbians*, after the defeat of the confederate fleet, had joined *Histiæus*, and subdued the island of *Chios*; on which account they were treated by *Darius* with more severity than the other islanders. This treatment they were forced to endure till the battle of *Mycale*, when they revolted with the other *Greeks*, and joined their countrymen against the common enemy. After the signal victory obtained at *Mycale* by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, they entered into an alliance with the conquerors, who promised to protect them whenever they should be attacked by the *Persians*. In the course of the war, being provoked at the haughty behaviour of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* commander, they, together with the other allies, deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the *Athenians*, by which means the *Lacedæmonians* lost the chief command. Neither did the *Lesbians* long continue faithful to the *Athenians*, but abandoned them in the third year of the *Peloponnesian* war. But of this revolt, and the evils which it brought upon *Mitylene*, we have spoke at length in the sixth volume ‡. After the great overthrow received by the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they revolted anew from

The *Lesbians* join *Histiæus* and *Aristagoras*.

Ill used by the *Persians*.

Join sometimes the *Athenians* and sometimes the *Lacedæmonians*.

\* HERODOT. l. i. c. 16  
JOANN. TZETZES, chiliad. iii.  
Univerf. vol. vi. p. 448, 449.

† HERODOT. l. v. c. 11. 37, 38.

‡ PLUT. in Aristide. § Hist.

*Athens*; but were soon again brought under subjection, as we have related in the history of *Athens* <sup>s</sup>. From this time to the reign of *Alexander*, we find nothing upon record concerning the *Lesbians* worth mentioning. In the war which that prince made upon the *Persians*, the *Lesbians* readily joined him; whereupon *Memnon* the *Rhodian* made a descent upon the island; and reduced it not without great loss, the city of *Mitylene* having stood a long siege. At last the *Mitylenæans* surrendered, upon condition that the *Macedonians*, who were there in garison, should be suffered to depart unmolested; which so pleased *Alexander*, that, after he had regained the city, he restored the inhabitants to their former liberty, enlarged their territory, and conferred many privileges, not on them only, but on all the *Lesbians* <sup>t</sup>. *Alexander*, having made himself master of the whole island, by driving the *Persians* from all the places they possessed there, delivered up the tyrants, namely, *Æristonicus* and *Chrysolæus*, to those whom they had oppressed, allowing them to inflict upon their oppressors what punishments they pleased. They were both first cruelly racked, and then put to death, which, as *Diodorus* observes, prevented others from aspiring to the tyranny, even after the death of *Alexander*. Thus they enjoyed their liberty till the time of *Pompey the Great*, who reduced the island of *Lesbos* to a *Roman* province, for having delivered up to *Mithridates M. Aquilius*, the chief of the *Roman* deputies sent into *Asia*. However, he soon restored *Mitylene* to the enjoyment of its antient privileges, as we have related above, whence it is counted by *Pliny* among the free cities (D).

How used  
by the Ro-  
mans.

Chios.

CHIOS, now *Scio*, distant from *Lesbos* about four hundred furlongs, and nine hundred in circuit, lies between *Lesbos* and *Samos*, opposite to the peninsula of *Ionia*, on which stand *Erythræ*, *Clazomenæ*, and *Teos* <sup>u</sup>. It is divided from *Ionis*

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. p. 471.

<sup>t</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. CURT. l. iv.

<sup>u</sup> STRABO, l. xiii.

(D) In the streight which separates *Lesbos* from the continent, are a great many small islands called *Hecatonnesi*, from *Apollo*, named antiently *Hecatos*, to whom they were consecrated (6). Between the promontory *Malea* in *Ægeus*, and that of *Cane* in *Æolis*, lie the three islands *Arginusæ*, fa-

mous for the victory which the *Athenians* gained there in the *Peloponnesian* war (7). *Cicero*, who mentions this battle, calls these islands *Arginusæ* (8). The largest of the three, called by *Pliny* *Arginusa*, had a town bearing the same name (9).

(6) STRABO, l. xiii. p. 425.  
e 68. *Strabo*, l. viii. p. 616. *Xenoph.* l. i. r. 1. *Cicero* p. 261.

(7) *Strabo*, *ibid.* *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xiii.  
l. i. r. 1. *Cicero* p. 261.

(8) *Cicero*.

(9) *Pliny*, l. iii. c. 31.

by a canal, which is but three leagues over. This island was known to the antients by the names of *Æthalia*, *Mucris*, *Names*, *Pithyusa*, &c. but that of *Chios* prevailed over all the rest, which some derive from the name of a nymph, others from the Greek word *chion*, signifying snow, the mountains of the island, especially mount *Pelenæus*, being often covered with snow. But *Isidorus* <sup>a</sup> is of opinion, that the name of *Chios* was borrowed from the *Syriac*, that word signifying in the *Syriac* tongue, *mastich*, with which this island abounds above all other places.

As for its soil, *Athenæus* calls it a mountainous and rugged *Soil, &c.* country; however, it produced excellent wine, and is, on that account, highly commended by the antients. *Oenopion*, the son of *Bacchus*, if we believe *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, taught the *Chians* the manner of cultivating the vine, and they the rest of mankind. The same author adds, that the first red wine was made in this island (E). *Strabo* takes notice of the quarries of *Chios*, and *Pliny* tells us, that the first jasper was discovered in this island. *Cicero* happening to be here when it was first made use of, the inhabitants shewed him it as a curiosity; but the *Roman*, after having viewed it with attention, said, That he should be better pleased with the fabric they were then carrying on, if it were built with stone from *Tibur*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. But the chief produce of this island is *mastich*, which is produced by the lentisk-trees in greater plenty here than

<sup>a</sup> ISIDOR. in origin.

(E) *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Silius Italicus*, seem not to have disliked the wine of *Chios*, especially that which was squeezed from the grapes of *Ariusa* or *Arifsa*, and is called by *Virgil* (10), *Arvifian nectar*; by *Silius*, *Arifian ambrosia* (11). *Strabo* prefers this to all the wines of *Greece* (12). *Pliny* often speaks of it, and quotes *Varro* to prove, that it was often prescribed at *Rome* as an excellent stomachic (13). The same author adds, that *Hortensius* left to his heir ten thousand casks of this wine. *Julius Cæsar* used

to regale his friends with the *Arvifian* wine in his public entertainments, that wine being, as *Athenæus* subjoins, an excellent digester, exceeding wholesome, and far surpassing all others in taste and flavour (14). Hence we may easily comprehend why we find so many medals of *Chios* in *Goltzius* (15), with bunches of grapes, casks, and other implements for making of wine. The figs of *Chios* were likewise in great reputation, and are no less commended by the ancient writers than the wine.

(10) *Virg. eclog. v. ver. 71.*  
*Æ. xiii. p. 444.*  
*veget. l. i.*

(11) *Sil. Italic. l. vii. ver. 212.*  
*(12) Plin. l. iv. c. 7, 14, 15.*

(13) *C. 62, de insul. Græc. tab. 15, 16.*

(14) *Strab.*  
*(15) Athenæus*

Cities.

any-where else. But for the description of the mastich, and the trees that produce it, we refer the readers to our modern travellers <sup>h</sup>, who give a very distinct account of them. *Vitruvius* mentions a spring in *Chios*, which deprived of their senses all those who tasted its waters; for which reason an epigram was placed over it, warning all passengers of the danger <sup>i</sup>. *Chios*, the chief town of the island, stood on the eastern coast, in the most pleasant and fruitful part of the country, and was, according to *Strabo*, forty stades in circumference (F). This island has given to the world other very extraordinary men, namely, *Ion*, *Theopompus*, *Theocritus* and *Me-trodorus*.

THIS

<sup>h</sup> *TOURNEFORT*, ubi supra. *THEVLNOT*, &c.

<sup>i</sup> *VITRUV.*

l. iii. c. 3.

<sup>k</sup> *STRABO*, ibid.

(F) This city pretended to be the birth-place of *Homer*; and *Leo Allatius*, a native of *Scio*, has taken a great deal of pains to shew, that this pretension was well grounded (16). The inhabitants, to this day, shew the school they suppose he went to, which is cut out of a rock at the foot of mount *Epos*, on the sea-side, about four miles from the present town of *Scio*. They likewise pretend to shew his dwelling-house in a place which bears the poet's name, on the north side of the island, near *Volisso*, called *Bolissus* by *Thucydides*, and the author of *Homer's* life. *Bolissus* stands in the midst of the *Arvisian* fields, so famed for the wines they produced. These, perhaps, did not a little contribute to the poet's vein. The inhabitants of *Chios* were so prepossessed with the opinion that *Homer* was born in their island, that, according to *Julius Pollux*, they stamped his figure on their money. Several medals are still to be seen, which

preserve the traces of this antient tradition. On one, mentioned by *Beger*, *Homer* is represented sitting in a chair, and holding the *Iliad* in his hand; and, on the reverse, an harp, the symbol of poetry, with a sphinx, which agrees very well what is said of *Homer*, viz. that he knew how to inculcate the finest maxims of morality under beautiful allegories and allusions; and that his fables are so many mystical veils which conceal the most important truths, and profound knowledge (17). *Ion* flourished about the eighty-second Olympiad, and is often mentioned and commended by *Aristophanes*, *Athenaus*, and *Suidas*, as an elegant writer of tragedies. His first performance was exhibited in *Athens*, in the eighty-second Olympiad, and met with general applause. This cannot be the *Ion*, whom *Plato*, in one of his dialogues, introduces reasoning with *Socrates*, as some writers have imagined; for the tragic poet was of *Chios*, and the other a native of *Ephesus*.

(16) *Leo Allat. de patria Homeri.*

(17) *Ibid.*

THIS island was first peopled, according to *Strabo*, by the *Inhabitants of Pelasgians*; according to *Diodorus*, by *Macareus*, and his followers, *vernment*, and

*Theopompus* flourished in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* in *Persia*, and *Philip* the father of *Alexander the Great* in *Macedon*. He was disciple to *Isocrates*, and, in the opinion of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, far excelled his master. The same author tells us, that he wrote several books, *viz.* orations, in imitation of those by *Isocrates*, among which was a funeral oration on *Mausolus*, called by some, *The epitaph of Mausolus*; a book of epistles; an epitome of *Herodotus*; a treatise on the doctrine of *Plato*; another of wonderful things; and two histories. His epistles, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* informs us, were styled *Ἀρχαῖαι*, *Ἀρχαῖαι*, *Athenæus* quotes two of his epistles, one addressed to the inhabitants of *Chios*, and the other to *Alexander*. *Harpocration* mentions a third written to *Tizamenes*. *Suidas* mentions his abridgment of *Herodotus*; and says, that he was therein assisted by *Ephorus*. His treatise on the doctrine of *Plato* is quoted by *Athenæus*; and that of wonderful things by the scholiast of *Aristophanes*, by *Apollonius* and *Lactantius*. The same scholiast mentions a treatise of his on piety and religion. The scholiast of *Apollonius* quotes the twenty-first and twenty-second books of his *Philippics*. *Longinus*, in his treatise on the sublime, produces two passages out of *Theopompus*, the one relating to *Philip*, and probably taken from his *Philippics*, where he says, that *Philip* swallowed, without reluctance, such affronts as the necessity of his

affairs obliged him to bear. This expression is censured by *Cæcilius*, but approved of by *Longinus*, as just and proper. The other passage relates to the descent of the king of *Persia* into *Egypt*, where the author, in the opinion of *Longinus*, enters into a detail of two mean particulars, which greatly lessen the beauty of his relations; but the chief works of *Theopompus* were his two histories, the one comprehending the last years of the *Peloponnesian* war, and the other the actions of *Philip*. Both these pieces are highly commended by *Athenæus* and *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. The former praises *Theopompus* as a lover of truth, and one who spared no pains in the search of it. The latter tells us, that his diction was pure and simple, and yet sublime and noble; that it had something very pompous, but was tempered with a just harmony; that the whole was well connected, plain and easy, &c. However, some authors have found fault with him as an ill-natured writer, and one who took pleasure in railing. *Cornelius Nepos*, in the life of *Alcibiades*, and *Lucian*, think his invectives too bitter; and add, that his design seems to have been rather to censure than to relate facts. *Josephus* ranks him among the historians whose chief aim was to disparage cities and nations. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* endeavours to excuse him in this particular, telling us, that he acted like a prudent and skilful surgeon, who cuts off or burns the corrupted part of the body, making

lowers, after they had made themselves masters of *Lefbos*. But the opinion of *Herodotus*, who will have the *Chians* to be *Ionians*, has generally obtained<sup>n</sup>. As to their government, they were first subject to kings; but of these we find *Hippias* alone mentioned in history. This prince being murdered by his subjects, as *Strabo* informs us<sup>o</sup>, for a pretended affront offered to the bride of one of the chief men of the island, the *Chians* formed themselves into a republic; but, as to the laws and constitutions of their new government, we are altogether in the dark. In process of time, with the

<sup>n</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 142.

<sup>o</sup> STRABO, ubi supra.

making deep incisions, and applying caustics, without ever hurting such parts as are found and vigorous. *Theon* blames his digressions as too long, and making the reader forget the main subject. *Quintilian*, and with him most of the antients agree, that he wrote in the stile of an orator rather than of an historian. His history of *Philip* consisted of 58 books, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Photius* inform us, and not of 72, as *Suidas* affirms. These *Philip* of *Macedon*, the father of *Perseus*, reduced to 16, by retrenching the many digressions with which he had filled them. His history of the *Peloponnesian* war was comprised in 11 books, according to the anonymous author of the *Olympiads*, in 12, according to *Suidas*. He began where *Thucydides* left off, and ended with the sea-fight near *Cnidus*. Some authors have ascribed to him the eighth book of *Thucydides*; but this opinion is rejected by *Marcellinus*. *Anaximenes of Lampascus* published an history under his name, which was looked upon as a spurious piece. *Photius* epitomized one of the books of his history; and

this epitome is the only part of his works that has reached our times. The same *Photius* gives a very particular account of his birth, education, manner of life, works, &c. which it would be too tedious to insert here (41).

*Theocritus* was contemporary with *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*, and wrote, as *Suidas* witnesses, some learned epistles, and the history of *Libya*. *Strabo* (42) calls him a sophist, and ranks him and *Theopompus* among the illustrious men of *Chios*, who, with mutual emulation, strove for the administration of affairs in their republic. This perhaps is the *Theocritus*, whom *Fulgentius* quotes in his *mythology*, in the fable of *Perseus* and the *Gorgons* (43).

*Metrodorus* flourished in the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Persia*, and was, according to *Suidas*, preceptor to *Hippocrates* and *Anaxarchus*. He was by profession a philosopher and a physician, and wrote several books relating to physic, which are often quoted by *Pliny*. *Athenæus* informs us, that he likewise wrote a book intitled *Troica*; but none of his works have reached us.

(41) Vide *Photium biblioth. cod. 177. Fulgentius, l. ii.*

(42) *Strabo, l. xiv.*

(43) *Ful-*

assistance, and under the direction of *Isocrates*, they new-modelled their republic, forming it on the plan of that of *Athens* <sup>p</sup>; but they did not long enjoy the blessings of liberty, being, like the other small states of *Greece*, brought under subjection by their domestic tyrants. *Athenæus* speaks of *Amphicus* and *Polytechnus*,<sup>q</sup> as the first who aspired to the sovereignty of the island, and assumed all the power into their own hands <sup>r</sup>. In the reigns of *Sadyattes* and *Halyattes* kings of *Lydia*, they assisted the *Milesians* against these princes, remembering, says *Herodotus*, that the *Milesians* had assisted them in their wars with the *Erythæans* <sup>r</sup>; but neither the occasion, nor the success, of this war have been transmitted to us. After the defeat of *Cræsus* by *Cyrus*, they submitted, with the other islanders, to the conqueror, and even delivered up to him *Pactyas* the *Lydian*, who had stirred up his countrymen to revolt against the *Persians*. This *Pactyas*, not finding himself in a condition to make head against *Mazares*, whom *Cyrus* had sent against him, fled for refuge to the city of *Cyme*. The *Cymeans*, being unwilling to deliver him up to *Mazares*, and, on the other hand, not caring to draw a war upon themselves by protecting him, sent him to *Mitylene*; but the *Mityleneans*, at the request of *Mazares*, agreeing to deliver him into the hands of the *Persians*, the *Cymeans* dispatched a vessel to *Lesbos*, and transported him to *Chios*. The *Chians*, terrified at the threatening messages of *Mazares*, dragging him from the very altar of *Minerva*, the tutelary goddess of their city, put him into the hands of *Mazares*, who, for their ready compliance with his request, bestowed upon them the city of *Atarneus* in *Mysia*, over-against *Lesbos*, with its territory. Our historian adds, that, for many years after, the *Chians* declined using in their sacrifices the growth of lands thus acquired, looking upon the corn and fruits of *Atarneus* as unhallowed, and not fit to be offered to the gods <sup>s</sup>. Being reduced by the *Persians*, they were, like the other islanders, employed by them in all their naval expeditions. They served *Darius*, as the same historian tells us, in his expedition against the *Scythians*; on which occasion *Strattias*, styled by *Herodotus* tyrant of *Chios*, signalized his affection to that prince, by strenuously opposing such of the *Ionians* as were for abandoning him, and returning home.

IN the *Ionian* revolt the *Chians* readily joined *Aristagoras*, shook off the *Persian* yoke, and equipped an hundred ships, each of which had forty chosen citizens on board. In the

<sup>p</sup> DIONYS. in vita Isocrat. <sup>q</sup> ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 6. <sup>r</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 15, 16. See vol. vi. p. 118. <sup>s</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 160. <sup>t</sup> Idem l. iv. c. 138. & l. viii. c. 132.



Many  
murdered  
by the  
Ephesians.

Punished  
with  
great se-  
verity by  
the Per-  
sians.

Two great  
misfor-  
tunes befall  
them.

sea-fight at *Lade* they distinguished themselves in a very particular manner ; for the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and most of the other *Ionians*, betaking themselves to flight in the very beginning of the engagement, the *Chians* fought to the last, took many of the enemy's ships, and gave such proofs of their valour and zeal for the common cause, that, had the other *Ionians* followed their example, *Ionis* had been that day delivered from the *Persian* yoke ; but, as they were abandoned by all their allies, except eleven *Samian* ships, they were at last overpowered, and obliged to save themselves, by running their ships aground at *Mycale* ; whence they marched into the territory of *Ephesus*. As they arrived in the neighbourhood of the city by night, while the women were celebrating the rites of *Ceres*, the *Ephesians*, not knowing what had happened, and seeing an armed multitude making towards them, took them for robbers come to strip the women, and, without examining further into the matter, falling out of the city with their whole force, killed all the *Chians* on the spot <sup>v</sup>. Nor did the misfortunes of *Chios* end here ; for *Histiæus*, after the defeat of the *Ionians*, retiring to *Chios*, and not being received there, attacked those who opposed him, and, with the assistance of the *Lesbians*, reduced the whole island, the *Chians* being greatly weakened by the loss they had sustained in the fight at sea. Thus were the *Chians* rewarded by *Histiæus*, who had been the chief cause of their revolt, and whom they had assisted to the utmost of their power, in hopes of rescuing their country, under his command, from the *Persian* bondage. *Histiæus*, not being able to keep possession of the island, abandoned it to the *Persians*, who punished the *Chians* with the utmost severity. The most handsome of their youths they made eunuchs, and their daughters they sent to the king of *Persia*, after having destroyed both their houses and temples, ravaged their territories, and reduced the few inhabitants that remained to a state of slavery <sup>w</sup>.

BEFORE this last catastrophe, two great misfortunes befall the *Chians*, which our historian looks upon as previous signs of the many calamities they were to suffer from the *Persians*. They had sent an hundred young men of the chief families of the island to *Delphi*, perhaps with some offering ; but of that number two only returned home, all the rest dying of the plague. Not long before the sea-fight off of *Lade*, the school where their youth were educated falling down, buried an hundred and nineteen of them in the ruins <sup>x</sup>. Thus they continued subject to the *Persians*, whom they assisted with a

<sup>v</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 15, 16, 26.    <sup>w</sup> Idem ibid.    <sup>x</sup> Idem ibid. c. 27.

considerable squadron in their expedition against Greece, till the battle of *Mycale*, when they revolted with the other *Ionians*, and entered into an alliance with the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* against the common enemy <sup>y</sup>. The *Chians*, being thus delivered from the *Persian* yoke, and restored to their antient liberty, flourished, if we believe *Thucydides*, above all the states of Greece, *Lacedæmon* alone excepted <sup>z</sup>. When the supreme command was, by the unanimous consent of the allies, conferred upon the *Athenians*, the *Chians*, who greatly contributed thereunto, were favoured by the *Athenians* above the other allies, being exempted from all manner of tribute, and obliged only to furnish a certain number of ships <sup>a</sup>. They continued faithful to the *Athenians* till the twentieth *Side some-* year of the *Peloponnesian* war, when they revolted to the *La-* times with *cedæmonians*, upon the dreadful overthrow received by the the *Athe-* *Athenians* in *Sicily*; and though in this they acted, as *Thucy-* nians, and *dides* owns, a very prudent part, yet they were, after the sometimes loss of three battles, constrained to return to their antient alliance, in which they continued till the social war, when, Lacedæ- growing weary of their alliance with *Athens*, they joined the monians. *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, with a design to throw off They join the *Athenian* yoke, and set themselves free. In this they in the so- were attended with better success than they had been in their cial war. former revolt; for, after having maintained the war three years, they concluded a peace almost upon their own terms <sup>b</sup>, as we have related in the history of *Athens* <sup>c</sup>.

FROM this time they enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity till the downfall of the *Persian* empire, when they, together with the other Greek states in *Europe* and *Asia*, became subject to the *Macedonian* princes. Their city was be- Chios be- sieged, and reduced to great streights, by *Philip* the father of sieged in *Perfes*, who, finding he could not take it by force, pro- vain by- claimed liberty to all the slaves who should revolt, and, be- Philip- sides, promised them their masters wives in marriage; but, notwithstanding this offer, not one single slave, and there were more slaves in the city of *Chios* than in any other of Greece, attempted to revolt, or betray their masters: where- upon *Philip* was obliged to break up the siege, after he had lost a great number of his men <sup>d</sup>. In the war which the *Æolians* waged with the same *Philip*, and *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, they sided with the former, which cost them dear, their territories being laid waste, and all the open places in the island utterly destroyed by the troops of the confederate

<sup>y</sup> Idem ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi.

<sup>z</sup> THUCYD. l. viii.

<sup>a</sup> Idem, l. vi.

<sup>b</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. Univers.

vol. vi. p. 509, & seqq.

<sup>d</sup> ARRIAN, l. iii.

Declared  
friends  
and allies  
of the peo-  
ple of  
Rome.

Made by  
Vespasian  
a Roman  
province.

Icaria.

princes. Afterwards they assisted the *Romans* in their wars against *Philip*, his son *Perſis*, and *Antiochus* ſurnamed the Great, king of *Syria*, and were, for their eminent ſervices, not only declared free, but honoured with the title of friends and allies of the people of *Rome*. They were ſtrangely oppreſſed and loaded with taxes by *Zenobius*, one of *Mithridates Eupator's* lieutenants, for reſuſing to join that prince againſt the *Romans*, but amply rewarded by *Sylla*, after he had overthrown *Mithridates*, for their attachment to the intereſt of *Rome*. The *Roman* general reſtored them to the full enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges, which they maintained undiſturbed, living in great eaſe and plenty till the reign of *Vepſaſian*, who reduced *Chios*, with the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, to a *Roman* province; but, at the ſame time, allowed the *Chians* to live according to their own laws, under the ſuperintendence of a *Roman* prætor, whoſe province comprehended all the iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, from the mouth of the *Helleſpont* to *Rhodes* (F).

*ICARIA*, now *Nicaria*, lies about twenty miles weſt of *Samos*, and is, according to *Strabo*, three hundred furlongs, that is, thirty-ſeven miles and an half in circumference. It was antiently called *Doliebe*, *Macris*, and *Iſchiſſæſa* (G). *Icaria*, if we believe *Strabo*, was never well peopled; however, it had two pretty conſiderable towns, viz. *Dracanoz* and *Ænoe*. It had good paſture-ground, and was, on that account, as the ſame writer tells us, of great uſe to the *Squmians*, who were long maſters of it. The inhabitants of *Icaria* were particularly addicted to the worſhip of *Diana*: whence *Callimachus* did not ſcruple to ſay, that the goddeſs took more delight in the iſland of *Icaria*, than in any other of the *Ægean* ſea. He alluded, without doubt, to the famous

† *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 443.

(F) Several ſmall iſlands lie round *Chios*, which were formerly ſubject to that ſtate, viz. *Thaſſa* or *Daphnuſa*, *Oenufa*, *Elapbitis*, *Eurynaſſus*; and over-againſt *Ephelus*, at a greater diſtance from *Chios*, the iſlands of *Piſiſtratus*, as *Pliny* ſtiles them, viz. *Anthina*, *Myonueſos*, and *Diarrheuſa* (10) Theſe iſlands are alſo mentioned by *Thucydides* (11). *Strobo*, &c (12).

(G) The name of *Icaria* it is

ſuppoſed to have borrowed from *Icarus* the ſon of *Dædalus*, who is ſaid to have been drowned near this iſland, whence the neighbouring ſea took the name of the *Icarian* ſea, which, according to *Pliny*, extends from *Samos* to *Mycone*. *Bochart* derives the name of *Icaria* from the *Phœnician* word *Icaure*, which ſignifies full of fiſh, and agrees with the name of *Ichthueſſa*, given to this iſland by the antient *Greeks*.

(10) *Plin. l. v. c. 34.*

(11) *Thucyd. viii.*

(12) *Strab. l. xiv. p. 443.*

temple

temple erected by the *Icarians* in honour of *Diana*, and called by the antients *Tauropolium* (S).

PATMOS, or, as others write it, *Pathmos*, lies forty-five miles south of *Icaria*, and is, according to *Pliny*, thirty, according to our modern geographers, only eighteen miles in compass. It is a barren, mountainous, and rocky country. It had formerly, and has still, several safe and capacious harbours; that which is now called port *La Scala*, is one of the best in the *Archipelago*. Near this harbour are to be seen some pieces of broken columns, which the antiquaries reckon the most antient in the *Archipelago*. The chief town of this island, as *Galen* informs us, bore likewise the name of *Patmos*. The *Romans* used this island as a place of banishment, under which punishment St. *John* resided here, and wrote his revelations. The present inhabitants pretend to shew the house he lived in, which they call the *Apocalypse*. *Patmos* is now known by the name of *Palmosa*.

LEROS is a small island, about eighteen miles in compass, lying south of *Patmos*. It was antiently very populous, and furnished the neighbouring countries with albes <sup>k</sup>. It had formerly two convenient havens. The inhabitants, called *Lerii*, were reckoned very corrupt by the antients. *Pharmacusa* is placed by *Stephanus* over-against *Miletus*. In this island king *Attalus* was killed, and near it *Julius Cæsar* taken prisoner by the pirates <sup>l</sup>. Between *Pharmacusa* and the continent, over against *Miletus*, is the island of *Lade*, mentioned by *Thucydides* <sup>m</sup>, *Strabo* <sup>n</sup>, *Pausanias* <sup>o</sup>, *Herodotus* <sup>p</sup>, *Arrian* <sup>q</sup>, &c. It was antiently called *Lade*, as *Pliny* informs us, and inhabited by the *Ionians* <sup>r</sup>. *Minyia*, *Arceusie*, *Belgicis*, *Amorgus*, and *Caryanda*, are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and placed between *Patmos* and *Cos*. Some geographers have placed *Caryanda* in a lake near the coast of *Ionis*; but *Pliny*, and *Scylax*, who was a native of this island, counted among the other islands of the *Archipelago*.

COS, *Coos*, or *Cous*, situated by *Pliny* among the *Cos*. most considerable islands of the *Ægean*, or rather *Ægean* sea. It was formerly known by the names of *Nierope*, *Cea*,

<sup>k</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>l</sup> SUET. c. 4. PLUT. in ejus vita.

<sup>m</sup> THUCYD. l. viii. p. 561.

<sup>n</sup> STRABO, l. xiv. p. 437.

<sup>o</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis, c. 35.

<sup>p</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c.

<sup>q</sup> ARRIAN,

*xi. p. 52.*

<sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. v. c. 31.

<sup>s</sup> PLIN. l. v.

(S) Some medals of this island are still to be seen, representing *Diana* in the attire of a huntress, and on the reverse a woman on a bull, whom some take for

*Europa*; but *Nonius* is of opinion, that the woman represents the same *Diana*, and the bull the richness of the pastures for which this island was once famous.

*Nymphæa*, and *Caris*. It lies, according to some, in the *Carpathian*, according to others, in the *Myrtoan* sea, at a small distance from the coast of *Caria*, and fifteen miles from *Halicarnassus*. It was once very famous for its excellent wines, which are highly commended by all the antients. *Strabo* and *Pliny* agree in making it about eighty miles in compass. The chief city of the island was first called *Astyralæ*, and afterwards *Cos*. This city is mentioned by *Homer*, who calls it a place well peopled. *Strabo* speaks of a stately temple erected by the *Coans* in honour of *Æsculapius*, the tutelary god of their island, and enriched with offerings and presents of great value; but the chief ornament of the place was a *Venus* rising out of the sea, done by *Apelles*, and reckoned one of his best performances. This inimitable piece was by *Augustus* conveyed to *Rome*, and there dedicated to *Cæsar*, *Venus* being reckoned the mother of the *Julian* family. To make some amends to the *Coans* for the loss of so valuable a treasure, the same *Augustus* eased them of a considerable part of their annual tribute<sup>t</sup>. This island was, in the *Roman* times, famous for a kind of fine stuff, which was in great request among the women of distinction at *Rome*. It covered them indeed, says the historian, but, at the same time, shewed them naked<sup>u</sup>; and hence it is so much spoken of, and inveighed against, by the *Latin* poets<sup>w</sup> (T).

THIS

<sup>t</sup> STRABO, l. xiv. p. 452. <sup>u</sup> VILL. PATERC. l. i. <sup>w</sup> HORAT. l. iv. od. 13. PROPERT. l. i. eleg. 7. TIBULL. l. iii. eleg. 4. & 6.

(T) Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the many great men it has produced, viz. *Hippocrates* the reviver of physic, *Senius* another famous physician, *Ariston* a *Peripatetic* philosopher, and *Apelles* the so much celebrated painter. To these we may add *Siphobus*, who is said to have been secretary to *Teucer*, and to have possessed the records of the *Trojan* war, which *Homer* made use of. He is mentioned by *Tzetzes*, and in a manuscript chronology quoted by the learned *Leo Allatius*. As to *Hippocrates*, he learned, if we believe *Pliny* (34), the first rudiments of phy-

fic, by perusing certain tablets called by the *Latins* *tabellæ votivæ*, which were hung up in the temples; for, agreeable to an antient custom, which prevailed all over *Greece*, such as recovered from any distemper, used to write on a tablet the nature and symptoms of their respective maladies, and the remedies which had been attended with most success. These tablets *Hippocrates* is said to have copied and followed when he first began to practise. A tablet of this nature was discovered at *Rome*, not many years ago, among the ruins of the antient temple of *Æsculapius*, with this

THIS island was, according to *Homer* and *Strabo*, inhabited by *Greeks* before the *Trojan* war, a colony of *Dorians* having passed over into it from the continent <sup>x</sup>. The *Coans* were *its* first governed by kings, among whom we find mention made *vernment*, of *Eurypylus* contemporary with *Hercules*; of *Chaclon*, *Anti-* and *various for-* *phus*, and *Phidippus*. The two latter are said by *Homer* and *Theocritus* to have served at the siege of *Troy*. The kingly *tunes*. government gave room to a democracy, and this, as *Aristotle* informs us <sup>y</sup>, to an aristocracy, which was abolished by some private men, who, taking the whole power into their hands, governed with an absolute sway. Among these *Nicippus* and *Scythes* are mentioned by *Ælian* <sup>z</sup>. *Hippocrates*, in one of his letters, tells us, that the *Coans* refused to give earth and water to the messengers of *Darius* and *Xerxes*; but this does not agree with what we read in *Herodotus*, who counts the *Coans* among the *Greeks* who served as auxiliaries in the army of *Xerxes* <sup>a</sup>. In the twentieth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, the city of *Cos*, as we read in *Thucydides* <sup>b</sup>, was thrown down by an earthquake, the most violent one that had ever happened in those parts.

SOON after this calamity, before they had time to repair the walls of their city, *Astyochus* the *Lacedæmonian*, making a descent on the island (for the *Coans* sided with the *Athenians*), laid waste the whole country, plundered the city, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains, and retired to *Cnidus* with an immense booty. When *Mithridates* commanded all the *Romans* in *Asia* to be massacred, the only place that shewed any regard to them was the island of *Cos*, where they were suffered to enjoy the common rights of asylum in the sacred places <sup>c</sup>. *Mithridates* soon after invaded the island, took the metropolis, and committed great devastations in their territory; but the *Coans* no sooner saw *Lucullus*, *Sylla's* questor, appear off their coast, than they rose up in arms, drove out the king's garison, and received the *Romans*, by whom they were amply rewarded, *Sylla* having exempted them from all manner of tribute, and allowed them to live

<sup>x</sup> STRABO, l. xiv.    <sup>y</sup> ARISTOT. polit. l. v. c. 3.    <sup>z</sup> ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. i. c. 29.    <sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. vii. c. 61.    <sup>b</sup> THUCYD. l. viii.    <sup>c</sup> VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 2. PLUT. in *Sylla*. DIO, legat. xxxvi. MEMNON, c. 33.

inscription in Greek; Julianus of three days with honey, restored being afflicted with vomiting of him to his health; for which favour blood, and abandoned by men, the he came to return them thanks gods hastened to his relief, and in the presence of the people. having nourished him for the space

according to their own laws <sup>d</sup>. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Coans* continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, did them many good services, and greatly contributed to some victories gained by their fleets. However, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find them, like the other *Greek* states, paying an annual tribute to *Rome*, which that emperor eased them of, in compliance with the request of *Xenophon* his physician, whom he pretended to be one of the descendents of *Æsculapius* <sup>e</sup>. This immunity from all impositions, taxes, and tributes, they enjoyed till the reign of *Vespasian*, who, reducing them to a *Roman* province, exacted the same tribute from them as from the other *Asiatic* islands. *Strabo* tells us, that the island of *Nisyra*, formerly called *Porphiris*, was once joined to *Cos* <sup>f</sup>, but separated from it by the violence of the winds and seas. This island is sixty furlongs from *Cos*, and as many from *Telos*, being, according to *Strabo*, eighty furlongs in compass. *Carpathus* lies between *Rhodes* and *Crete* in the sea, which, from this island, is called the *Carpathian* sea, and has, to the north, the *Ionian*, to the south the *Egyptian*, to the west the *Cretan* and *African* seas <sup>g</sup>. This island is two hundred furlongs in compass, and an hundred in length <sup>h</sup>. It had antiently, according to *Strabo*, four cities; according to *Scylax* only three. *Ptolemy* mentions but one, which he calls *Posidium*. This island is now called *Scarpanto* (U).

Nisyra.

Carpathus.

Islands in the Cretan sea.

THE *Cretan* sea is properly that part of the *Ægean* sea which lies about *Crete*, and formerly belonged, together with the islands it contained, to the *Cretans*. These islands are, *Claude*, *Dia*, *Letoa*, *Agilia*, *Calymna*, *Astypalæa*, *Thera*, &c.

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.<sup>e</sup> TACITUS annal. l. xii.<sup>f</sup> STRABO,

l. x. prope finem.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>h</sup> Idem ibid. & SCYLAX,

p. 93.

(U) Divers other islands lie dispersed on this coast, and are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Thucydides*, &c. viz. *Casos*, eighty furlongs in compass; *Syme*, over-against the continent of *Caria*, between *Lorima* and *Cnidus*; *Chalæ*, distant from *Carpathus* 400 furlongs; *Telos*, over-against *Triopium*, 140 furlongs in circuit; *Arconnesus*, lying off of *Halicarnassus*, with several other islands mentioned by *Pliny*

(13) in the *Ceramic* gulf, that is, in the sea between the city of *Halicarnassus* and the island of *Cos*. This bay was so called from the city of *Ceramus*, which *Pliny* places in the island of *Arconnesus*; but all other geographers on the continent, between *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*. This bay is called by some writers the *Ceraunian* bay, and the city from which it borrowed its name, *Ceraunus* (14).

(13) *Plin.* l. iv. c. 12. (14) *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 451. *Pomp. Mela*, l. i. c. 16.

*Claude*, which is mentioned in the *Aëts* <sup>1</sup>, and had, in *Pliny's* time, a city called *Gaulos*, now *Goza*, lies south of *Crete*. *Dia*, now *Standia*, is about three leagues distant from *Crete*, and rather a rock than an island. *Letoa* is now known by the name of *Cristina*, and *Ægilia* by that of *Cerigo*. The former lies near *Crete*; the other not far from *Peloponnesus*. *Calymna* is celebrated by the antients for its excellent honey <sup>m</sup>. *Astypalæa*, now *Stampala*, lies off the south-west coast of *Cos*, is about sixty miles in compass, and had formerly a city bearing the same name, with two safe harbours.

*THERA* is placed by *Strabo* between *Crete* and *Egypt*, and *Thera* said to be twenty-five miles in compass; but the modern geographers more rightly place it between *Crete* and the *Cyclades*, and allow it thirty-six miles in circuit, wherein they agree with *Stephanus Byzantinus*. This island was first peopled by the *Phœnicians*; for *Cadmus*, as *Herodotus* <sup>n</sup>, *Pausanias* <sup>o</sup>, and *Strabo* <sup>p</sup>, inform us, arriving here in search of his sister *Europa*, left some of his followers under the command of his kinsman *Membliares* to people the island, which was then called *Callista*. This name it changed in process of time to that of *Thera*, from *Theras* the *Lacedæmonian*, the son of *So* called *Autefion*, and grandson of *Tisamenes*, who led into this island from a colony of *Lacedæmonians* and *Mynians* (X). *Herodotus* *Theras*. names

<sup>1</sup> *Aëts* xxvii. 16. <sup>m</sup> *POMP. MELA*, p. 213. *OID. metam.* l. viii. ver. 222. <sup>n</sup> *HERODOT.* l. iv. c. 147. <sup>o</sup> *PAUSAN.* l. iii. & vii. <sup>p</sup> *STRABO*, l. viii.

(X) The story is thus related by *Herodotus* (15); the *Argonauts*, on their return from *Colchis*, stopped at *Lemnos*, where their posterity retained the name of *Mynians*. These, being driven out of *Lemnos* by the *Pelasgians*, failed to *Lacedæmon*, and, arriving at *Taygetus*, landed there. When the *Lacedæmonians* heard of their arrival, they dispatched a messenger to inquire who they were, and whence they came. They answered, that they were *Mynians*, descended from those heroes who had attended *Jason* to *Colchis*. The *Lacedæmonians*, understanding that they were of *Minyan* extraction, sent another messenger to inquire with what design they had larded in their territories. To this they answered, that, being expelled *Lemnos* by the *Pelasgians*, they were desirous to return to, and settle in, the country of their ancestors. The *Lacedæmonians* readily complied with their desire, allowing them to share with them their lands and privileges, and even to marry *Lacedæmonian* women; but, not long after, these newcomers conspired to seize on the lands of the antient proprietors, and usurp the supreme authority; but, their plot being discovered,

(15) *Herodot.* ubi supra, & c. 141,



*Æsanus* viz. *Æsanus* and his son *Grynus*. The latter went to *Delphi*, to sacrifice an hecatomb in honour of *Apollo*, attended by the most eminent citizens of the place, among whom was *Battus* the son of *Polymnestus* or *Cyrnus*, a man of great distinction among the *Mynians*. While *Theras* consulted the oracle about other affairs, the *Pythian* commanded him to build a city in *Libya*; from the execution of which command he excused himself on account of his age, desiring the oracle to employ therein some of the young men there present, and at the same time pointing to *Battus*. On their return they slighted the oracle, nor did they know in what part of the world *Libya* was; but a drought, which lasted seven years in *Thera*, and destroyed all the trees in the island, except one, obliged the king to return to the oracle, which commanded them again to build a town in *Libya*, and send a colony thither. Thus, seeing no end of their calamity, they dispatched some of their citizens to *Crete*, with orders to inquire, whether any of the *Cretans*, or other inhabitants of that island, had ever been in *Libya*. These messengers travelling from place to place, arrived in the city of *Itanus*, where having met with one *Corobius* a dyer of purple, who told them, that he had, by distress of weather, been driven

they were all apprehended, and sentenced to die. As the sentence, according to the custom of the country, was to be put in execution in the night, the wives of the *Mynians*, who were daughters to the principal persons of *Sparta*, asked leave to take their last farewell of their husbands, which being granted, they changed their garments with them, the women remaining in prison, and the men making their escape, disguised like women, to the city of *Taygetus*. At this time *Theras*, who had been regent of the kingdom of *Sparta* during the minority of his nephews *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, the sons of *Aristodemus*, having resigned to them the government, and not liking to obey after he had tasted the pleasure of commanding, declared his resolution

to leave *Lacedæmon*, and settle in the island of *Callista*, which was then held by the *Phœnicians*. As the *Lacedæmonians* pursued the *Mynians* to *Taygetus*, with a design to seize them there, and put them to death, pursuant to the sentence pronounced against them, *Theras* interceded in their behalf, promising to transport them out of the country, and by that means free the *Lacedæmonians* from their troublesome guests. The *Lacedæmonians* complied with his desire, and *Theras*, with the *Mynians*, and a great many of his countrymen, set sail to *Callista*, where they all settled. Thus was the island peopled, first by the *Phœnicians*, and afterwards by the *Mynians* and *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Theras*.

to an island of *Libya* called *Plataea*, they prevailed upon him, with the promise of a great reward, to go with them to *Thera*. The *Theræans* found means to persuade him to conduct a small number of men to the island of *Plataea*, whence they soon returned to give an account of the place to their countrymen, leaving *Corobius* there with provisions for two months; but, as they did not return within the time appointed, *Corobius* was reduced to the last extremity, when a ship from *Samos*, bound homewards from *Egypt*, arrived in the harbour. The *Samians*, being informed by *Corobius* of all that had happened, left him subsistence for a year; during which time the *Theræans* returned with a numerous colony, and, having divided the lands among them, chose *Battus* for their king. *Battus*, seeing himself raised to this dignity, made many wise laws, governed his new kingdom with great prudence, and built a city, which, by order of the oracle, he called *Cyrene*. *Cyrene* in *Libya* This city, in process of time, became very famous, and one of the most powerful states of *Africa*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history <sup>1</sup>. *founded by the Theræans.*

THE islands of *Thera* and *Melos* were the only two places, that, in the *Peloponnesian* war, sided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and held out to the last against the *Athenians*, though solicited, with advantageous offers, to join the other islands. *Thera* made then, as *Herodotus* informs us <sup>2</sup>, a very considerable figure, was well peopled, and had no fewer than seven cities of no small note (Y).

## THERE

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. *ibid.* c. 151.<sup>2</sup> *Idem ibid.*

(Y) It has still five towns pretty well peopled, *viz.* *Apanomeria*, *Scaro* or *Castro*, *Pyrgos*, *Emporio* or *Nebio*, and *Acroteri*. Near *Apanomeria* is a capacious harbour, in the shape of an half-moon; but ships cannot anchor in it, no bottom having ever yet been found. In this harbour there are two small islands, and at a little distance from it two others, called by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Seneca*, *Hiera* or *Automate*, and *Therastia*. *Seneca* tells us (1), that the island of *Therastia* appeared first in his time; and *Pliny* (2) speaks of another, which he calls *Thia*, and places near *Hiera*, as quite new. This island, says he, has been seen issuing out of the sea in our days; and *Justin* (3) tells us, that, in his time, a great earthquake happening between the islands of *Thera* and *Therastia*, a new island appeared here in the reign of *Claudian*, which *Aurelius Victor* (4) calls a considerable island, and *Syncellus* mentions as appearing first in the for-

(1) *Seneca quæst. natural. l. vi. c. 21. l. xxx. c. 4.*(4) *Auel. Victor in Claud.*(2) *Plin. l. ii. c. 77.*(3) *Justin.*

THERE are still to be seen in *Thera* the ruins of the temples of *Neptune* and *Minerva* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and the scholiast of *Pindar*. The island was consecrated to *Apollo*, and thence is called by *Pindar*, *The holy island* <sup>c</sup>. The many inscriptions that are still remaining, shew, that this

<sup>c</sup> PINDAR. od. 4.

ty-sixth year of the Christian æra. *Cedrenus* (5) tells us, that in the tenth year of *Leo Isauricus* there appeared, for some days together, a thick fog between the islands of *Thera* and *Therassia*, and a smoke, as if a burning kiln or furnace were rising up; and that, on a sudden, there appeared, floating on the surface of the water, a new island, which at last fastened to the island of *Hiera*, and considerably increased its bulk. At the same time such vast quantities of pumice stone were cast up, as covered the coasts of *Macedon* and *Asia*, as far as the *Dardanelles*. This happened, according to *Theophanes*, in the year of Christ 712, according to *Nicephorus*, in 720. A modern writer, who describes the island of *Thera*, called by the present inhabitants *Santorin*, tells us, that, in his time, there were many old men in the island, who assured him, that they had seen, in 1573, a violent fire break out of the sea, and soon after a new island appear, which from thence they called *Micri Cammeni*, that is, *The little burnt island* (6). This seems to confirm what *Strabo* says (7), viz. That in his time the sea, between *Thera* and *Therassia* was observed to boil four days together; and that an island 1500 paces in compass sud-

denly appeared, as if it had been plucked up by engines from the bottom of the water. A modern traveller tells us, that, a few years before his arrival in the island, an immense quantity of pumice-stone arose out of the harbour of *Thera*, with such a dreadful noise, that at *Scio*, which is above 200 miles distant from *Thera*, they imagined the *Venetian* and *Ottoman* fleets had engaged (8). In 1707 a new island appeared, if we may credit the accounts from the *Levant*, near *Santorin* or *Thera*, which was two miles in circuit at its first appearance, and was a few months after considerably increased by additional rocks cast up in violent earthquakes by the sea. The present inhabitants of *Thera* never fail to acquaint strangers, that the many rocks which are seen about their island, were all brought into the world by earthquakes. *Pliny* tells us (9), that *Thera* itself first appeared after a violent earthquake; and that *Thia*, which is but two furlongs from it, was cast up by the sea in his time, on the eighth of the *ides* of *July*, *M. Junius Silanus* and *L. Balbus* being then consuls. What *Pliny* advances is vouched by many other ancient writers.

(5) *Cedren. compend. ann. Christi. 713. of St. Ermi.*  
L. n. c. 87.

(7) *Strab. l. 4.*

(6) *Father Richards, in his account of Thewent, c. 68.*

(9) *Plin.*

island made no small figure even in the Roman times. It is now known by the name of *Santorin* or *Santorino*, probably derived from St. *Irene*, the tutelary saint of the island. These are the chief islands in the *Ægean*, *Icarian*, and *Cretan* seas on the coasts of *Asia*. We shall now proceed to the *Cyclades*,<sup>The Cy-</sup> the number and order of which is, according to *Strabo* <sup>f</sup>, as <sup>clades.</sup> follows; *Helena*, *Ceos*, *Cythus*, *Seriphus*, *Melos*, *Siphnus*, *Cimolis*, *Prepesinthus*, *Olearus*, *Naxos*, *Parus*, *Syrus*, *Myconus*, *Tenus*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. Most of these islands lie south of *Delos*; so that this is not strictly in the midst of the *Cyclades*, as the antients seem to have supposed.

*HELENA*, now *Macronisi*, was antiently known by the *Helena*. names of *Macris* and *Cranæ*; but that of *Helena* prevailed over the other two, and was borrowed, according to *Strabo* <sup>g</sup>, *Pausanias* <sup>h</sup>, and *Stephanus*, from the Grecian beauty of that name, *Paris* having stopped some time with her in this island. It is about three miles in breadth, and eight in length, whence it is called the *Long island*. *Pliny* says it was separated from the island of *Eubæa* by an earthquake. It is a barren and inhospitable place, being covered over with a deep sand, and having but one spring, and that, as our modern travellers inform us, but a very poor one. Some have been of opinion, that this island was never inhabited; but *Goltzius* mentions two medals relating to its antient inhabitants. It is separated from the continent of *Attica* by a streight eight miles over <sup>i</sup>.

*CEOS*, *Cea*, or *Cia*, lies opposite to the promontory of *Ceos*. *Achaia* called *Sunium*, and is fifty miles in compass <sup>k</sup>. This island is commended by the antients on account of its fertility, and richness of its pastures <sup>l</sup>. The first silk-stuffs, if *Pliny* and *Solinus* are to be credited, were wrought here. *Ceos* was particularly famous for the excellent figs it produced, as the same *Pliny* informs us <sup>m</sup>. It was first peopled by *Aristæus* the son of *Apollo* and *Cyrene*, who, being grieved for the death of his son *Actæon*, retired from *Thebes*, at the persuasion of his mother, and went over with some *Thebans* to *Ceos*, at that time uninhabited <sup>n</sup>. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he retired to the island of *Cos*; but the antients, as *Servius* observes, called both these islands by the same name of *Cos*. Be that as it will, the island of *Ceos* became so populous, that a law obtained there, commanding all persons upwards of sixty to be poisoned, that others might have wherewithal to subsist; so that none above sixty were to be seen in the island, being

<sup>f</sup> STRABO, l. x. p. 334.    <sup>g</sup> Ibid. l. ix. p. 275.    <sup>h</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis.    <sup>i</sup> STRABO, l. x.    <sup>k</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.    <sup>l</sup> Idem ibid. & VIRG. georg. l. i. ver. 14.    <sup>m</sup> PLIN. l. xvi. c. 27.    <sup>n</sup> SERVIUS in Virg. georg. l. i.

obliged, after they arrived at that age, either to submit to the law, or abandon the country, leaving all their effects behind them \*. *Ceos* had, in former times, four famous cities, viz. *Julis*, *Carthæa*, *Coreffus*, and *Præeffa*. The two latter were, according to *Pliny*, swallowed up by an earthquake †. The other two flourished in *Strabo*'s time. *Carthæa* stood on a rising ground, at the end of a valley, about three miles from the sea. The situation of it, as described by *Strabo*, agrees with that of the present town of *Zia*, which gives name to the whole island. The ruins both of *Carthæa* and *Julis* are still remaining; those of the latter take up a whole mountain, and are called by the modern inhabitants *Polis*, that is, the city. Near this place are to be seen the ruins of a stately temple, with a great many pieces of broken pillars and statues of most exquisite workmanship. The walls of the city were of marble, and some pieces are still remaining above twelve feet in length. *Julis* was, according to *Strabo*, the birth-place of *Simonides*, *Bacchylides*, *Erasistratus*, and *Aristo* (U).  
The

\* STRAB. l. x. ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. iii. c. 37. † PLIN. ubi sup.

(U) The antients mention two great men natives of *Ceos*, both bearing the name of *Simonides*. The elder, the son of one *Leopredes*, was born in the fifty-sixth Olympiad, and died in the seventy-eighth, and in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He wrote in the Doric dialect the history of *Cambyfes* and *Darius Hytaspis*, and described in Lyric verses the battles of *Artemisium* and *Salamis*. He is said to have added to the Greek alphabet the four letters H, Ω, Ξ, Ψ. He had, according to *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and *Quintilian*, a particular talent in moving his readers to compassion; and to this probably *Catullus* alluded in the following lines :

*Paulum quidlibet adlocutionis  
Mæstis lacrymulis Simonideis.*

He was highly favoured by the greatest princes of Greece and Si-

cily, especially by *Pausanias* and *Hiero*. He wrote several books, a catalogue of which may be seen in *Suidas*, and the anonymous author of the chronology of the *Olympiads* (35). He carried the prize of poetry, probably in *Syracuse*, being then in the eightieth year of his age. After his death, the *Syracusians* erected a magnificent monument to his memory, which was afterwards demolished by *Phœnix* general of the *Agrigentines*. On this occasion *Callimachus* wrote a piece against *Phœnix*, wherein he introduced *Simonides* complaining of that general for not shewing the same regard to him, which *Castor* and *Pollux* had shewn, when they rescued him from the danger he was in of being crushed under the ruins of an house that was ready to fall, as *Phædrus* relates in his fables.

The other *Simonides* was grandson of *Simonides* the elder, and

(35) *Suidas* in lex. & anonym. *Olymp.* 82.

flourished

The *Oxford* marbles tell us <sup>q</sup>, that *Simonides*, the son of *Leoprepis*, invented a sort of artificial memory, whereof he shewed the principles at *Athens*, and add, that he was descended of another *Simonides*, who was a poet no less renowned than himself. One of these two poets invented those doleful verses, which are sung at funerals, and are called by the *Latins*, *nēniæ* <sup>r</sup>. *Strabo* tells us, that the *Athenians*, having besieged the city of *Julis*, raised the siege, upon advice, that the inhabitants had resolved to murder all the children under a certain age, that other useful persons might not be employed in looking after them <sup>s</sup>. *Geos* was, with the other *Greek* islands, subdued by the *Romans*, and bestowed upon the *Athenians* by *Marc Antony* the triumvir, together with *Ægina*, *Tinos*, and some other adjoining islands <sup>t</sup>, which were all reduced to one *Roman* province by *Vespasian*.

CYTHNUS, about twelve miles east of *Geos*, is counted, *Cythus*. by *Strabo*, among the most fruitful islands of the *Ægean* sea. It was the birth-place of *Cyadias*, an eminent painter mentioned by *Dionysius*, and his commentator *Eustathius*. The cheese of *Cythus* was, according to *Stephanus* and *Julius Pollux*, in great request among the antients. The island is now called *Thermia*, from the *Greek* word *Thermos*, signifying hot, by reason it abounds with hot springs, which are much commended by the antients. There are some remains of an antient and very magnificent city on the southern coast.

SERIPHUS, now *Serpho*, is a barren rock rather than an *Seriphus*. island, whence *Tacitus* calls it the *Seriphian* rock <sup>u</sup>. *Pliny*

<sup>q</sup> Epoch. 55. <sup>r</sup> Vide HORAT. l. ii. od. i. <sup>s</sup> STRABO, ubi supra. <sup>t</sup> APPIAN. l. i. <sup>u</sup> TACIT. annal. iv. c. 25.

flourished a little before the *Peloponnesian* war. He was, as *Suidas* informs us, author of the three books of inventions, and wrote as many of genealogies, whence the scholiast of *Apollo-nius* gives him the surname of the genealogist. *Bacchylides* was nearly related to *Simonides*, and wrote some tragedies. *Aristo* was a *Peripatetic* philosopher of no mean character. *Erasistratus* was an eminent physician, the grand-

son of *Aristotle*, and flourished under *Ptolemy Philadelphus* or *Antiochus Nicanor*. He is said to have been the first who discovered, that *Antiochus Soter* was in love with his mother-in-law *Stratonice*, as we shall relate in the history of that prince's reign. *Erasistratus* is mentioned by *Pliny* (36), *Plutarch* (37), *Appian* (38), *Gellius* (39), *Valerius Maximus* (40), &c.

(36) *Plin. l. xiv. c. 7. l. x. c. 9. l. xxvi. c. 2. l. xxix. c. 1.* (37) *Plur. in Demet.*  
(38) *Appian, in Syriac.* (39) *Aul. Cell. l. xvi. c. 3.*  
(40) *Val. Max. l. vi. c. 7.*

allows it only twelve miles in compass <sup>w</sup>; but, according to our modern travellers, it is thirty-six. The rugged and steep mountains of *Seriphus* gave the poets occasion to feign, that *Perseus* transformed the inhabitants into stones. *Strabo* tells us, that on this coast was found the chest, wherein *Acrisius* had shut up *Perseus* and his mother *Danae* <sup>x</sup>. *Origen* speaks of the inhabitants of this island with great contempt <sup>y</sup>; but *Herodotus* lets us know, that the inhabitants of *Seriphus*, *Siphnos*, and *Melos*, were the only islanders that refused to admit the fleet and troops of *Xerxes* <sup>z</sup> (X).

<sup>w</sup> *PLIN.* l. iv. c. 12.  
*Celf.* l. i.

<sup>x</sup> *STRABO*, l. x.

<sup>y</sup> *ORIGEN*, in

<sup>z</sup> *HERODOT.* l. viii. c. 41.

(X) The same author adds, that the *Seriphians* were originally *Athenians*, and that they assisted their countrymen with two galleys against the *Persians*. They were in antient times governed by kings; but of these we find one only mentioned in history, viz. *Polydeutes*, and of him we know nothing but what we read in the poets. To this place the *Romans* confined enormous offenders. Here died *Cassius Severus* the famous orator, banished by *Augustus* for speaking with too much freedom; a fault which seventeen years of banishment in the isle of *Crete* had not cured him of (1). *Vestilia* the wife of *Labeo*, being convicted of adultery, was sent to *Seriphus*, to spend the remainder of her life there (2). One *Stratoniceus*, mentioned by *Plutarch* (3), being banished to this island, found the place so very disagreeable, that he one day asked his landlord, What crimes were punished in his country with banishment. The *Seriphian* answered, "Perjury." "Why then," replied *Stratoniceus*, "don't you forswear

"yourself, that you may be banished from such an execrable place?" *Pliny* (4) tells us, that the frogs of *Seriphos* are naturally mute, but as noisy as any others when transported out of the island. *Jupiter*, say the poets, struck the frogs dumb at the request of *Perseus*, who could not sleep here for the noise they made; but *Theophrastus* ascribes their silence to the chillness of the waters in this island. The waters, as our modern travellers observe, are not colder here than elsewhere, nor the frogs less noisy (5). However, this groundless report gave rise to the proverb quoted by *Stephanus* and *Suidas*, *As silent as a frog of Seriphus*. This island abounds with mines of iron and loadstone, and had antiently a very convenient harbour. The onions of *Seriphus* are highly commended by *Spon*; they grow on small spots of ground between the rocks, and are cultivated by the inhabitants with extraordinary care, being the only commodity the island affords.

(1) *Tacit. annal.* l. iv. c. 21.  
(2) *Plin. nat. hist.* l. viii. c. 53.

(3) *Euseb. chron.* p. 158.

(4) *Plut. de exil.*

(5) *Tournefort voyage au Levant*, &c.

MÉLOS lies about twenty-four miles off of cape *Scyllæum*, *Melos*. now *Schilli*, in *Peloponnesus*, is sixty miles in compass, and, according to *Pliny* <sup>ε</sup>, almost round. This island, though small, made a very considerable figure in the flourishing ages of *Greece*. *Melos*, says *Thucydides* <sup>h</sup>, enjoyed its liberty seven hundred years before the *Peloponnesian* war. The inhabitants, says the same *Thucydides* <sup>i</sup>, were originally *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refused, in the time of the *Peloponnesian* war, to join the *Athenians*, declaring, that they would maintain a strict neutrality, which they did accordingly. *Stephanus* and *Festus* will have the *Melians* to be a colony of *Phœnicians*, and the island to have borrowed its name from one *Melos*, who led the colony. Be that as it will, the *Melians* could never be prevailed upon to join the other islanders and *Athenians* against the *Lacedæmonians*. How dear this their attachment to the *Lacedæmonians* cost them, we have related elsewhere <sup>k</sup>. All, who were able to bear arms, were put to the sword; the women and children were carried into *Attica*, and there sold for slaves. The island being thus quite unpeopled, a new colony was sent thither from *Athens*. But not long after *Lysander* the *Lacedæmonian* general, having obliged the *Athenians* in their turn to surrender at discretion, released the captive *Melians*, and restored them to their native country, after having driven from thence the *Athenian* colony <sup>l</sup>. *Melos* afterwards underwent the same fate as the other islands of the *Ægæan* sea, that is, it fell under the yoke of the *Romans*, and was by them reduced, with the other islands, to a province. *Melos* was the birth-place of the philosopher *Diagoras*, who was the first, as *Lactantius* informs us, that asserted there were no gods, whence he had the surname of *atheist*. This island abounds with iron mines, and was, in former ages, famed for its wine and honey; from the latter some are of opinion it took the name of *Melos*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* <sup>m</sup>, and *Julius Pollux* <sup>n</sup>, greatly commend the pastures and mineral waters of this island; but *Hippocrates* speaks of one, who, being cured of the itch by using the waters of *Melos*, fell into a dropsy, of which he died <sup>o</sup>. The alum of *Melos* was in great request among the *Romans*, who preferred it, as we read in *Pliny* <sup>p</sup>, to that of any other country, except the *Egyptian*.

SIPHNIUS, now *Siphanto*, is about thirty-six miles distant *Siphnius*. from *Melos*, and, according to *Pliny*, twenty-eight in circum-

<sup>ε</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>h</sup> THUCYD. l. v.

<sup>i</sup> Idem, l. ii.

<sup>k</sup> See vol. vi. p. 467.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. p. 486.

<sup>m</sup> CLEM. ALEXAND.

<sup>n</sup> JUL. POLI. ONOMAST. l. vi. c. 10.

<sup>o</sup> HIPPOCR. epid. l. v.

<sup>p</sup> PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 15.



ference, though our modern geographers allow it to be forty. It was antiently known by the name of *Merope*, or *Merapia*, and *Acis*. The name of *Siphnus*, if we believe *Stephanus*, is of a later date, and borrowed from *Siphnus* the son of *Sunion*, who settled here with a colony. The air of *Siphnus* is exceeding wholesome, and the soil equally fruitful, producing great plenty of delicious fruits, and corn enough to support its inhabitants (Y).

**Cimolis.** CIMOLIS is separated from *Melos* by a freight, which is scarce a mile over. It is, according to *Pliny*, twelve miles in compass, and was antiently called *Echinusa*, or the *Island of Vipers*. It is now known by the name of *Argentiere*, which it borrowed from the silver mines with which it is said to abound. The present inhabitants shew these mines to strangers, but are afraid to meddle with them, lest the *Turks* should load them with taxes, under pretence that they reaped great advantages from them. This island is a very barren place, and full of rocks and mountains. It is scarce ever mentioned in history, having always followed the fate of *Melos* (Z).

PRE-

(Y) The morals of the antient *Siphnians* were much depraved; whence it was proverbially said of persons leading a debauched and dissolute life, that *they lived like Siphnians* (1). *Siphnus* had formerly several good harbours, and has still five very safe ones, viz. *Faro*, *Vati*, *Chitiriani*, *Chironisso*, and *Calanca*. There were formerly here rich mines of gold, as *Pausanias* informs us (2), and great plenty of lead; whence the inhabitants were reckoned very rich, and the island distinguished with the epithet of *happy* (3). *Theophrastus* (4), *Pliny* (5), and *Isidorus* (6), mention certain cups of stone made in *Siphnos*, which were in great esteem among the *Romans*. In the last century the grand signor sent some *Jews* to examine into

the lead-mines; but the inhabitants, apprehending they should be obliged to work in them, bribed the captain of the vessel, which brought the *Jews*, to sink his ship; by which means the cargo of ore was lost, and the *Jews*, who designed to farm the mines, all drowned. Some time after, other undertakers came upon the same errand, but, as they met with no better success, the undertaking was dropped (7).

(Z) The *terra Cimolia*, or *Cimolian earth* is greatly commended by *Pliny* (8); it is a kind of chalk used by the present inhabitants, as it was by their forefathers in *Pliny's* time (9), in washing linen, and whitening it. The same author speaks of the medicinal virtues

(1) *Stephanus*, *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, verbo Σιφνός & Εἰσφινιάσις.

(2) *Pau-*

*san.* in *Pbocis*.

(3) *Isidorus*, orig. l. xvi. c. 4.

(4) *Theophrastus* de lapid.

(5) *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 22.

(6) *Isidor.* ubi supra.

(7) *Vide Tournefort*, voy-

*age au Levant.*

(8) *Plin.* l. xxxiv. c. 22.

(9) *Idem ibid.*

PREPESINTHUS is a small island between *Siphnus* and *Mc-Prepesinlos*, about four miles in compass. It is mentioned only by *sinthus*. *Artemidorus* and *Strabo*<sup>b</sup>, and contains nothing worthy of notice.

OLEAROS, or *Oliaros*, mentioned by *Strabo*<sup>c</sup>, *Pliny*<sup>d</sup>, *Virgil*<sup>e</sup>, *Ovid*<sup>f</sup>, &c. is sixteen miles in compass, and separated from the isle of *Paros* by a strait seven miles over. This island was, according to *Heracles Ponticus*, as quoted by *Stephanus*, first peopled by a *Phœnician* colony from *Sidon*. It is now known by the name of *Antiparos*, and exhibits one of the greatest curiosities in nature, namely, the vegetation of stones, which is described at length by a modern traveller, to whom we refer our readers<sup>g</sup>.

NAXOS, now *Naxia*, was formerly known by the names *Naxos*, of *Strongyle*, *Dia*, *Dionysias*, *Callipolis*, and *Little Sicily*. It was called *Strongyle* from a *Greek* word signifying *round*, tho' in reality it is rather square than round. The names of *Dia* or *Divine*, and *Dionysias*, were given it as being consecrated in a peculiar manner to the fabulous god *Dionysus* or *Bacchus*. The name of *Callipolis*, *Pliny* and *Solinus* derive from the metropolis of the island, formerly a most beautiful city, which is the import of the word *Callipolis*<sup>h</sup>. The great fruitfulness of the country gave rise to the name of *Little Sicily*, *Naxos* being the most fruitful of all the *Cyclades*, as *Agathemerus* informs us<sup>i</sup>, and no less fertile than *Sicily* itself. As for the name of *Naxos*, some tell us, that it was borrowed from one *Naxus*, under whose conduct the *Carians* possessed themselves of the island; others pretend it received this name from *Naxus* the son of *Endymion*. *Stephanus*, *Suidas*, and *Phavorinus*, derive the name of *Naxos* from the *Greek* word *Naxai*, signifying to sacrifice, and will have it to have been so called from the many sacrifices offered here to *Bacchus*. With these *Bochart* agrees as to its being called *Naxos* from the sacrifices performed here in honour of *Bacchus*, but will have the word *Naxos* to be a corruption of the *Phœnician* *Nacsa* or *Niesfa*, signifying a sacrifice or offering. *Naxos* is, according to *Pliny*<sup>k</sup>, 75, according to the present inhabitants, 100 miles in compass. It has *Paros* to the west, *Miconos* and *Delos* to the north,

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. x. p. 334. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. <sup>d</sup> PLIN. ubi supra.  
<sup>e</sup> VIRGIL. Æneid. iii. ver. 126. <sup>f</sup> OVID. metamorph. l. vii. ver. 126. <sup>g</sup> TOURNEFORT, ubi supra, tom. i. epist. 5. <sup>h</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. <sup>i</sup> AGATH. l. i. c. 5. <sup>k</sup> PLIN. ubi supra.

of this earth; but these it has covered with this sort of chalk, no more at present, and perhaps whence it is called by *Ovid* a never had. The whole island is chalky country (10').

(10) *Ovid, metamorph. l. vii. ver. 463.*

First peo-  
pled by the  
Thracians.

and *Ios* to the south. This island is the most fruitful of the *Archipelago*, and was in former ages famed for the excellent wines it produced : *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, compares them to the nectar of the gods ; and *Aclepiades*, cited by *Stephanus*, tells us, that *Bacchus* took more delight in *Naxos* than in any other place whatsoever, having himself taught the inhabitants to cultivate their vines (Z). As to the inhabitants of *Naxos*, *Diodorus* tells us, that the island was first peopled by the *Thracians*, who settled here on the following occasion.

*BOREAS* had two sons, *Butes* and *Lycurgus*, by different mothers. *Butes*, who was the younger, entered into a plot against his brother ; which being discovered, *Boreas* commanded him to leave *Thrace*, and find himself some other habitation. *Butes* embarked with his accomplices ; and, steering his course to the *Cyclades*, possessed himself of *Naxos*, then called *Strongyle*, and lived upon plunder, seizing all the ships which sailed that way. But, as *Butes* and his *Thracians* wanted women, and the neighbouring islands were either thinly inhabited, or quite desolate, they sailed to *Theffaly*, and, landing there, seized upon some women while they were celebrating the mysteries of *Bacchus* on a mountain near the shore called *Diros*. *Butes* having used violence on this occasion to *Coronides*, she made her complaints to *Bacchus*, who struck *Butes* with madness, which occasioned his death, he having thrown himself down a precipice, and died of the fall. The other *Thracians* returned with the *Theffalian* women to *Strongyle*, carrying with them, amongst others, *Iphimedia* the wife of *Aloeas*, and *Pancratis* his daughter, both women of extraordinary beauty. On their return they created *Agassämenus* king of the island in the room of *Butes*, bestowing upon him *Pancratis*, as he did *Iphimedia* on one of his intimate friends, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his forces. In the mean time *Aloeas* sent his two sons *Otus* and *Ephialtes* in quest of his wife and daughter. These, landing in the island with a strong body of men, engaged the *Thracians*, routed them, took their metropolis by storm, and made themselves masters of the whole

(Z) The wine of *Naxos* maintains to this day its ancient reputation, being by some deemed the best of the *Levant*. Besides wine, this island abounds with all sorts of delicious fruits, the plains being covered with orange, olive, lemon, cedar, citron, pomegranate, mulberry, and fig-trees. It was formerly famous for quar-

ries of that sort of marble which the *Greeks* called *ophites*, from its being green, and speckled with white spots, like the skin of a serpent. The best emerald is found here on mountains near the western coast, whence the neighbouring cape is called by the *Italians* *Capo Smeriglio*, or the *Emerald Cape*.

island.

island. Not long after, the two brothers fell out, which occasioned a civil war, wherein many were killed on both sides, and, amongst the rest, the two brothers by one another; but the *Thessalians* afterwards adored them as demigods or heroes. After the *Thessalians* had held the island for the space of two hundred years and upwards, they were at length obliged by a drouht and famine to abandon it. After the *Trojan* war, the *Carians*, being then powerful at sea, settled here, and called the island *Naxos*, from their king, who was the son of *Polemon*. He was succeeded by his son *Leucippus*, and *Leucippus* by his son *Smerdus*, in whose reign *Theseus* coming out of *Crete*, landed here with *Ariadne*, whom he was, as *Diodorus* tells us, in his sleep commanded, by *Bacchus*, to leave in this island, which he did accordingly; and *Bacchus* having retired with her to mount *Aries*, they both soon after disappeared \* (W). In process of time a colony of *Cnidians* and *Rhodians* settled here under the conduct of *Hippothous* and *Xuthus*; and last of all the *Ionians*, who, by degrees, possessed themselves of the whole island; whence the *Naxians* are, by *Herodotus*, called *Ionians*, and ranked among the *Athenian* colonies †.

*NAXOS* was formerly a very flourishing republic, and by far the most powerful of the *Cyclades*, as *Herodotus* informs us ‡, and had several cities of note; among others, *Naxos* the metropolis of the island mentioned by *Ptolemy* §; the present city of *Naxia*, which is the capital, was perhaps built on the ruins of the antient *Naxus*, whence it retains the same name.

THE *Naxians* were first governed by kings, as we have Govern- hinted above out of *Diodorus*; but afterwards formed them- ment.

\* DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. † HERODOT. l. viii. c. 46. ‡ Idem, l. v. c. 30, & seqq. § PTOL. Geog. l. iii. c. 15.

(W) The antients mention two women, who had the common name of *Ariadne*; and, in honour of both, festivals were yearly solemnized in the island of *Naxos*. The one was thought to be of a gay and pleasant temper; and therefore her festival was observed with music, and many other expressions of joy and mirth. The other was the same whom *Theseus* is supposed to have left big with child on the coast

of *Naxos*, and is said to have been of a melancholy disposition, whence the solemnity dedicated to her had a shew of sorrow and mourning. In memory of her being left by *Theseus*, it was usual on this occasion for a young man to lie down and counterfeit all the agonies of women in labour. This festival is said to have been first instituted by *Theseus* to atone in some degree for his ingratitude to her (41).

(41) *Plut. in Theseo.*

The city  
of Naxos  
destroyed  
by the  
Persians.

selves into a republic, and enjoyed their liberty till the time of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who having subdued *Naxos*, bestowed it upon *Lygdamis*, a native of the island, for having assisted him with men and money, in usurping the sovereign power<sup>o</sup>. Upon the death of *Lygdamis* they recovered their liberty, and even possessed themselves of the neighbouring islands of *Paros* and *Andros*. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, *Aristagoras* governor of *Miletus* in *Ionia* formed a design of surprising *Naxos*, under colour of restoring the nobles, who had been driven out by the popular faction, and taken refuge in *Miletus*. *Darius* furnished him with two hundred ships, and a considerable body of land-forces, to be employed in this expedition. But the *Naxians*, being forewarned by *Magabates* the *Persian* general, with whom *Aristagoras* happened to fall out, put themselves in a posture of defence, and obliged *Aristagoras*, after a siege of four months, to drop the enterprize, and retire to the continent. On the miscarriage of this expedition *Aristagoras*, as we have related in the history of *Persia*, revolted from the *Persians*, and prevailed upon the *Ionians* to join in his revolt, which brought endless calamities upon *Ionia*. Not long after the *Persians* made a second descent on *Naxos*, under the command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*; and, meeting with no opposition, the inhabitants having at their approach abandoned their habitations, and fled to the mountains, they possessed themselves of the island, ravaged the whole country, and laid the city with its temples, in ashes<sup>p</sup>. The *Naxians* being thus brought under the *Persian* yoke, could not help sending some ships of war to their assistance in their expedition against *Greece*; but the officers, who commanded them, at the persuasion of *Democritus*, the most wealthy and powerful citizen of *Naxos*, instead of joining the *Persians*, went over with their ships to the *Athenians*. At the battle of *Plataea*, the *Naxians* gave singular proofs of their valour, as we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, being above the other islands zealous in the defence of the common liberties of *Greece*<sup>q</sup>. They were at that time, according to *Herodotus*, in a very flourishing condition, had a great number of slaves, a squadron of ships well-appointed, and eight thousand land-forces<sup>r</sup>. In the *Peloponnesian* war, they declared for the *Athenians*, as did most of the other islands of the *Ægean* sea; but, being treated by them more like subjects than allies, they attempted to shake off the yoke. The *Athenians* sent a powerful fleet against them, besieged

<sup>o</sup> HERODOT. l. i. c. 61, 69.    <sup>p</sup> Idem, l. vi.  
SICUL. l. v.    <sup>r</sup> HERODOT. l. ix.

<sup>q</sup> DIODOR.

their capital, and forced them to accept what conditions *Athens* was pleased to impose. *Thucydides* observes, that *Naxos* was the first of the confederate cities which the *Athenians* deprived of their liberty \*. From this time they continued subject to the *Athenians*, till they fell into the hands of the *Romans*, which happened in the *Mithridatic* war. After the battle of *Philippi*, *Marc Antony* bestowed *Naxos*, *Andros*, and some other islands, on the *Rhodians*, who oppressed them to such a degree, that he was soon obliged to drive them out, and restore those islanders to their former state of liberty, which they enjoyed till the reign of *Vespasian* † (Z).

THE island of *Paros* was antiently called *Paëtia*, *Minoa*, *Parça*, or *Minoia*, *Demetrias*, *Zacynthus*, *Hiria*, *Hyleassa*, and *Cabarnis* ‡. The name of *Cabarnis* is borrowed, according to *Stephanus*, from one *Cabarnus*, who first acquainted *Ceres* with the rape of her daughter *Proserpine*, or, according to *Hesychius*, from the *Cabarni*, the priests of *Ceres* being so called by the inhabitants of this island. *Bochart* † tells us, that the word *Cabarnis* in the *Phœnician* tongue signifies to sacrifice, whence the priests were called in some places, such especially as had any communication with *Phœnice*, *cabarni*, that is, sacrificers. The name of *Minoa* it borrowed from *Minos* king of *Crete*, who subdued this, as he did most of the other islands of the *Ægean* sea ‡. It was called *Paros*, which name it retains to this day, from *Paros* the son of *Parrhasius*, or,

\* THUCYD. l. i.      † APPIAN. l. v.      \* STEPHANUS.  
HESYCHIUS, SOLIN. &c.      † BOCHART. phaleg. lib. i.  
c. 4.      ‡ PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

(Z) Within a stone's cast from *Naxos* is a rock, on which is still to be seen a very beautiful gate of marble, which the inhabitants call the gate of *Bacchus's* palace; but is without all doubt part of the magnificent temple which the *Naxians* built here in honour of that god. For they had a tradition, that *Bacchus* was born in their island, and educated among them by the nymphs *Philias*, *Coronis*, and *Cleidis*, and that, out of gratitude for the kindness shewn him in his infancy by the *Naxians*, he had taken the island under his protection, and on several occasions assisted them in a miraculous manner against their enemies. The gate we are speaking of is eighteen feet high, eleven feet three inches broad, and remarkably beautiful. This temple, and the island on which it stood, were joined to *Naxos* by a stone bridge, on which were to be seen, in the year of Christ 1547, the conduits which served to convey the wine from *Naxos* into the cellars of the temple. This is what we learn from *Benedetto Berdanio* (1); but our more modern travellers take no notice of this bridge.

(1) *Berdan. viaggio all' Archipelago.*

as *Stephanus* will have it, of *Jafon* the *Argonaut*. *Paros*, according to *Pliny's* computation <sup>a</sup>, is distant from *Naxos* seven miles and an half, and twenty-eight from *Delos*. Some of the modern travellers will have it to be fourscore <sup>b</sup>, others only fifty miles in compass <sup>c</sup>. *Pliny* says it is half as large as *Naxos*, that is, between thirty-six and thirty-seven miles in compass. It was antiently a rich and powerful island, being called by *Stephanus* the most wealthy and happy of the *Cyclades*, and by *Cornelius Nepos* an island clated with its riches <sup>d</sup>. The city of *Paros*, which was the metropolis of the island, is stiled by *Stephanus* a potent city, and said to have been one of the largest in the *Archipelago*; the present city of *Paros*, or, as the natives call it, *Parichia*, is supposed to have been built upon its ruins, the neighbouring country abounding with valuable monuments of antiquity; the very walls of the present city are built with columns, architraves, pedestals, mingled with pieces of antient marble of a surprizing bigness, which were once employed in more noble edifices. Every one knows that *Paros* was formerly famous for its marble, which was of an extraordinary whiteness, and in such request among the antients, that the best statuaries used no other <sup>e</sup> (A). The island is

<sup>a</sup> *PLIN.* *ibid.*    <sup>b</sup> *FERRARIUS.*    <sup>c</sup> *PORCACHI.*    <sup>d</sup> *CORN. NEPOS* in *Alciadiade.*    <sup>e</sup> *PLIN.* *lib. iv. c. 12. & lib. xxxvi. c. 5.*

(A) *Pliny* tells us (2), that the *Parian* marble, and no other was made use of in adorning the frontispiece of the celebrated labyrinth in *Egypt*, which was counted one of the wonders of the world. The best quarries were those of mount *Marpessus* or *Marpessus*, mentioned by *Virgil* (3), and his interpreter *Servius*. In this mountain are still to be seen caverns of an extraordinary depth, which the modern inhabitants and travellers take to be the antient quarries. The quarries of *Paros*, if *Pliny* is to be credited, were so deep, that even in the clearest weather the

workmen were obliged to use lamps, whence the marble was called by the *Greeks* *Lychnites*, that is, worked by the light of lamps (4). The same author tells us, that, in a block of marble dug up in one of these quarries, when broken by the workmen, there appeared a beautiful representation of *Silenus* engraved on the stone by the hand of nature (5). In one of the quarries, distant about four miles from the present city of *Parichia* is still to be seen a basso-relievo cut in the rock, and containing twenty-nine figures of nymphs and satyrs dancing a

(2) *Plin. l. iv. c. 12. & l. xxxvi. c. 5.*  
(4) *Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 5.*    (5) *Idem, l. iii. c. 5.*

(3) *Virg. Æneid. vi.*

is provided with several capacious and safe harbours, and was anciently much resorted to by traders. *Archilochus*, the inventor of the *iambic* verse, was a native of *Paros*. *Horace* was in the right when he said, that rage armed him with *iambics*<sup>1</sup>; for his verses were so satirical and biting, that *Lycambes*, against whom he wrote, hanged himself out of despair (B). As to the inhabitants of *Paros*, this island was, according to *Thucydides*<sup>2</sup>, first peopled by the *Phœnicians*, who were before other nations masters of the sea. Afterwards the *Carians* settled here, as we are told both by *Thucydides*<sup>3</sup> and *Diodorus*<sup>4</sup>. But it is no easy matter to reconcile these two authors as to the time when the *Carians* came first into the island; for *Thucydides* tells us, that the *Carians* were driven out by the *Cretans* under the conduct of *Minos*; and *Diodorus* writes, that the *Carians* did not settle here till after the *Trojan* war, and that they found the *Cretans* in possession of the island. *Stephanus* is of opinion, that the *Cretans*, mixed with some *Arcadians* were the only nations that ever possessed this island. *Minos* himself, if we believe *Pliny*<sup>5</sup>, resided some time in the island of *Paros*, and received here the melancholy news of the death of his son *Androgeus*, who was killed in *Attica*, after he had distinguished himself at the public games. When *Hercules* passed through *Paros*, going in quest of the girdle of *Hippolita* by order of *Eurystheus*, he found there *Eurydamon*, *Chryses*, *Nephalion*, and *Philolaus*, the sons of *Minos*, and with them a great many *Cretans*<sup>6</sup>.

As

<sup>1</sup> HORAT. de arte poetica.<sup>2</sup> GASSEND. in vita Peiresc.<sup>3</sup> THUCYD. l. i.<sup>4</sup> Idem ibid.<sup>5</sup> DIODOR. l. v.<sup>6</sup> PLIN. l. iii. c. 14.<sup>7</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. xv.

kind of brawl. This was done, as appears from the inscription, by one *Adamas Odryses*, in honour of the nymphs. Though *Pliny* greatly commends the *Parian* marble, yet he prefers to it that of *Luna* in *Italy*, as being both whiter and of a closer grain (6).

(B) *Lycambes*, after having betrothed his daughter to him, bestowed her upon another, which affront the poet reven-

ged by composing those bitter invectives, which obliged *Lycambes* to lay violent hands on himself. His books were forbidden at *Sparta* for their wanton and obscene expressions, and himself banished the country. He was contemporary with *Gyges* king of *Lydia*. The author of the most valuable monument of antiquity now extant, that is, of the *Oxford* marbles, was born in this island, as *Gassendus* informs

(6) Idem l. xxxvi. c. 5.



The Pa-  
rians re-  
duced to  
great  
streights  
by Miltia-  
des.

As to the history of *Paros*, we find the inhabitants of this island chosen from among all the *Greeks* by the *Milesians*, to compose the differences which had for two generations rent that unhappy state into various parties and factions \*. They acquitted themselves of this charge with great prudence, and reformed the government in the manner we have related in the history of *Miletus*. They joined *Darius* in his expedition against *Greece*, assisting him with a considerable squadron, but after the victory obtained by *Miltiades* at *Marathon*, they were reduced to great streights by that general, as we have related elsewhere †. However, after having kept the city blocked up for the space of twenty-six days, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and return to *Athens* with disgrace ‡. Upon his departure, the *Parians* were informed, that one *Timo*, priestess of the national gods, and then his prisoner, had advised him to perform some secret ceremony in the temple of *Ceres*, near the city; assuring him, that he would thereby become masters of the place. Upon this information they sent deputies to consult the oracle of *Delphi*, whether they should punish her with death, for endeavouring to betray the city to the enemy, and discovering the sacred mysteries to *Miltiades*, which it was a great crime to reveal to any man. The *Pythian* answered, That *Timo* was not the author of that advice; but that the gods, having determined to destroy *Miltiades*, had only made her the instrument of his death ¶ (C).

AFTER

\* HERODOT. l. v.  
l. vi. c. 28, 29. 133.

† Vol. vi. p. 372, & seq. et HERODOT.  
‡ HERODOT. ibid.      ¶ Idem ibid.

tis (7), but his name has not reached us. He lived, according to the learned *Usher*, in the third century before the christian æra.

(C) *Cornelius Nepos* likewise relates the siege of *Paros* by *Miltiades*, but varies in some particulars from *Herodotus*; for that writer tells us, That the *Athenian* general, having invested the city by sea and land, reduced it to such streights, that the inhabitants desired to capitulate. But in the mean time, a wood in the continent taking fire, by what accident was never known, the

*Parians* imagined it to be a signal given them by the fleet of *Darius* advancing to their relief; whereupon they broke off the conferences, and would no more hearken to the terms offered them by the enemy. *Miltiades* likewise, apprehending that the *Persian* fleet approached, set fire to his engines, and, weighing anchor, returned to *Athens*, where he was condemned to defray the charges of that unsuccessful expedition, amounting to fifty talents (8). *Stephanus* tells us, that the *Parians* had already

(7) *Gassendi in vita Peiresce.*

(8) *Corn. Nepos in vita Miltiad.*

AFTER the battle of *Salamis*, *Themistocles* subjected *Paros* and most of the other neighbouring islands to *Athens*, obliging them to supply him with large sums, by way of punishment for having favoured the *Persians*<sup>1</sup>. It appears from the famous monument of *Adulas*, which *Cosmos of Egypt* has described with great exactness<sup>2</sup>; that *Paros*, and the other *Cyclades*, were once subject to the *Ptolemies of Egypt*, these islands being mentioned in that monument which was erected in the reign of *Ptolemy Evergetes*. However, *Paros* fell again under the power of the *Athenians*, who continued masters of it till they were driven out by *Mithridates the Great*. But, that prince being obliged to yield to the good fortune of *Sylla*, to the valour of *Lucullus*, and to the greatness of *Pompey*, as *Florus* expresses it, this and the other islands of the *Archipelago* submitted to the *Romans*, who reduced them to a province with *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and *Caria*. A Roman

*Syros* is placed by *Strabo* between *Paros* and *Delos*<sup>3</sup>, and said by *Pliny* to be twenty miles in compass<sup>4</sup>. *Mutianus*, as quoted by *Pliny*, makes it an hundred and sixty, but our modern travellers agree with *Pliny*. This island had formerly a town of no small note bearing the name, as appears from an antient inscription still to be seen in the present town of *Syra*, and from many ruins of stately buildings at a small distance from the harbour. *Syros*, according to *Homer's* account of it, abounded with corn, wine, and all other necessaries of life, and was reckoned one of the most healthy places of the *Ægean* sea, the plague never having raged there with any violence<sup>5</sup>. This island, as we learn from the same poet, was frequented in the earliest ages by the *Phœnician* merchants, who, after having passed a whole year here, carried off with them one of the concubines of *Ctesias* king of the place, she being a native of *Sidon*, and the daughter of *Arybas* king of that city (A). *Stephanus*

<sup>1</sup> Idem, l. viii.    <sup>2</sup> Vide BERNARD. de MONTFAUC. in typogr. Christian. de mundo, lib. ii.    <sup>3</sup> STRAB. l. x.    <sup>4</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.    <sup>5</sup> HOMER. *Odyss.* 6. v. 405.

agreed to surrender their city; but that a forest on the side of *Mycone* taking fire, and the *Parians* not doubting but it was a signal given them by the *Persian* general *Datis*, who was hastening to their relief, would not stand to their agreement; which gave rise to the proverb, *To keep one's*

word after the *Parian* manner.

(A) *Pherecydes*, one of the most antient philosophers of *Greece*, the disciple of *Pittacus*, and master of *Pythagoras*, was born in *Syros*. *Strabo*, *Porphyrus*, *Apuleius*, and the author of the chronology of the *Olympiads*, tell us, that he was the first, or

*nus* reckons *Syros* among the *Ionian* colonies; it is at present known by the names of *Siro*, *Sira*, and *Zyra*, and by many confounded with the island of *Skyros*, antiently *Scyros*, which we shall describe in its proper place. Off the eastern coast of *Syros* lie three small islands called *Gadronisi*.

**Myconus.** MYCONUS lies between *Icaria* and *Delos*, about three miles distance from the latter, and is thirty-six in circuit. It borrowed the name of *Myconus*, or *Mycone*, from *Myconus* the son

one of the first, that wrote in prose. *Tzetzes* says, he was the first who observed the periods of the moon, and foretold eclipses; that he was the master of *Thales* the *Milesian*, and that he wrote ten books on the origin of the gods. He was the first, according to *Cicero* (41), who taught the immortality of the soul. He is charged by *Suidas* with being the author of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls out of one body into another. He is greatly commended on account of his knowledge by *Diogenes Laertius*, *Apuleius*, *Jamblichus*, *Lactantius*, *Eustathius*, &c. who all agree, that he was one of the greatest philosophers that *Greece* ever produced; and add, that he learnt his philosophy of the *Phæacians*, being well acquainted with their language and books. Some writers tell us, that *Pheracydes* was a native of *Babylon*, and, in favour of this opinion, quote *Eustathius*; but there is evidently a mistake in the passage which they allege, since *Eustathius*, in the very same place calls him a native of *Syros*. Some therefore, in the text of that writer, instead of *Βαβυλωνιος*; read *Βαβύς*, as it is in *Suidas* and the chronology of the *Olym-*

*piads*, or *Βαβύς*, as in *Laertius*, that is, the son of *Babis* or *Badys*. *Heraclides*, *Apuleius*, *Ælian*, *Pausanias*, *Porphyrus*, and *Jamblichus*, mention two other writers bearing the same name; the one of *Athens*, and the other of the island of *Leros*; some take these two to be but one, born, according to them, in *Athens*, and brought up in *Leros*; others are of opinion, that there was but one *Pheracydes*, and make the *Athenian*, *Lerian*, and *Syrian*, one and the same person; and indeed the passages quoted out of the other two by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, *Germanicus*, *Hyginus*, *Marcellinus*, *Eusebius*, and *Suidas*, seem to be taken out of the books which have been ascribed to *Pheracydes* of *Syros*. He was called the *Athenian*, say they, because he wrote a book intitled, *The genealogy of the Athenians*; and, as to the name of *Lerian*, it might have been given him because he lived some time in the island of *Leros*. *Strabo* no-where mentions *Pheracydes* of *Leros*, but often speaks of the other two, calling the one a philosopher, and the other an historian. *Cicero* (42), the scholiast of *Euripides* (43), *Macrobius* (44), and *Origen* (45), quote *Pheracydes*, with-

(41) *Cic. Tusc. quæst. l. i. c. 158.*  
*Ælian. in Alcibi.*  
*gen. in Cels. l. i.*

(42) *Cic. de orat. l. ii.*  
 (44) *Macrobi. Saturnal. l. v. c. 21.*

(43) *Sebo-*  
 (45) *Ori-*

son of *Ænius*, and grandson of *Carystus* and *Rhyas*<sup>c</sup>; but who these were, neither *Strabo*, nor *Stephanus* his transcriber, have thought fit to acquaint us. This island was long uninhabited by reason of the frequent and dreadful earthquakes to which it was subject; but they no sooner ceased, than the inhabitants of the adjoining islands settled in it, and built a town to which they gave the name of the island<sup>f</sup>. The poets feigned, that the centaurs killed by *Hercules* were buried here, whence took rise the proverb, *To place all things under one Mycone*, applied to those, who, under one and the same title, touched upon quite different subjects<sup>g</sup>. *Strabo*, and after him *Eustathius*<sup>h</sup>, observe, that the *Myconians* grew bald very early; whence they were called by way of contempt, *The bald heads of Mycone*. Our modern travellers confirm *Strabo's* observation, assuring us, that the present *Myconians* lose their hair when twenty or twenty-five years old<sup>i</sup>. *Pliny* tells us, that in this island children are all born without hair, and that both men and women soon lose that ornament given by nature<sup>k</sup>. They were heretofore reckoned arrant parasites; whence *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*<sup>l</sup>, taxes one *Pericles* with coming to a feast after the *Myconian* manner, that is, without being invited. In this island there is a great scarcity of water, but the wine it formerly produced is highly commended by *Pliny*<sup>m</sup> (B).

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. l. x.  
ERASM. chiliad.  
NEFORT, vol. i.  
deipnosoph. l. i.

<sup>f</sup> Idem ibid.  
<sup>h</sup> EUSTATH. in DIONYS. v. 526.  
<sup>k</sup> PLIN. l. xii. c. 7.  
<sup>m</sup> PLIN. l. xiv. c. i.

<sup>g</sup> Idem ibid. &  
<sup>i</sup> TOUR-  
<sup>l</sup> ATHEN.

out mentioning his country; whence some have concluded, that there was but one writer of that name. Though it is no easy matter to decide this question, yet the authority of *Strabo*, a most accurate writer, is of more weight with us than that of our modern critics.

(B) *Wheeler* speaks of a medal; which he purchased here, with *Jupiter's* head on one side, and a bunch of grapes on the other. *Virgil* gives the island of *Mycone* the epithet of high (2);

wherein he disagrees with *Ovid*, who calls it a low island (3). But *Virgil* in all likelihood alluded to mount *Dimaestos*, mentioned by *Pliny* as the highest in the island (4); since the island itself lies, according to *Strabo*, very low. Between *Mycone* and *Delos*, about a mile from the former, lies the isle of *Tragonesi*, about three miles in compass. It formerly abounded with goats, whence it had the name of *Tragonesi*, or the *Goat-island*.

(2) *Virg. Æneid.* l. iii. v. 76.  
(4) *Plin.* l. iv. c. 12.

(3) *Ovid. m. metamorph. l. vii. v. 463.*

## Tenos.

TENOS was first called *Hydrusia* from the Greek word *bydor*, signifying water, being more plentifully supplied with springs than the other islands ; afterwards it had the name of *Ophiusa*, from the serpents which infested the island, the Greek word *ophis* signifying a serpent ; and lastly, the name of *Tenos* was given it from one *Tenos*, the first who settled here & *Bochart* pretends the word *Tenos* to be derived from *Tannoth*, which in the *Phœnician* language signifies a serpent <sup>t</sup>, and answers the Greek word *Ophiusa* or *Ophiussa*. *Pliny* places *Tenos* one mile from *Andros*, fifteen from *Delos*, and says, it is fifteen miles in extent. *Tournefort* will have it to be sixty miles in compass, *Porcachi* forty, and *Ferrarius* but five-and-thirty. It is very mountainous, but nevertheless produces great plenty of excellent fruit. The wine of *Tenos* was in great request among the antients ; whence several medals of this island are still to be seen with bunches of grapes on the reverse <sup>e</sup>. The name of *Tenos* was common to the island and its capital <sup>t</sup>, which, according to *Strabo*, was not a great, but a well-built city, and had a stately temple, in an adjoining grove, dedicated to *Neptune* <sup>u</sup>. This temple and grove enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, which were abridged by *Tiberius*, as were those of the most famous temples in the *Levant* <sup>w</sup>. *Philcorus*, as quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus* <sup>x</sup>, tells us, that *Neptune* was worshiped by the *Tenians* as the god of physic (B). The *Tenians* were once very powerful by sea, as *Herodotus* informs us <sup>y</sup> ; but nevertheless were so terrified at the approach of the *Persian* fleet, that they submitted without making the least opposition, and assisted *Xerxes* in his expedition against *Greece*. This island afterwards underwent the same fate as the others of the *Archipelago*, being first subdued by the *Athenians*, who drove out the *Persians*, afterwards by the *Macedonian* princes, and lastly by the *Romans*.

<sup>a</sup> Idem, l. iv. c. 12.    <sup>r</sup> BOCH. phaleg. l. ii. c. 3.    <sup>s</sup> VAILLANT. numism. Græc. SPON. voyage, &c.    <sup>t</sup> PLIN. ubi sup.    <sup>u</sup> STRAB. ubi sup.    <sup>w</sup> TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 60, & 63.    <sup>x</sup> CLEM. ALEX. admon. ad gentes.    <sup>y</sup> HERODOT. l. viii. c. 82.

(C) *Goltzius*, *Tristamus*, and others, exhibit several medals of this island representing *Neptune* with his trident on the reverse ; the serpent, which is on some medals joined to the trident, was among the antients an emblem of physic ; besides, *Tenos* was antiently called *Ophiusa*, or the *Snake-island*, as we have observed already ; and *Hesychius* tells us, that it was cleared of the serpents, which infested it, by *Neptune*, who for that purpose brought great flocks of storks into the island.

THE island of *Andros* lies between *Tenos* and *Eubœa*, being *Andros*. distant from the former one mile, and ten from the latter <sup>c</sup>. *Pliny* will have it to be ninety-three miles in compass; but the inhabitants say, it is an hundred and twenty. The antients give it various names, viz. *Cauros*, *Lassia*, *Nonagria*, *Epagris*, *Antandros*, and *Hydrusia*. The name of *Andros* it borrowed from one *Andreus*, who was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* <sup>a</sup>, one of the generals whom *Rhadamanthus* appointed to govern the *Cyclades*, after they had, of their own accord, submitted to him. *Conon* will have this *Andreus* to be the son of *Anius*, and grandson of *Apollo* and *Creusa*, and to have been the first who settled in this island. As to the name of *Antandros*, the same author tells us, that *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, being taken prisoner by the *Pelasgians*, gave them this island for his ransom, which on that account was called *Antandros*, that is, delivered for one man <sup>b</sup>. It had formerly a city of great note bearing the same name, and situated very advantageously on the brow of an hill, which commanded the whole coast <sup>c</sup> (C). The territory of *Andros* was antiently, and is still, one of the most fertile and pleasant countries in the whole *Archipelago*, abounding with all kinds of delicious fruit, and watered with innumerable springs, whence it had the name of *Hydrusia*, a name given by the *Greeks* to all places plentifully supplied with water (D).

## THE

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.<sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. v.<sup>b</sup> CONON.

narrat. 41.

<sup>c</sup> HERODOT. l. viii. & GALEN. de simpl. med. facul. l. ix.

(C) There are still to be seen, about two miles from the present town of *Arna*, the ruins of a great and strong wall, with the fragments of many columns, capitals, bases, broken statues, and several inscriptions, some of which mention the senate and people of *Andros*, and the priests of *Bacchus*; for in the town of *Andros* stood, as we read in *Strabo* and *Pliny*, a famous temple dedicated to that god.

(D) *Mutianus*, as quoted by *Pliny* (4), tells us, that, near the

temple of *Bacchus*, was a spring called the gift of *Jupiter*, the waters whereof had the taste of wine in the month of *January*, during the feasts of *Bacchus*, which lasted seven days. The same author adds, that the waters, if carried to a place whence the temple could not be seen, lost their miraculous taste (5). *Pausanias* makes no mention of this spring, but says, that, during the feasts of *Bacchus*, wine flowed, or was at least by the *Andrians* believed to flow, from the temple of that god; the priests, no

(4) *Plin.* l. ii. c. 103.(5) *Idem*, l. xxxi. c. 6.

*The city of Andros* **THE** *Andrians* were the first of all the islanders who joined the *Persians*; wherefore *Themistocles*, after the signal victory *besieged* by gained at *Salamis*, resolved to attack the city of *Andros*, and *Themistocles* oblige the inhabitants to pay large contributions for the maintenance of his fleet. Having landed his men in the island, he sent heralds to the magistrates, acquainting them, that the *Athenians* were come against them with two powerful divinities *persuasion* and *force*, and therefore they must part with their money by fair means or by foul. The *Andrians* returned answer, that they likewise had two mighty deities, who were very fond of their island, *poverty* and *impossibility*, and therefore could give no money. *Themistocles*, not satisfied with this answer, laid siege to the town<sup>f</sup>. Our historian does not acquaint us with the event of this undertaking; but we may suppose, that the *Athenian* general made himself master of the place, since *Pericles*, as we read in *Plutarch*<sup>g</sup>, a few years after, sent thither a colony of two hundred and fifty *Athenians*. It did not long continue subject to *Athens*, being retaken by the *Persians*, and besieged in vain by *Alcibiades*, who, after having taken and fortified the castle of *Gaurium*, left *Thrasylbulus* in it with a strong garison, and retired first to *Rhodes*, and thence to the island of *Cos*<sup>h</sup>. This, as the other *Greek* islands, submitted to *Alexander*, after whose death it sided with *Antigonus*, who was driven out by *Ptolemy*, whose successors held it to the *Roman* times, when *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* besieged the metropolis at the head of a *Roman* army, and, having taken it, was by the *Romans* put in possession of the whole island. Upon the death of that prince, the people of *Rome* claimed the island of *Andros*, as well as his other dominions, in virtue of his last will<sup>i</sup>.

*Gyarus.*

**GYARUS**, *Gyara*, or *Gyaræ*, lies near *Delos*, and is, according to *Pliny*<sup>k</sup>, twelve miles in compass. It is the most abandoned and disagreeable place of the whole *Archipelago*. In *Strabo*'s time it had but one small village, and that inhabited by a few beggarly fishermen, who, after the battle of *Ætium*, sent a deputation to *Augustus*, to obtain a diminution of their annual tribute, which was set at an hundred and fifty

<sup>f</sup> HERODOT. l. viii. c. 111.  
DOR. SIC. l. xiii.  
l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>g</sup> PLUT. in Pericl.

<sup>h</sup> LIV. l. xxxi. c. 43.

<sup>i</sup> DIO-

<sup>k</sup> PLIN.

doubt, found their account in great quantity of wine into the keeping up this belief, by conveying through secret conduits a temple.  
denarii.

denarii<sup>1</sup>. We are told by the antient writers, that this island was once infested by swarms of field-mice of an extraordinary size, which, after having driven out the inhabitants, were forced to live upon the iron that was dug out of the mines, finding nothing else to subsist on in so barren a place<sup>m</sup>. It was not therefore without reason that the Romans used to banish offenders to this island; for they had not in their wide-spreading dominions a more wretched and uncomfortable place to send them to.

THESE are the islands counted by *Strabo*, *Artemidorus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Stephanus*, and *Scylax*, among the *Cyclades*. We shall now proceed to *Delos* itself, and such islands as lie north of it on the coasts of *Greece*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*.

DELOS, an island heretofore of great fame, but at present *Delos*. an inhospitable and abandoned rock, serving only for a retreat to pirates, is placed by *Pliny* at fifteen miles distance from *Myconus*, eighteen from *Naxos*, and fifty from *Icaria*<sup>n</sup>. But that writer was certainly mistaken in his measures with regard to *Myconus* and *Naxos*, the former being distant from *Delos* but three miles, and the latter forty. *Delos* was known *Names*. to the antients by the names of *Cynethos* or *Cynthos*, *Asteria*, *Pelasgia*, *Chlamydius*, *Lagia*, *Pyrpilis*, *Scythias*, *Mydia*, and *Ortygia*<sup>o</sup>. It was named *Ortygia* and *Lagia*, from the two Greek words *ortyx* and *lagos*, the former signifying a quail, and the latter an hare, there being antiently great store of both in this island. The scholiast of *Apollonius*<sup>p</sup> says it was called *Ortygia* from a sister of *Latona* bearing that name; and *Cynethos* from the son of *Apollo*. *Pyrpilis* *Pliny* derives from the Greek word *pyr*, signifying fire, which he pretends to have been first found out here<sup>q</sup>. As to the name of *Delos*, the etymologists all agree in deriving it from a Greek verb signifying to appear, but vary as to the reason of its being appropriated to the island before us. *Pliny*, after *Aristotle*, pretends that the name of *Delos* was given it, because it rose unexpectedly out of the sea, and appeared floating on the water<sup>r</sup>. *Solinus* thinks it was the first of the islands that began to appear, after it had been, with the others of the *Archipelago*, for the space of nine months, under water, in the famous deluge that happened in the time of *Ogyges*. But this opinion is altogether groundless, and repugnant to reason; for, allowing all these islands to have been drowned in that deluge, yet the island we are speaking of could not appear the first after

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. l. x.

nat. mirab. c. 21.

anim. l. v. c. 14.

<sup>p</sup> Scholiast. in v. 1129.

<sup>m</sup> PLIN. l. iii. c. 29. ANTIG. CARIST.

ARIST. lib. de mirab. auctul. ÆLIAN. hist.

PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>o</sup> Idem ibid.

<sup>q</sup> PLIN. ibid.

<sup>r</sup> Idem ibid.



the waters began to retire, it being much lower than the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, *Myconus*, *Syros*, and *Naxos*, *Stephanus* tells us, that the name of *Delos* was given it on account of the oracle of *Apollo*, which made things, that were perplexed and obscure, clear and apparent. The poets will have it to be named *Delos*, because *Latona*, being delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*, shewed herself first here, not having dared to appear before, for fear of *Juno* (E).

The temple of *Apollo* in *Delos*.

As *Latona* was supposed to have been delivered in this island of *Apollo* and *Diana*, three most magnificent temples were erected here to these deities. That of *Apollo* was, according to *Strabo*\*, begun by *Erycthon* the son of *Cecrops*, but afterwards enlarged and embellished at the common charges of all the states of *Greece*. *Plutarch* tells us, that it was one of the most stately buildings in the universe, and speaks of an altar in it, which, in his opinion, deserves a place among the seven wonders of the world. It was built with the horns of various animals, so artificially joined and adapted to one another, as to hang together without being fastened by any kind of cement†. The trunk of the famous statue of *Apollo*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, is still an object of great admiration to all travellers. It is without head, feet, arms, or legs; but, from the parts that are yet remaining, it plainly appears, that the ancients did not exaggerate when they commended it as a wonder of art. It was of a gigantic size, though cut out of one single block of marble, the shoulders being six feet broad, and the thighs nine feet round. At a small distance from this statue lies, amongst confused heaps of broken columns, architraves,

\* STRABO, l. x. sub fin.

† PLUT. de solert. animal.

(E) It is still called by the Greeks *Dili*, or *Delis* in the plural, because under that name they comprehend another island known to the ancients by the name of *Rhenea*, which at some distance seems to be joined to *Delos*. These two the present inhabitants distinguish by the epithets of *little* and *great*; the *Delos* of the ancients they stile the *Little Delos*, it being but seven miles in compass, whereas the other is eighteen. *Pliny* ranks *Delos* among the floating islands, and the poets tell us, that it was fastened, some say by

*Neptune*, others by *Apollo*, with strong chains to the neighbouring islands of *Gyarus* and *Myconus*.

This is elegantly expressed by *Petronius Arbiter* in the following lines:

*Delos jam stabili revincta terra,  
Olim purpureo mari natabat,  
Et moto levis hinc & inde vento  
Ibat fluctibus inquietæ summis.  
Mox illam geminis deus catenis,  
Hac alta Gyaro ligavit, illac  
Constanti Myconæ dedit tenendam*  
(46).

(46) *Petron. Arb. in frag. satir.*

bases, chapiters, &c. a square piece of marble, fifteen feet and an half long, ten feet nine inches broad, and two feet three inches thick, which, without all doubt, served as a pedestal to this colossus. It bears, in very fair characters, this inscription in *Greek*, *The Naxians to Apollo*. *Plutarch* tell us, in the life of *Nicias*, that he caused to be set up near the temple of *Delos*, an huge palm-tree of brass, which he consecrated to *Apollo*; and adds, that a violent storm of wind threw down this tree on a colossian statue raised by the inhabitants of *Naxos*. Round the temple were magnificent porticoes built at the charges of various princes, as appears from inscriptions which are still very plain. The names of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Dionysius Eutyches* (F), *Mithridates Euergetes*, *Mithridates Eupator*, kings of *Pontus*, and *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, are found on several pedestals. To this temple the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands sent yearly a company of virgins, to celebrate, with dancing, the festival of *Apollo* and his sister *Diana*, and to make offerings in the name of their respective cities.

As *Delos* was the reputed birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, *Delos* *re-*  
it was highly revered by all nations, even by the *Persians* them- *revered by*  
selves, who, after having laid waste the other island, and *all nations.*  
every where destroyed the temples of the gods. spared *Delos*; nay *Datis*, who commanded the *Persian* fleet, would not even permit his ships to anchor in that harbour; but from *Naxos*, where he had committed great devastations, and burnt the city with all its temples, he proceeded to *Rhenæa*. There he received intelligence, that the *Delians* had on his approach abandoned their island, and retired with their effects to *Tenos*;

u PLUT. in Nicia.

(F) Most of our modern travellers take this *Dionysius* to be one of the tyrants of *Syracuse*; but the surname of *Eutyches*, or happy, does not at all suit *Dionysius* the younger, who was far from being happy, as is plain from the account we have given of his reign in the history of *Sicily*. As to *Dionysius* the elder, we find him every-where plundering and destroying the temples of the gods, even in his old-age;

we are therefore inclined to believe, that this *Dionysius* was tyrant of *Heraclea*; for both *Memnon* (1) and *Diodorus Siculus* (2) speak of one *Dionysius* tyrant of *Heraclea*, whose reign lasted thirty years, and was very happy. The ruins of the temple, which take up great part of the island, are carefully described by *Spon*, *Whewler*, *Tournefort*, and others, to whom we refer our readers.

(1) *Memnon apud Phot. bibl. c. 5.*  
*Alphensius deipn. l. xii. c. 26.*

(2) *Diod. Sic. l. xiv. & xx.*

whereupon he sent an herald to them with this message :  
 “ Sacred men, upon what account have you abandoned your  
 “ habitations, and by your flight discovered the ill opinion you  
 “ have of me ? I am not your enemy by inclination ; and  
 “ besides, I have been commanded by the king to forbear  
 “ practising any sort of hostilities in a country where two gods  
 “ were born, or using violence of any kind against the inha-  
 “ bitants or the place. Return therefore to your houses, and  
 “ resume the possession of your lands.” Upon the return of  
 the messenger, he sent the weight of three hundred talents of  
 frankincense, to be burnt on the altar of *Apollo*, and set sail  
 with his whole fleet, without suffering any of his soldiers to  
 land in the island (G).

Offerings  
 made to  
*Apollo* in  
 Delos.

THE offerings that were made to *Apollo* in this island, were,  
 according to an antient custom, first wrapped up in wheat-  
 straw. This ceremony passed from the *Hyperboreans* to the  
*Scythians*, and from the *Scythians* spread gradually through  
 the bordering nations, as far westward as the *Adriatic* sea, and  
 southward to *Dodona*, the *Dodonaans* having been the first  
 among the *Greeks* who embraced this custom. After-  
 wards it prevailed in the cities on the gulf of *Melis*, in  
 the island of *Eubœa*, and reached to *Caryssus*. The *Carys-  
 sians* introduced it among the *Tenians*, and these among the  
*Delians*. Thus was that ceremony first brought into *Delos* <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. c. 33.

(G) The *Delians* say, that, soon after his departure, the island was shaken by a violent earthquake, the first that had ever been felt there ; and that *Apollo* thereby foretold the many calamities that were ready to fall upon the *Greeks* of that age ; for the misfortunes they suffered under *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and *Artaxerxes*, were far greater than all the evils they had undergone for twenty generations before, as our historian rightly observes (7). In this island no hostilities were practised, even by the nations that were at war with each other, when they happened to meet here. Of this we have an instance in *Livy*, who tells us, that

the Roman deputies *Caius Popilius*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hostilius*, being obliged to put in at *Delos* on their voyage to *Syria* and *Egypt*, found the galleys of *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, and those of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, anchored in one and the same harbour, though these two princes were then making war upon one another. The same author adds, that the *Romans*, *Macedonians*, and *Pergameans*, conversed, and visited the temple together, as if they had been friends, the sanctity of the place suspending, to use *Livy's* expression, all manner of hostilities (8).

(7) *Herodot.* l. vi. c. 97, 98.

(8) *Liv.* l. xxxvi.

Our historian adds out of the antient *Delian* writers, that, long before the time we are now speaking of, the *Hyperboreans* had sent two young women, named *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, to propagate this ceremony, appointing five persons of distinction to attend them, whose memory was in our historian's time in great veneration among the *Delians*. As none of those, whom the *Hyperboreans* had sent out upon this errand, returned home, they dispatched others to the bordering countries, injoining them to introduce this ceremony among their neighbours, and prevail upon them to impart it to other nations. Thus, if we believe the *Delians*, these sacred rites were introduced, through many other nations and countries, into their island. The *Hyperborean* young women, *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, are said to have died in *Delos*, where their memory was honoured by the *Delian* maids, and young men, in the following manner : The maids cut off a lock of their hair before marriage, which they used to put upon a distaff, and offer it to these *Hyperborean* virgins on their tomb, which was within the temple of *Diana*. The young men likewise offered their hair on the same monument, twisted round a small tuft of grass. In the same age, but before the arrival of *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, two other *Hyperborean* women, *Argis* and *Opis*, landed in *Delos*, and brought into the island the first knowledge of the ceremony which was afterwards established by the two former. *Argis* and *Opis* were, on that account, honoured with great solemnity by the *Delian* women, who used to assemble at stated times, and sing hymns in their praise, composed by one *Olen a Lycian*, the author of several other hymns sung in the island of *Delos*. The ashes of the sacrifices, which were burnt on this occasion, were thrown upon their sepulchres, which, in our historian's time, were still to be seen behind the temple of *Diana* <sup>b</sup>.

THE oracle of *Apollo* in *Delos* was one of the most famous *The oracle* oracles in the world, as well for its antiquity, as for the number of *of Apollo*. and richness of the sacred presents dedicated to the god, and the multitudes of people that from all parts resorted thither for advice ; in which respect it surpassed not only all the oracles of other gods, but those of *Apollo* himself, that of *Delphi* alone excepted. Some writers tell us <sup>c</sup>, that the island had the name of *Delos* from the answers that were returned here by the oracle in most clear and plain terms, without any ambiguity or obscurity ; whereas in other places they were delivered in words capable of different, nay, opposite senses : but these answers were not to be expected all the year ; *Apollo* only

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. l. iv. c. 35.

<sup>c</sup> ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO.

kept his summer-residence in this place, and in winter retired to *Patara* a city of *Lycia* <sup>d</sup>. The presents, which the votaries offered here to *Apollo*, were laid on the altar which we have mentioned above. Some writers tell us, that this altar was erected by *Apollo* himself, when he was but four years old, and that it was formed of the horns of goats only killed by *Diana* on mount *Cynthus* <sup>e</sup>. It was not lawful to sacrifice any living creature upon this altar, it being the will of *Apollo*, that it should be preserved pure from blood, and all manner of pollution. The whole island enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, which extended to all living creatures, and on that account it abounded with hares, no dogs being suffered to enter it <sup>f</sup> (H).

Annual  
procession  
of the A-  
thenians to  
Delos.

WE must not omit, in this place, the annual procession made by the *Athenians* to the island of *Delos*. The author of this ceremony was *Thefeus*, who, being sent with other *Athenian* youths into *Crete* to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, made a vow to *Apollo*, that, if he granted them a safe return, they

<sup>d</sup> SERVIUS in Virg. *Æneid.* iv. ver. 143. Epistola  
Cydippes ad Acont. CALLIMACHI hymn. in Apoll. ver. 38. Po-  
LITIANI miscel. c. 52. <sup>e</sup> THUCYD. l. iv.

(H) *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens* was commanded by an oracle, as *Herodotus* informs us (9), to purify the island, which he did accordingly, causing the dead bodies to be taken up, and removed from all places within the prospect of the temple. In the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, the *Athenians*, by the advice of an oracle, purified it anew, by digging up all the dead bodies, and carrying them over to the island of *Rhenea*, where they were interred. Having thus cleared it from sepulchres and graves, in order to preserve it from pollution, they put forth an edict, whereby it was enacted, that for the future no person should be suffered to die, nor any woman to be brought to bed in the island; but,

when they were near the time of the one or the other, they should be carried over into *Rhenea* (10). In memory of this purification, the *Athenians* instituted a solemn feast, which was celebrated every fifth year, people flocking on that occasion to *Delos* from the neighbouring islands, and all parts of *Greece*. A few years after, the *Athenians*, to complete the purification of the island, drove out all the ancient inhabitants, whom they pretended to be polluted, on account of a crime by them committed in former times, but not mentioned by our historian. The *Delian* exiles retired to the continent, and settled in the city of *Adramyttium*, bestowed upon them by *Pharnaces* the *Persian* governor of *Asia*.

(9) *Herodot.* .b. i. c. 64.  
ibid.

(10) *Thucyd.* lib. iii.

(11) *Idem*

they should make a solemn voyage to his temple in *Delos* every year. This was called *Dorias*; the persons employed in it *Theori* and *Deliaſti*, from the name of the island; the chief of them *Architheoros*, and the ship, in which they went, *Theoris* or *Delias*, which was the very same that carried *Theſeus* and his companions to *Crete*, being preserved, ſays *Plutarch*, by the *Athenians*, till the time of *Demetrius* of *Phaleros*; they reſtored always what was decayed, and put new planks in the room of the old ones, inſomuch that it furniſhed the philoſophers with matter of diſpute, whether, after ſo many alterations and reparations, it might be ſtill called the ſame ſhip. The beginning of the voyage was computed, as *Plato* informs us <sup>k</sup>, from the time that the prieſt of *Apollo* firſt adorned the ſtern of the ſhip with garlands; and it was held unlawful to put any perſon to death till it returned: and this was the reaſon why *Socrates* was reprieved for thirty days after his condemnation <sup>l</sup>. Upon their arrival at *Delos*, they offered a ſolemn ſacrifice, and celebrated a feſtival in honour of *Apollo*, and then, repairing to their ſhips, ſailed back to *Athens*, where they were received with great demonſtrations of joy. Another feaſt was inſtituted by *Theſeus* on his return from *Crete*, and celebrated every fifth year by the *Delians*, in honour of *Venus*, whoſe ſtatue *Theſeus* received from *Ariadne*, and left in that iſland. The chief ceremonies on this occaſion were the following: They crowned the ſtatue of the goddeſs with garlands, appointed horſe-races, and performed a remarkable dance called the *crane*, wherein they repreſented, by their motions, the various windings of the *Cretan* labyrinth, out of which *Theſeus*, who was the inventor of the dance, made his eſcape <sup>m</sup>.

THE city of *Delos* took up, as is manifeſt from the magnificent ruins that are ſtill to be ſeen, that ſpacious plain <sup>The city of Delos;</sup> which reaches from one coaſt to the other, and extends eaſtward as far as the iſthmus. It was well peopled, and the richeſt city of the *Archipelago*, eſpecially after the deſtruction

<sup>k</sup> PLATO in Phæd.

rab. l. iv.

<sup>l</sup> Idem ibid. & XENOPH. memorab. l. iii.

<sup>m</sup> THUCYD. l. iii. CALLIMACH. hymn. Delon. PLUT. in Theſeo.

*Minor.* The *Athenians* ſuffered great loſſes, both by ſea and land, after their expulſion; whereupon they ſoon recalled them, and put them anew in poſſeſſion of the iſland. Some

choſe to remain in *Adramyttium*, where they were barbarouſly murdered by the command of one *Aſtacus* deputy to *Tiſſaphernes* governor of *Lydia* (11).

of *Corinth*, merchants flocking thither from all parts, both in regard of the immunity they enjoyed there, and of the convenient situation of the place between *Europe* and *Asia*. *Strabo* calls it one of the most frequented empories of the world<sup>n</sup>; and *Pliny* tells us, that all the commodities of *Europe* and *Asia* were sold, purchased, or exchanged there<sup>o</sup>. It contained many noble and stately buildings, namely, the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Latona*, the portico's of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and of *Dionysius Eutyches*, a *gymnasium*, an oval basin, made at an immense expence, for the representation of sea-fights, and a most magnificent theatre.

*The river Inapus.* STRABO<sup>p</sup> and *Callimachus*<sup>q</sup> tell us, that the island was watered by the river *Inapus*; but *Pliny*<sup>r</sup> calls it only a spring, and adds, that its waters swelled and abated at the same time with those of the *Nile*, as if there had been some communication between the *Nile* and the *Inapus*, which, in *Strabo*'s opinion<sup>s</sup>, is carrying prodigies too far. At present there is no river in the island; but one of the noblest springs in all the *Archipelago*, being twelve paces diameter, and inclosed partly by rocks, and partly by a wall. Mount *Cynthus*, whence *Apollo* had the surname of *Cynthius*, is by *Strabo* placed near the city, and said to be so high, as to cover the whole island with its shadow; but our modern travellers speak of it as an hill of a very moderate height. On mount *Cynthus* *Latona* is said to have been delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*; whence it was looked upon by the antients as sacred. It is but one block of granite of the ordinary sort, cut on that side which faced the city, in regular steps, inclosed on both sides with a wall. On the top of the mountain are still to be seen the remains of a stately building, with a mosaic pavement, many broken pillars, and other valuable monuments of antiquity. From an inscription which has lately been discovered there, and mentions a vow made to *Serapis*, *Isis*, and *Anubis*, some have conjectured, that on this hill stood a temple consecrated to these *Egyptian* deities, though no-where spoken of by the antients.

*Mount Cynthus.*

*Government.* THE island of *Delos* was, it seems, in antient times, governed by kings; for *Virgil* mentions one *Anius* reigning here in the time of the *Trojan* war. He was, according to that poet, both king, and high-priest of *Apollo*, and entertained *Aeneas* with great kindness. This *Anius* was descended from *Cadmus*, and had by his wife *Dorippe* three daughters, *Oeno*, *Spermo*, and *Elais*, who are feigned by the poets to have re-

<sup>n</sup> STRAB. l. x. sub fin.    <sup>o</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 6.    <sup>p</sup> STRABO, ibid.    <sup>q</sup> CALLIM. ver. 263.    <sup>r</sup> PLIN. l. ii. c. 101.    <sup>s</sup> STRABO, l. vi.

ceived from *Bacchus* the power of changing whatever they touched into wine, wheat, or seed; and oil, as their names import, *oinos* in *Greek* signifying wine; *sperma* seed, and *Elaiou* oil. The great quantity of wine, wheat and oil, which accrued to their father *Anius* from the offerings made to *Apollo*, gave rise to this fable<sup>t</sup>. The *Persians*, as we have hinted above, allowed the *Delians* to enjoy their antient liberties, after they had reduced all the other *Greek* islands. In after-ages the *Athenians* made themselves masters of *Delos*, and held it till they were driven out by *Mithridates the Great*, who plundered the rich temple of *Apollo*, and obliged the *Delians* to side with him. *Mithridates* was, in his turn, dispossessed of it by the *Romans*, who granted the inhabitants many privileges, and exempted them from all sort of tribute and taxes. It is at present quite abandoned, the lands being so covered with ruins and rubbish, as not to admit of any sort of culture. The inhabitants of *Mycone* hold it now, and pay but ten crowns land-tax to the grand signor for an island, which was once one of the richest countries in the world.

THE island of *Rhenæa*, *Rhenia* or *Rbene*, is separated from *Rhenæa*. *Delos* by a streight about five hundred paces over. It is now called the *Great Sdili* or *Deli*, and is about eighteen miles in compass. *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, having made himself master of this island, consecrated it to *Apollo*, fastening it to *Delos* with a long chain<sup>u</sup>. It has excellent pasture-grounds; but nevertheless is at present quite abandoned, none daring to settle there for fear of the pirates, who infest the *Archipelago*. On the coast facing *Delos* are still to be seen the ruins of a great city; and near to the city was the burying-place of the *Delians*, as is plain from some inscriptions on tomb-stones found there. It is somewhat strange, that *Strabo* should call *Rhenæa* a little uninhabited island, since it is three times as big as *Delos*, and was, in former times, so far as we can guess from the ruins of antient buildings, as well peopled as *Delos* itself.

SCYRUS, now *Sciro*, lies over-against *Eubæa*, from which *Scyrus*. It is about eight-and-twenty miles distant. It is sixty miles in compass, but a very barren and inhospitable country, being full of hills and rocks; whence it had the name of *Scyros*; that is, rugged and barren: however, in *Strabo's* time, it yielded excellent wine, and was famed, as the same author tells us, for its goats<sup>w</sup>; but so unprovided with corn, and all other necessities of life, that any poor and barren country was proverbially called, *The principality of Scyrus*<sup>x</sup>. The

<sup>t</sup> Vide SERVIVM in l. iii. *Æneid.* ver. 80.<sup>u</sup> THUCYD.

l. iii.

<sup>w</sup> STRAB. l. xiv. sub fin.<sup>x</sup> ERASM. chiliad.



Inhabit  
ants, go  
vernment,  
&c.

same writer commends the marble quarries of this island; and *Pliny* speaks of a kind of stone found here, which swam when intire, and sunk when broken. *Scyrus* was, according to *Plutarch*<sup>1</sup>, first peopled by the *Pelasgians* and *Carians* (Z); but there is no mention made of it in history till the reign of *Lycomedes*, who was king of this island, when *Theseus* retired to it to take possession of his paternal estate. That prince, either jealous of the superior genius of *Theseus*, or not caring to provoke *Mnestheus*, who had driven him out of *Athens*, by entertaining the exile, led him to the top of a rock, under pretence of shewing him his father's lands, and from thence threw him treacherously into the sea<sup>2</sup>. In this island, and in the court of the same *Lycomedes*, *Achilles* lay concealed till he was discovered by *Ulysses*, and sent, with the other *Greek* princes, to war against *Troy*, which, according to the oracle, could not be conquered without his assistance. While he lived among the king's daughters, disguised under the apparel of a woman, he had by *Deidamia*, who was one of them, *Neoptolemus*, called *Pyrrhus*, on account of his yellow hair. *Neoptolemus* was brought up in this island, and raised here the brave troops which he carried to the war of *Troy*, to revenge his father's death. Many ages after the *Trojan* war, *Scyrus* was reduced by the *Athenians*, under the command of *Cimon*, who brought from thence the bones of *Theseus*, as we have

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. in Theseo.

<sup>2</sup> Idem ibid.

(Z) *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* tells us, that, after the island had been long held by the *Pelasgians* and *Carians*, the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, the capital of *Eubœa*, sent thither a colony, which settled on the coast, leaving the inland places to the ancient proprietors. The *Dolopes* likewise, as *Plutarch* informs us (47), inhabited part of the island, and used to seize and strip such as came to traffick with the *Chalcidians*, and other inhabitants. Some of these, being sentenced to restore to the merchants of *Thessaly* the goods which they had taken from them, to

prevent the execution of the sentence, betrayed the town to *Cimon* the *Athenian*, as we read in *Thucydides* (48). The city bore the same name as the island, and was famous for a magnificent temple built on the sea-side, in honour of *Pallas*, the tutelary goddess of the country. Of this temple, and of another dedicated to *Neptune*, there are still some remains to be seen near the present port called *St. George's* haven. *Goltzius* exhibits the type of a medal of this city, with *Neptune* holding his trident on one side, and the prow of a ship on the other.

(47) Plut. in Cimon.

(48) Thucyd. l. i.

related elsewhere <sup>a</sup> (A). The island of *Scyrus* was taken from the *Athenians* by the *Persians*, but afterwards restored to them by the articles of the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. After the death of *Alexander*, to whom this island submitted, *Demetrius*, surnamed *Poliorectes*, or the *Town-taker*, made himself master of it, and restored the inhabitants to their ancient liberty <sup>a</sup>, which they enjoyed till they were, with the other *Greek* states, brought under the *Roman* yoke.

FROM *Scyrus* *Strabo* proceeds to the islands of *Sciathus*, *Sciathus*. *Peparethus*, *Icos*, and *Halonesus*, which, according to him, lie in the *Ægean* sea, near the coast of *Magnesia* <sup>b</sup>. *Sciathus*, now *Sciato* and *Sciatta*, lies about four leagues north of *Eubæa*, is thirty miles in compass, and separated from the continent of *Magnesia* by a narrow strait <sup>c</sup>. *Pomponius Mela* places it more to the south, over-against the *Pegasæan* bay, called now the gulf of *Volo*. It had formerly two cities, one of which, called also *Sciathus*, was demolished by *Philip* the father of *Perses*, lest the *Romans* should seize it <sup>d</sup>. In the *Roman* times it served as a place of retreat for pirates; wherefore *Bruttius Sura*, having made himself master of it, crucified all the slaves he found in the island, and cut off the right hands of all the inhabitants he could seize <sup>e</sup>. *Seneca* calls it a barren and abandoned island, and such it is to this day, being uninhabited on account of the pirates, who still continue to infest it.

PEPARETHUS is placed by *Stephanus* in the neighbourhood *Pepare-* of *Eubæa*, wherein he disagrees with all the antients, who thus speak of it as lying between the islands of *Sciathus* and *Scyrus*, thirty leagues from mount *Athos*, and eight from the coast of *Magnesia* (B). It is about twenty miles in circumference, and

<sup>a</sup> See vol. vi. p. 185.

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. ix. p. 300.

<sup>d</sup> LIV. l. xxxi. c. 19.

<sup>a</sup> DIODORUS SICULUS, l. xx.

<sup>e</sup> HERODOT. l. vii. c. 159.

APPIAN. in Mithridat.

(A) Solemn sacrifices were offered on this occasion; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, a yearly contest for tragic writers was instituted, which became very famous, and greatly contributed to the improvement of dramatic compositions, by the emulation it excited among the tragic poets. On this occasion *Sophocles* brought his first performance on the stage,

and won the prize, though he had *Æschylus* for his competitor; which the conquered poet, who, till that time, had been considered as the best tragedian of his age, not being able to brook, left *Athens*, and withdrew to *Sicily*, where he spent the remainder of his life.

(B) Some modern geographers, namely, *Benjamin*, give the island of *Peparethus* the name

and formerly abounded with excellent olives, as *Ovid* informs us <sup>f</sup>. *Pliny* boasts of the excellency of its wines, and tells us, that *Apollodorus*, a famous physician, in a book which he wrote about the choice of wines, and dedicated to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, preferred that of *Peparethus* to any other. The same author adds, that it was not in great request, as not being palatable, till it was seven years old <sup>g</sup>. From the excellence of its wines, it was called, in the most early ages, *Euænus*, that is, *producing good wine*, or the wine-island <sup>h</sup>. In this island was formerly a city of the same name, which was destroyed, together with *Sciathus*, by *Philip* of *Macedon*, in his war with the *Romans* <sup>i</sup>.

**Icus.** Icus is, by *Stephanus*, counted among the *Cyclades*, and placed near *Eubæa*; but by *Livy* <sup>k</sup> between the islands of *Sciathus* and *Scyros*. It is a very small island, but nevertheless had antiently two cities, whence it was also called *Dipolis*.

**Halonesus** HALONESUS is placed by *Pliny* <sup>l</sup> between *Samothrace* and the *Thracian Chersonesus* at an equal distance, that is, of fifteen miles, from both. But *Strabo* <sup>m</sup> and *Mela* <sup>n</sup> speak of it as lying between *Icos* and *Scyros*, over-against *Magnefia*. It had formerly a town of the same name, and, being claimed both by the *Athenians*, and by *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave rise to a war, as *Stephanus* informs us, between those two powers. It is at present called *Pelagnisi* and *Pelagisi*.

**Chryse.** BETWEEN these islands on the coast of *Magnefia*, and *Lesbos* on the coast of *Asia*, lies a small island, called by the antients *Chryse*, and now known by the name of *S. Strato*. There were formerly two islands bearing this name, whereof one, if *Pausanias* <sup>o</sup> may be credited, sunk into the sea, and never afterwards appeared.

**Lemnos.** THE island of *Lemnos* lies between mount *Athos* (B) and the *Thracian Chersonesus*, being, according to *Pliny's* account <sup>p</sup>, distant

<sup>f</sup> OVID. metam. vii. ver. 470.

<sup>g</sup> PLIN. l. xiv. c. 7.

<sup>h</sup> Idem, l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>i</sup> APPIAN. ubi supra.

<sup>k</sup> LIV.

l. xxxi. c. 45.

<sup>l</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>m</sup> STRABO,

ubi supra.

<sup>n</sup> POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7.

<sup>o</sup> PAUS.

in Arcad. c. 33.

<sup>p</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

of *Opula*; others, as *Niger*, that of *Lemene*; and some, particularly *Castaldus*, call it *Seraquino*; but in the sea-charts it is commonly known by the name of *Piperi*.

(B) Mount *Athos* reaches a great way into the sea, in the

form of a peninsula, and is joined to the land by an isthmus twelve furlongs over. It extends towards the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, between the gulfs of *Strymon* and *Singum*, of which the former is now called the gulf of *Monte Santo*, and the latter the

distant twenty-two miles from *Imbros*, eighty-seven from mount *Athos*, twenty-two from *Samothrace*, and five from *Thasos*. The same author makes it an hundred and twelve miles in compass; and *Stephanus* tells us, that it was called *Lemnos* from *Juno*, whom the antient inhabitants worshiped under that name, sacrificing yearly to her a young woman. It was also called *Hypsipylea*, from the daughter of *Thoas* king of the island; but is now known by the name of *Stalemene* or *Stalimini*. It had in former times two cities, *Hephestias* and *Myrina*. The former was the capital of the island, and took its name from *Hephaistos* or *Vulcan*, the tutelary god of the place, and is now known by the name of *Cochino*, as the latter is by that of *Lemno* and *Stalimene*. The country is full of hills and vales, which, in some places, are well cultivated, and produce all sorts of fruit. The eastern part of the island is dry and barren, but the country lying on the western and southern coasts, as it abounds more with springs, is very fruitful. It has two high mountains, one of which, called by *Hesychius* and *Nicanor Mesehilæ*, vomits flames like mount *Ætna* in *Sicily*; and hence the island was called in antient times *Æthalia*, which *Bochart* derives from a Greek verb signifying to burn (C). This island has ever been

the gulf of *Contessa*. *Stephanus* tells us, that it borrowed its name from a giant, who lived in that neighbourhood. We may judge of its height by what the antient writers say of it, viz. that in the summer-solstice, its shade reached as far as the market-place of *Myrina*, in the island of *Lemnos*; that is, according to *Pliny*, eighty-six miles. It is reckoned to be an hundred and fifty miles in circumference, and has been known, since the Greek monks made it the place of their retreat, by the name of *Monte Santo*, or the *Holy mountain*. In the market-place of *Myrina* stood a statue of white marble, representing a calf, which being shaded by mount *Athos*, gave rise to the proverb, *Mount*

*Athos darkens the white calf of Lemnos*, applicable to those, who, with calumnies and false reports, endeavour to tarnish the reputation of deserving men (49). But of this famous mountain, more at length in the history of *Macedon*.

(C) The island was consecrated to *Vulcan*, whom the inhabitants worshiped as their tutelary god. They were believed to have been the first blacksmiths, which gave the poets occasion to feign, that *Vulcan*, when he was thrown down from heaven, fell in the island of *Lemnos*, where he built his forge. These fabulous opinions were recorded on their medals, some of which are still to be seen stamped with the head of a *Vulcan*, and his usual sym-

Terra Si-  
gillata.

been famous for a certain kind of earth, or rather chalk, called *Terra Lemnia*, from the place, and *Terra Sigillata*, from the seal or character that is imprinted on it: It has been always deemed an excellent remedy against poisons, stings of serpents, wounds, and bloody fluxes (D).

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hols; viz. his anvil, pincers, and hammer, which, according to the fictions of the poets, he used in making new thunderbolts for *Jupiter*.

(D) In the time of *Dioscorides*, they used to mix this earth with goats-blood, and sell it made up in small pellets, each pellet being sealed with the figure of a goat. This manner of preparing it was no more used in *Galen's* time; for that great man undertook a voyage to *Lemnos*, with no other view but to inquire, on the spot, into the nature, virtue, and qualities of that wonderful earth. He tells us, that it was then dug up with a great many religious ceremonies; that the priests went in procession to a rising ground, at a small distance from the city of *Hephestias*, the only place where they supposed this earth to be found; and there, after sowing a certain measure of wheat and barley, and performing other mysterious ceremonies, they loaded a cart with the earth, which they attended in procession to the city. The ceremonies described by *Galen* have been long since abolished, and others, which are still practised, brought in probably by the *Venetians*, in their room; for, on the sixth of *August*, and on no other day, all the chief men of the island, whether *Turks* or *Christians*, assemble at a chapel called *Sotira*, standing half-way between the

city, or rather the village, of *Cochino*, and the hill where the earth is found, to the top of which they walk in procession. There the *caloyers*, or *Greek* priests read their liturgy; which being done, certain persons appointed for that purpose, begin to dig, and having discovered a vein of the earth they look for, give notice thereof to the *caloyers*, who fill with it certain small hair sacks, delivering them to the *Turkish* governor, and other officers there present. When they have taken up as much as they think proper, they fill up the place again, and return in procession to the city. Some of the bags are sent to the grand signor, and the rest marked with his seal, or with these two words, *tin imachtan*, that is, *sealed earth*, sold by the *sungiac*, or his deputies, to the inhabitants and foreign merchants. The *sungiac* is accountable to the grand signor's treasury for the money arising from the sale of the whole; which is yearly disposed of, it being a capital crime for any of the inhabitants to keep in their houses, export, or any-ways dispose of it, without the governor's knowledge and licence. There is no doubt, but earth of the same nature might be found in other places of the island; tho' none of the orientals would make use of it, unless it were dug up with the usual ceremonies, and in the presence of the *caloyers*; nay, it would

THE labyrinth of *Lemnos* is much spoken of by the antients, *The labyrinth*, in the opinion of *Pliny* <sup>1</sup>, preferable to those of *Egypt* *labyrinth*. and *Crete*. It was a magnificent building, supported by forty columns of extraordinary height and thickness. The architects employed in raising this admirable edifice were *Zmi-lus*, *Rholus*, and *Theodorus*, a native of the island. Some remains of this stately fabric were still to be seen in *Pliny's* time; but *Belonius* tells us, that he could not discover, in any part of the island, the least vestiges of it.

THE most antient inhabitants of *Lemnos* were the *Sapeans* *Inhabitants* and *Sintians*, a people of *Thrace*, to whom *Homer* gives the *ants*, go- epithet of hoarse. These inhabited the island before the *ants*, go- vernment, pedition of the *Argonauts*, whose descendants, known by the *&c.* name of *Minyans*, settled here, but soon abandoned the country, and retired to the city of *Lacedæmon*, from whence they went to *Triphylia*, and stopped in the neighbourhood of *Arena*, in a country, which, in *Strabo's* time, was called *Lypefia* <sup>2</sup>. Many years after their departure from *Lemnos*, the *Pelasgians*, being driven out of *Attica*, possessed themselves of this and the adjacent islands, and governed them according to their own laws, till they were brought under subjection to *Athens* by *Miltiades*. As to the motive which prompted the *Athenians* *What* to drive them out of *Attica*, there is a great disagreement *prompted* among authors, some pretending that they were justly ex- *the Athe-* pelled, and others maintaining, that the *Athenians* therein *nians to* were guilty of the greatest injustice and treachery. *Herodo-* *drive the* *Pelasgians* *out of At-* *tica.* *tus* leaves the cause undecided, and only relates what was re- ported by writers of both sides. *Hecataeus* (C), as quoted by him,

<sup>1</sup> PLIN. ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> STRABO, ubi supra.

would be in no request among them, as our modern travellers inform us, unless it were dug up on the usual day, *August 6*.

(C) *Hecataeus* was a native of *Miletus*, flourished, according to *Suidas*, in the sixty-fifth *Olympiad*, and wrote the lives of *Cyrus* and *Cambyfes*. *Laertius* says, that he was a disciple of *Heraclitus*. He is frequently mentioned by *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Hecataeus*, being at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, had the vanity to give

out, that he was descended from one of the *Egyptian* deities, whereby he became the scorn of the priests of the country (50). The same author informs us, that he did all that lay in his power to dissuade *Aristagoras* from entering into a war with the *Persians*, and sending colonies into *Sardinia* (51). Besides the lives of the two above-mentioned princes, he wrote, it seems, other books; for *Stephanus* cites the first and fourth books of his

(50) *Herodot.* l. ii. c. 43, & seqq.

(51) *Idem*, l. v. c. 36.

him \*, tells us, that the *Athenians*, seeing the lands about *Hymessus*, which they had given to the *Pelasgians* in payment for the wall they had built round the *Acropolis*, or citadel of *Athens*, improved from a barren and unprofitable soil into a fruitful and well cultivated country, drove them out without any provocation whatsoever, and resumed the country which they had bestowed upon them. On the other hand the *Athenians* affirm, that the *Pelasgians*, while they were possessed of the country under mount *Hymessus*, frequently offered violence to their sons and daughters, who were sent for water to a place called the *nine fountains*. They add, that the *Pelasgians*, not contented with these attempts, conspired to possess themselves of *Athens* itself; which conspiracy being detected, the *Athenians*, to shew themselves as generous as the others had been base, instead of punishing them with death, as their treachery deserved, commanded them only to depart the country. The *Pelasgians*, being thus driven from *Attica*, passed over into *Lemnos*, and settled there; but, desiring to be revenged on the *Athenians*, they fitted out a fleet, and, having laid an ambuscade for the *Athenian* women, as they celebrated the feast of *Diana* in *Brauron*, they surprised a great many of them, carried them to *Lemnos*, and there kept them for concubines. These women, having many children by the *Pelasgians*, taught their sons the language of *Attica*, and manners of the *Athenians*. Being thus brought up, they not only refused to converse with the sons of the *Pelasgian* women, but, if any of their number was injured or abused by the *Pelasgians*, they all conspired to revenge the injury. By this means they gained such an ascendant over the sons of the *Pelasgian* women, that they were obeyed by them, as masters are by their slaves. The *Pelasgians*, observing this their haughty behaviour, concluded, that, if they began so early to usurp a superiority over the children of their lawful wives, they would not fail to treat them as their slaves when they attained to mens estate. This apprehension made so deep an impression in their minds, that they resolved to murder the children they had by the women of *Attica*; which

\* HERODOT. l. vi. c. 137, & seqq.

genealogies, *Harpocraton* the second, and *Athenæus* the third. *Stephanus*, *Athenæus*, and *Rufus Festus*, quote a description of *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Libya*, compiled by *Hecataeus*; but *Callimachus*, in his catalogue of authors, ascribes

this work to another *Hecataeus*, whom he surnames the *islander*. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pausanias* tell us, that the history of *Hecataeus*, as likewise those of *Cadmus* and *Hellanicus*, were full of fables.

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they did accordingly, extending their cruelty likewise to the mothers. After this barbarous murder, their lands, as we are told, became barren, their wives unfruitful, and their flocks did not yield the usual increase; whereupon they sent persons to consult the *Delphian* oracle, about the means they might use to be delivered from their calamities. The *Pythian* advised them to give satisfaction to the *Athenians* in the manner they should require. Having received this answer, they dispatched ambassadors to *Athens*, declaring, that they were ready to undergo any punishment the *Athenians* should think fit to impose upon them for the injuries they had received at their hands. The *Athenians*, hearing their offer, prepared a magnificent feast in the *prytaneum*, and, shewing them the tables furnished with all kinds of provisions, commanded them to surrender their country in as good a condition. The *Pelasgians* answered, that they would comply with their command, when a ship should come in one day with a north wind from the territories of *Athens* to their island. This they conceived impossible, *Athens* lying to the south of *Lemnos*; but, in virtue of this solemn promise, *Alcibiades* many years after summoned them to deliver up their island to the *Athenians*.

As to their government, it was first monarchical; but *Thoas* their government is the only king of *Lemnos* we find mentioned in history. In his reign, and, if we believe *Herodotus* <sup>1</sup>, with his assistance monarchical the *Lemnian* women killed all the males of the island, with a design to turn *Amazons*; from which action, and the murder of the *Athenian* women, which happened long after, any black treachery or cruel murder was called a *Lemnian action* <sup>2</sup>. Other writers tell us, that *Thoas*, whom *Homer* honours with the epithet of *divine*, was no-ways concerned in the above-mentioned murder, but saved by the piety of his daughter *Hyppisyle* in the common slaughter of all the other males, as we have related in the foregoing volume <sup>3</sup>. Some writers tell us <sup>4</sup>, that she was banished the island for sparing her father; others, that she was raised to the throne, and reigned in *Lemnos* when the *Argonauts* touched at that island. *Jason*, say they, by whom she had two children, and the other *Argonauts*, were so kindly entertained by her and her female subjects, that they stopped there two years, and almost forgot their intended expedition into *Colchis* for the golden fleece <sup>5</sup>. The *Lemnians*, after having enjoyed their liberty for many ages, were at last reduced by *Miltiades* under the power of the *Athenians*, in the manner we have related elsewhere <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi. p. 165.

<sup>3</sup> Vide STAT. l. iv. & v. Thebaid.

<sup>4</sup> Idem ibid. & ERASM. chiiad.

<sup>5</sup> APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. vi. p. 375, notis.



In process of time they shook off the *Athenian* yoke, but were again subjected to their antient masters by the *Romans* after the *Macedonian* war, and continued in that state, till *Sylla* made them tributary to *Rome*.

Imbros.

IMBROS, now *Embro* and *Lembro*, lies over-against the *Thracian Chersonesus*, from which it is divided by a narrow strait, being distant, according to *Thucydides* <sup>a</sup>, from *Lemnos* two-and-twenty miles, and two-and-thirty, as *Pliny* informs us <sup>b</sup>, from *Samothrace*. The same *Pliny* makes it twenty-seven miles in circumference; but the modern travellers only twenty. It had antiently a very safe harbour on the east shore, and a city bearing the name of the island. The whole island was sacred to the *Cabiri*, and to *Mercury*; whence it is stiled by *Homer* the divine *Imbros* (W). *Imbros*, like the other islands of the *Ægean* sea, was governed some time by its own laws, but afterwards subjected to the *Persians*, *Athenians*, *Macedonians*, and to the kings of *Pergamus*. At the peace concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, it was by the latter delivered up to the *Athenians*, who held it till *Rome*, becoming powerful in the east, reduced this and the other islands to a *Roman* province.

Thasos.

THASOS or *Thassus* lies on the coast of *Thrace*, at a small distance from the mouth of the *Nessus*. It was formerly known by the names of *Odonis*, *Æria*, *Æthria*, *Ogygia*, *Ætæ*, *Ceræfis* and *Chryse*. This last name it borrowed from its rich mines of gold, much spoken of by the antients. It was called *Thasos*, from *Thasus* the brother of *Cadmus*, who settled here, and built a city of the same name, as *Herodotus* <sup>c</sup> and *Conon* <sup>f</sup> inform us. It is about forty miles in compass, and so fruitful, that the fertility of *Thasos* was used by the antients by way of proverb, to express a country yielding great plenty of all the necessaries of life <sup>g</sup>. The wine of *Thasos* is highly commended by *Apuleius* <sup>h</sup>, and the *Thasian* marble by *Seneca*.

<sup>a</sup> THUCYD. I. viii.

<sup>b</sup> PLIN. I. iv. c. 12.

<sup>c</sup> HERODOT.

I. ii. c. 44. & vi. 47.

<sup>f</sup> CONON. narrat. 37.

<sup>g</sup> Vide

ERASM. chiliad.

<sup>h</sup> APULEIUS, apolog. p. 289.

(W) In honour of these deities an annual solemnity was kept by the *Imbrians*, *Lemnians*, and *Samothracians*; and such as were initiated into their mysteries were thought effectually secured against storms at sea, and all other dangers (52). The chief ceremo-

ny was this: the person who was to be initiated, being crowned with olive-branches, and girt about his loins with a purple ribbon, was placed upon a throne, round which the priests, and persons already initiated, danced and sported (53).

(52) Diod. Sic. I. v.

(53) Plato, *Euthydemo*, *Hesychius*.

ca<sup>1</sup>. This island was first peopled by the *Phœnicians*, whom *Cad-Inhabit-*  
*mus*, while he was going in search of his sister *Europa*, left *ants, go-*  
 here under the conduct of his brother *Thafus*, as we have *vernment,*  
 hinted above. Some ages after, the inhabitants of *Paros* sent &c.  
 a colony hither, being directed by an oracle to build a city in  
 the island of *Aeria*, and to send thither a sufficient number of  
 citizens to people it<sup>k</sup>. The city of *Thafos* was besieged in *The city of*  
 vain by *Histiæus* tyrant of *Miletus*; but afterwards taken and *Thafos be-*  
 dismantled by *Darius Hystaspis* king of *Persia*. The *Thasians* *sieged in*  
 did not continue long subject to the *Persians*, but laid hold *vain by*  
 of the first opportunity that offered to join the *Greeks* against *Histiæus*;  
 the common enemy, entering into an alliance with the *Athe-*  
*nians*, from whom they revolted, after the battle fought on  
 the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*; but were obliged by *Ci-*  
*mon*, the *Athenian* admiral, after having endured a three years  
 siege, to submit upon very disadvantageous terms, viz. to  
 raze their walls; to deliver up their galleys; to pay the usual  
 tribute; and to quit the mines in *Thrace*, and whatever else  
 they possessed on the continent<sup>l</sup>. In the twenty-first year  
 of the *Peloponnesian* war, they revolted anew from the *Athe-*  
*nians*, who were for establishing an oligarchy in their city,  
 and, with the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians*, recovered their  
 antient liberty, after having driven out all those who were  
 attached to the interest of *Athens*<sup>m</sup>. They maintained them-  
 selves a free people till the time of *Alexander*, to whom they  
 submitted of their own accord, and continued subject to the  
 kings of *Macedon*, till they were delivered from the *Mace-*  
*donian* yoke, and declared free by one of the articles of the  
 peace concluded between *Philip* the father of *Perfes*, and  
*Flaminius* the *Roman* consul<sup>n</sup> (D).

SAMO-

<sup>1</sup> SENEC. epist. 86.<sup>k</sup> STRAB. l. x. p. 335.<sup>l</sup> THU-CYD. l. i. <sup>m</sup> Idem l. viii.<sup>n</sup> LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 30.

POLYB. in exc. legat.

(D) *Stesimbrotus*, who is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, was a native of *Thafos*, and contemporary with *Cimon*, as *Plutarch* observes in the life of that great commander. The same writer owns, that in his lives of *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*, he took several particulars from the history of *Stesimbrotus*. *Ta-*

*tian* mentions this historian in the book he wrote against the gentiles. The etymologist, on the word *Ἰδαίος* tells us, that this author's book was intitled, *Of the beginnings or origins*, and that in the said book he maintained the *Idæi Daëtyli* to be the sons of *Jupiter*, and the nymph *Ida*. *Fulgentius* (54) quotes *Stesimbro-*

Samothrace.

SAMOTHRACE was antiently known by the names of *Melites*, *Leucasia*, or *Lucania*, *Saosis*, *Electria*, and *Dardania*. It was called *Dardania*, according to *Pliny* <sup>o</sup> and *Pausanias* <sup>p</sup>, from *Dardanus*, who retired thither. The same authors add, that it changed the name of *Dardania* into that of *Samothrace*, from the time that a colony of *Thracians*, mixed with some fugitives from the island of *Samos*, settled there. But *Diodorus Siculus* <sup>q</sup> pretends, that the *Amazon Myrina*, in the course of her conquests on the coast of the *Ægean* sea, consecrated this island to *Cybele* under the name of *Samothrace*, a term, says he, then used to signify a consecrated place. Before and in the time of the *Trojan* war, it was called *Samos*, and distinguished from *Samos* on the coast of *Ionis*, and from *Cephalenia* named likewise *Samos*, by the epithet of *Thracian*, *Imbrian*, or *Lemnian*. It is by *Homer* constantly stiled the *Thracian Samos*, which appellation the *Latins*, as *Virgil* <sup>r</sup> informs us, changed into that of *Samothracia*. *Strabo* <sup>s</sup> is of opinion, that it took the name of *Samos* from a *Greek* word signifying *high*, this island being one of the highest in the *Ægean* sea. Hence *Priscian* stiles it, *The high Samos*, and *Homer* <sup>t</sup> tells us, that from this island mount *Ida*, the city of *Troy*, and the *Greek* and *Trojan* camps, might be seen. It is, according to *Pliny* <sup>u</sup>, about two hundred and thirty miles in compass, two-and-twenty distant from *Lemnos*, two-and-thirty from *Imbros*, and eight-and-thirty from the coast of *Thrace*. The modern travellers place it only at three leagues distance from the coast of *Thrace*, and allow it but twenty miles in circumference. As to the first inhabitants of *Samothrace*, *Diodorus* tells us <sup>w</sup>, that there is nothing handed down to posterity relating to them, which we may depend on. Others say <sup>x</sup>, that it was first peopled by *Thracians*, and that, after their arrival in the island, the *Pelasgians*, *Samians*, and *Phœnicians*, sent thither numerous colonies. They had antiently a peculiar language not understood by any other people of *Greece*, whereof some words were still used in the worship of their gods, when *Diodorus Siculus* wrote his history <sup>y</sup>. The island of *Samothrace* was

Inhabitants.

<sup>o</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 47.      <sup>p</sup> PAUSAN. in Atticis.      <sup>q</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. iv.      <sup>r</sup> VIRGIL. *Æneid*. l. vii. v. 208.      <sup>s</sup> STRAB. l. x. p. 315.      <sup>t</sup> HOMER. *Iliad*. v. v. 12.      <sup>u</sup> l. iv. c. 2.      <sup>w</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.      <sup>x</sup> STRABO, PLIN. PAUSAN. ubi sup.      <sup>y</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

thus the *Thacian*, in his account of *Samos*. He is also cited by of the death of *Polycrates* tyrant *Apollonius*, and others (52).

famous, on account of the worship paid there to the gods called *Cabiri* (E), who were had in so great veneration, that *The Cabiri*

(E) There is such a disagreement among authors in their accounts of these deities, that, notwithstanding all the mythologists have said of them, we are still in the dark as to many particulars, and can only form a confused idea of their nature, origin, and attributes. *Bochart* (53) derives their name from the Hebrew word *Cabir*, that is, great and powerful. This opinion he confirms with the authority of *Euthymius* and *Cedrenus*. The former tells us, that the *Saracens*, who had been idolaters, to the time of the emperor *Heraclius*, worshipped *Venus* under the name of *Chabar*, that is, the great or powerful; the latter observes, that the same people gave the name of *Cubar* to the constellation of *Venus*; whence *Bochart* infers, that the gods *Cabiri* were the great and powerful gods; and indeed they are frequently so styled by the writers of the earliest ages. But *Stephambrotus*, as quoted by *Strabo* (54), says they were called *Cabiri* or *Cabiri*, from *Cabirus*, an hill in *Phrygia*, where they were worshipped in a very solemn manner. It is no less perplexing to discover who the *Cabiri* were, than to trace out the origin of their name. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Mnaseas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Plato*, and *Mercury*, whom he disguises under the mysterious

names of *Axioros*, *Axiokersa*, *Axiokersos*, and *Kasmilos*; to these *Dionysodorus* adds a fourth, whom he styles *Casmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the same with *Mercury*; but he was looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and, if we believe *Varro* (55), only as an attendant or servant of the *Samothracian* deities. The same author tells us, that by the great gods of *Samothrace* were meant only the heaven and earth. Several writers have confined the appellation of *Cabiri* to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and *Cassius Hemina*, as quoted by *Macrobius*, took the *Cabiri* to be the same as the *Dii Penates*, or household gods. *Dardanus*, say they, brought them from *Samothrace* into *Phrygia*, whence they were carried into *Italy* by *Aeneas*. In a Greek inscription quoted by *Alexander ab Alexandro*, they are called *Dioskori*, which appellation being also given by the ancients to *Castor* and *Pollux*, some have thought them the sons of *Jupiter* by *Calliope* or *Proserpine*. The most common opinion is, that they were the sons or grandsons of *Vulcan*; this the *Egyptian* priests held, as *Herodotus* informs us (56); and some medals are still extant, which seem to confirm this opinion. *Goltzius* exhibits two, one of the city of *Thessalonica*, the other of the emperor *Claudius*, surnamed the *Goth*; on the reverse of both is

(53) *Bochart. in Canaan. l. i. c. 15. de ling. Lat. l. iv.*

(54) *Strabo. l. x. (56) Herodot. l. i. c. 51.*

(55) *Varro.*

it was thought an act of irreverence even to pronounce their names. All the great heroes of antiquity were initiated into the mysteries of these deities. Such as were admitted to partake of the sacred ceremonies used to meet in a wood, which became a place of refuge for offenders, and was more respected than even the temple of *Delphi*, or the island of *Delos*. To

a *Cabir*, as appears from the Greek inscription, with an hammer in his hand; which symbol signifies, as all the mythologists agree, his being of the race of *Vulcan*. Thus some writers make the *Cabir* to have been the first who introduced and taught the art of working iron. A modern writer endeavours to prove, that the *Cabiri* were the same as the *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, and *Telchines*. The latter were called by the Greeks *Destroyers*, being supposed to make use of the secrets of magic to hurt mankind. The *Telchines* were deemed the authors of all the miseries which laid waste the earth; and the ignorant populace imagined they could by their enchantments raise storms, and bring plagues, famines, and diseases, whenever they pleased (57). All we can infer from the various accounts of the antient mythologists, which are but an odd jumble of contradictions, is, that the pagans themselves were ignorant of the origin of these imaginary deities. However, they were worshiped in several parts of *Greece* and *Asia*, chiefly in the cities of *Lemnos*, *Thessalonica*, *Thebes*, *Rhodes*, &c. *Pausanias* tells us, that the country of *Pergamus* was consecrated to the *Cabiri*, and that they had a temple at *Memphis* in *Egypt*, which no one, except the

priest, who performed the sacred rites, was allowed to enter (58). *Laërtius* speaks of a god named *Cabirius*, to whom the *Macedonians* paid a particular worship. But the island of *Samothrace* was, as it were, the centre of the superstitious ceremonies observed in honour of the *Cabiri*. There, and no-where else, people were initiated into their mysteries. Those who were to be admitted, were placed on a kind of throne, and crowned with laurel, having bands of purple tied round their bellies. Then the priests, and others there present, danced round them; and this ridiculous mummary ended in oaths and execrations on the person, who should ever reveal what passed in their assemblies. *Hesychius* tells us, that even children were initiated, their parents fancying them, when under the protection of the *Cabiri*, safe from thunder, lightning, tempests, and all sorts of dangers. Several writers, namely *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Bochart*, have collected the various opinions of the fabulous ages concerning the names, origin, number, mysteries, offices and worship of the *Cabiri*, and their sisters, called the *Catarides*; to these we refer our readers for a more full account of what relates to the *Samothracian* deities.

(57) *Vide Astorium in disert. de Cabiris.*

(58) *Pausan. in Boët.*

this island *Perfes* king of *Macedon* fled for refuge, and took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to *Castor* and *Pollux*, hoping that the *Romans* would not profane a sanctuary revered by all the nations of the world ; and indeed the *Romans* did not make any attempts upon his life or person, so long as he staid there ; for the pagans carried their prejudices so far in favour of these pretended deities, that they were struck with an awful dread upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in use among the antients, that by the gods of *Samothrace* was deemed the most sacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have observed this oath, were looked upon as the curse of mankind, and persons devoted to destruction. *Diodorus* <sup>2</sup> tells us, that these gods were always present, and never failed to assist those who were initiated, and called upon them in any sudden and unexpected danger ; that *Jasion*, *Dioscurus*, *Hercules*, *Orpheus*, &c. being initiated into their rites, prospered by their favour in all their wars ; and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies, without being amply rewarded for their piety.

*DIODORUS SICULUS* speaks of an inundation, which laid *Inunda-* great part of *Samothrace* under water, drowned all the cities *tion in Sa-* on the coast of *Asia*, and overwhelmed several islands in the *mothrace*, *Ægæan* sea, some of which never afterwards appeared. In *Samothrace* the waters rose to such an height, that they not only covered the champain country, but reached near the tops of the highest mountains, and changed the face of the whole island. This deluge is supposed to have happened before the *Argonautic* expedition, and is said to have been occasioned by the overflowing of the *Pontic* sea ; which, being swelled by the waters of the many great rivers that fall into it, discharged itself through the *Bosporus Thracius* into the *Propontis*, and through the *Hellepont* into the *Ægæan* sea. When the waters abated, the inhabitants of *Samothrace* consecrated to the gods the places where they had been preserved, erecting altars, and offering up yearly sacrifices, in memory of their deliverance. This they continued to do in *Diodorus's* time, who adds, that even then chapiters of pillars, and other pieces of architecture, were frequently found under water ; which shews, says he, that this deluge is not a poetical fiction, but real truth <sup>2</sup> (F).

AFTER

<sup>2</sup> *DIODOR. SICUL. l. v.*Idem *ibid.*

(F) In the opinion of the antients the *Pontus Euxinus* was only a lake, or standing-pool, which, being overcharged with waters,

broke first into the *Propontis*, and then into the *Ægæan*, washing away by degrees the earth, which kept it within its first bounds,

A a

and

AFTER the above-mentioned deluge, one *Saon*, a native of *Samothrace*, the son of *Jupiter* and *Nympha*, as some say, or, as others will have it, of *Mercury* and *Rhena*, gathered the inhabitants, before living scattered and dispersed, into a body, made laws for their better government, and divided them into five tribes, which he called after the names of his sons. Some time after the government was thus settled, *Dardanus*, *Jafon*, and *Harmonia*, were born in the island. They were the children of *Jupiter* and *Electra*, one of the daughters of *Atlas*. *Dardanus* passed over into *Asia*, where he founded a new kingdom, which was afterwards called the *Trojan* kingdom, from the city of *Troy* built there. *Jupiter*, desirous likewise to advance his other sons to an high degree of honour and reputation, discovered to them the rites of the sacred mysteries antiently observed, but then newly revived in the island, which it was not lawful for any to see, but those who were initiated. About this time *Cadmus*, arriving in the island to seek after his sister *Europa*, was initiated into the sacred mysteries, and married *Harmonia* the sister of *Jafon*. *Jafon* married *Cybele*, by whom he had *Corybas*, who, after his father's death, passing over into *Phrygia* with his mother and *Dardanus*, taught the *Phrygians* the mysteries of *Cybele*. *Corybas* called those, who celebrated the sacred mysteries of his mother, after his own name, *Corybantes* <sup>b</sup>.

Govern-  
ment.

THE island of *Samothrace* was in antient times governed by its own kings; for *Coritus*, *Dardanus*, and his brother *Jafon*, are said to have reigned there, as we have related elsewhere <sup>c</sup>. The monarchical form of government gave place to the republican, which continued till the island was reduced by the *Persians*. *Alexander* restored this, as most of the other *Greek* islands, to the enjoyment of their antient liberties; but his successors in the kingdom of *Macedon* brought the *Samothracians* again under

<sup>b</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. v. c. 47, & seqq.    <sup>c</sup> Vol. iv. p. 478.

and forming the two chanel of the *Bosporus Thracius*, and the *Hellepont*, which *Hellepont*, in the sense of the antients, is another *Bosporus*, that is, an arm of the sea, narrow enough for an ox to swim over. In the hypothesis of the antients, the *Palus Mæotis*, the *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Propontis*, and *Mediterranean*, were originally so many lakes, which, after having broke down, as it were, the dikes that parted them, with the impetuosity of their

waters, opened themselves a passage between the mountains of *Atlas* and *Calpe* into the ocean. It is perhaps more likely, that the ocean, having, with the impetuosity of its waters, dismembered the mountain of *Calpe* from the lands of *Africa*, poured itself into that vast space now called the *Mediterranean*, and, penetrating to the north, produced the *Propontis*, the *Pontus*, and the *Palus Mæotis*.

subjection.

subjection. The Romans, after the defeat of *Perfes*, declared them a free people; whence *Pliny*<sup>d</sup> styles *Samothrace* a free island. They lived according to their own laws from the reduction of the kingdom of *Macedon* to the reign of *Vespasian*, who reduced all the states of *Greece* to a Roman province<sup>e</sup>.

FROM the *Ægean* we shall proceed with *Strabo* to the Islands on the *Ionian* sea (F), giving a succinct description of the islands on the coast of *Greece*, of which the most northerly is that of *Sason* lying between *Aulon*, now *La Valona*, a city of *Macedon*, and *Brundisium* in *Italy*, at the entrance of the *Ionian* sea. *Lucan* counts it among the islands of *Italy*<sup>f</sup>, and *Ptolemy*<sup>g</sup> among those of *Macedon*. It is mentioned by *Polybius*<sup>h</sup>, *Scylax*<sup>i</sup>, *Mela*<sup>k</sup>, *Pliny*<sup>l</sup>, &c. and described by *Silius Italicus* as a barren, sandy, and inhospitable place<sup>m</sup>.

CORCYRA, now *Corfu*, was in more antient times called *Corcyra*. *Drepane*, *Scheria*, and *Phæacia*. The name of *Corcyra*, which was also given to another island lying in the *Adriatic* over-against *Illyricum*, it took from a nymph so called, whom *Neptune* is said to have ravished in this island. It is about forty-five miles in length, twenty-two in breadth, and two hundred and ten in compass. *Corcyra* was once famous for the delightful gardens of king *Aleinous*, who with great courtesy entertained *Ulysses* after his shipwreck<sup>n</sup>. The southern parts of the island are barren, mountainous, and but indifferently provided with water; the northern coast is very fruitful, and yields all kinds of delicious fruit, excellent wines, olives, all sorts of grain, &c. whence it is styled by *Homer* the fruitful *Scheria*<sup>o</sup>. It had antiently two cities of no small note, viz. *Corcyra* and *Cassiope*; the former was the metropolis of the island, and once very powerful, as appears from

<sup>d</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.<sup>e</sup> SUTTON. in *Vespass.*<sup>f</sup> LUCAN.

l. xi. v. 627.

<sup>g</sup> PTOL. l. iii. c. 12.<sup>h</sup> POLYB. l. v.

c. 110.

<sup>i</sup> SCYLAX, in *Illyr.*<sup>k</sup> POMP. MELA,

l. iv.

<sup>l</sup> PLIN. l. iii. cap. ult.<sup>m</sup> SILIUS ITALIC.

l. v. ver. 480.

<sup>n</sup> HOMER. *Odyss.* ζ. v. 34.<sup>o</sup> Idem

ibid.

(F) The *Ionian* gulf, or the *Ionian* sea, lies between *Sicily* and *Greece*, extending from the island of *Crete* to the *Acroceraunian* hills in *Epirus*; or, as others will have it, to the city of *Apollonia* in *Macedon*. It was so called, either from *Ionius* the son of *Dyrhachius*, *Hercules* having given it

that name to preserve the memory of his friend, whom he had killed by mistake, and thrown into the sea; or from *Ionia*, a country, according to *Solinus*, in the extremity of *Calabria*; or from *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus*, as *Lycophron* has it,



*Thucydides* and others, who have given us an account of their wars ; the latter is commended by *Pliny* <sup>p</sup> and *Ptolemy* <sup>q</sup> as a wealthy and well-built city ; but *Cicero* calls it only an haven <sup>r</sup>. This island is said to have been first inhabited by the *Phæaces*, whence it was named *Phæacia* ; but afterwards the *Corinthians* sent thither a numerous colony, which made *Thucydides* <sup>s</sup> reckon *Corcyra* among the countries peopled by the *Corinthians*. The *Corcyrians* were skilful mariners, and, as the same *Thucydides* informs us, for some time masters of the sea. Their government was first monarchical ; but afterwards they formed themselves into a republic, and made a very considerable figure in the flourishing times of *Greece*. *Herodotus* tells us <sup>t</sup>, that they were very powerful by land, and had more ships than any other ;ople of *Greece*, except the *Athenians*. That author greatly blames them, on account of their deceitful conduct with respect to the assistance they promised the *Greeks* against *Xerxes* ; for, being invited by the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors to join in the common cause, they readily promised to send powerful succours, assuring them, that they would not neglect the safety of *Greece* in so imminent a danger, well knowing, that, if the enemy prevailed, they should soon be reduced to the condition of slaves. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* departed well satisfied with this answer ; but the *Corcyrians*, having fitted out a squadron of sixty ships, sailed to the coast of *Peloponnesus*, and, having anchored about *Pylus* and *Tænarus*, waited in that station to see the event of the war, being resolved to join the party that should prevail. When advice was brought them, that the *Persians* were defeated at *Salamis*, they left their station, and joined the rest of the *Greeks*, pretending that they had been prevented by the *Etesian* winds from doubling the cape of *Malea*, and being present at the battle <sup>u</sup>. Their war with the *Corinthians* and *Epidamnians*, which brought on the *Peloponnesian* war, and the dreadful sedition which happened in their island, whence all seditions, when terrible in their effects, were stiled *Corcyrian*, we have related elsewhere <sup>x</sup>. The *Corcyrians* submitted to *Alexander*, and continued subject to his successors kings of *Macedon*, till they were delivered by the *Romans* in the reign of *Perseus*, from which time they enjoyed their liberty till the reign of *Vespasian*, when they underwent the common fate of the other islands and *Greek* states both in *Europe* and *Asia*.

<sup>p</sup> *PLIN.* l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>q</sup> *1. xvi. epist. 9. ad Tyron.*

<sup>r</sup> *HERODOT.* l. vii. c. 168.

*univers.* vol. vi. p. 430.

<sup>s</sup> *PTOL.* l. iii. c. 4.

<sup>t</sup> *CIC.*

<sup>u</sup> *THUCYD.* lib. vii. p. 528.

<sup>x</sup> *Idem ibid.*

*Hist.*

BETWEEN *Corcyra* and the continent lie two small islands, *Sybota*, called by *Strabo* <sup>y</sup> and *Thucydides* <sup>z</sup>, *Sybota*; and at a small *Ptychia*, distance from the eastern coast of *Corcyra*, the island of *Ptychia*, which *Ptolemy* confounds with a city of that name in the island of *Corcyra*, but *Thucydides* describes it as a distinct island <sup>a</sup>. Five miles east of *Corcyra* are the islands *Paxi* or *Paxæ*, mentioned by *Pliny* <sup>b</sup> and other antient writers, but containing nothing remarkable. They are but two in number, and at present known by the names of *Pachsu* and *Antipachsu*. *Pliny* enumerates several other islands on the coast of *Epirus*, viz. *Ericusa*, *Marathe*, *Elaphusa*, *Malthace*, *Trachie*, *Pythionia*, and *Tarachia*, of which *Ericusa* was also known to *Ptolemy*, who places it between *Corcyra* and *Cephalenia*.

LEUCAS, now known by the name of *Santa Maura*, was antiently a peninsula, joined to the main land of *Acarnania* by an isthmus, which was cut by the *Carthaginians*, or, as others will have it, by the *Corinthians*. We have described this island elsewhere <sup>c</sup>, and therefore shall only add here, that in the middle of it was a stately temple consecrated to *Venus* the mother of *Leucas*, who is supposed to have landed here on his voyage to *Italy*. *Homer* speaks of three cities of no small note in this country, viz. *Nericus*, *Crocylea*, and *Agylipe*. *Isaac Vossius* is of opinion, that in the time of *Thucydides* it was still a peninsula, since that historian, in describing the countries of *Leucas* and *Acarnania*, makes no mention of the isthmus being cut <sup>d</sup>. In *Homer*'s time it was, without all doubt, joined to the land, since he calls it the coast of *Epirus* <sup>e</sup>. It is about seventy miles in compass, and was in antient times called *Neritis*, as *Pliny* informs us <sup>f</sup>.

THE islands, known to the antients by the names of *Taphiæ*, *phie* and *Teleboïdes*, lay to the east of *Leucas*, near the coast of *Achaia*. They were so called from *Taphus* and *Telebous*, the sons of *Pterelas*, and grandsons of *Nepune* by *Hippothoe* the daughter of *Nestor* <sup>g</sup>. *Bochart* <sup>h</sup> derives the name of *Taphiæ* from the Hebrew word *bataph*, which signifies to rob, the inhabitants of these islands being antiently famous pirates. The *Echinades* were five small islands on the coast of *Acarnania*, over-against the mouth of the river *Achelous*, from

<sup>y</sup> STRAB. l. vii. p. 224.    <sup>z</sup> THUCYD. l. i. p. 32.    <sup>a</sup> Idem, l. iv. p. 283.    <sup>b</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.    <sup>c</sup> Hist. univers. vol. ii. p. 745.    <sup>d</sup> Vide Voss. in Scylacem.    <sup>e</sup> Vide STRAB. l. x. p. 311.    <sup>f</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 1.    <sup>g</sup> STRAB. l. x. & PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.    <sup>h</sup> BOCHART. in Canaan.

which the farthest distant is but fifteen furlongs, and the nearest only five (G).

Ithaca.

ITHACA, between *Dulichium* and *Cephalenia*, was once famous for being the birth-place of *Ulysses* the son of *Laertes*. It is about five-and-twenty miles in compass, and at present known by the name of *Val di Compare*. It had a town in former times bearing the name of the island, and situated, according to *Homer*<sup>1</sup>, at the foot of mount *Neius*, which, by most geographers, is thought to be the same with mount *Neritus* mentioned by *Virgil*<sup>m</sup>. *Pomponius Mela*<sup>n</sup> mistakes mount *Neritus* for another island in the *Ionian* sea.

Cephalenia.

CEPHALENIA, or *Cephalenia*, known in *Homer*'s time by the names of *Samus* and *Black Epirus*, or *Epirus Melæna*, is about eighty miles in length, forty in breadth, and an hundred and thirty in compass. It had antiently four cities, but *Ptolomy* takes notice of one only, which bore the name of the island. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time there were only two cities remaining; but *Pliny*<sup>p</sup> speaks of three; and adds, that the ruins of *Same*, which had been destroyed by the *Romans*, were still to be seen. *Same* was the metropolis of the island, and is supposed to have stood in the place which the *Italians* call *Porto Grifcardo*. The names of the four cities were, according to *Thucydides*, *Same*, *Prone*, *Grannii*, and *Palæa*. This island was subdued by the *Thebans* under the conduct of *Amphitryon*, who is said to have killed *Pterclas*, who then reigned here. While *Amphitryon* was carrying on the war in *Cephalenia*, then called *Samos*, one *Cephalus*, a man of great distinction at *Athens*, having accidentally killed his wife *Proeris* in shooting at a deer, fled to *Amphitryon*, who, pitying his case, not only received him kindly, but made him governor of the island, which thenceforth was called *Cephalenia*. After it had continued long subject to the *Thebans*, it fell under the power of the *Macedonians*, and

<sup>1</sup> HOMER. *Odys.* 7. v. 81.

<sup>m</sup> VIRGIL. *Æneid.* iii. ver.

271.

<sup>n</sup> POMP. MELA, l. iii. c. 7.

<sup>p</sup> PLIN. l. iv.

c. 12.

<sup>q</sup> THUCYD. l. ii. p. 120.

(G) They were thought to have been formed by the mud, which this river carried into the sea; whence arose the fable of their having been once sea-nymphs, but afterwards by the god *Achelous* changed into islands (1). Some writers tell us, that

they were called *Echinades*, from the Greek word *echinos*, because that part of the *Ionian* abounded with sea-hogs. They are now known by the name of *Curzolari*. *Dulichium*, which formerly belonged to *Ulysses*, is counted by *Strabo* (2) among the *Echinades*.

(1) *Ovid. metamorph.* l. viii.

(2) *Strab.* l. x. p. 315.

# . I.      *The History of the Strophades, &c.*

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was taken from them by the *Ætolians*, who held it till it was reduced by *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who, having made himself master of the metropolis after a four months siege, and sold all the citizens for slaves, added the whole island to the dominions of his republic <sup>r</sup>.

THE island of *Zacynthus*, which lies twelve miles south of *Cephalenia*, is said to be twenty-five miles in length, twenty in breadth, and sixty in circuit. By whom it was first peopled, we have said elsewhere <sup>s</sup>. The *Strophades* are two small islands, lying over-against *Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus*, and now known by the name of *Strivali*. They are about thirty-five miles south of *Zacynthus*, and, according to *Strabo* <sup>t</sup>, four hundred furlongs from the continent, the largest of the two being but five miles in compass. They were first called *Plotæ*, that is, swimming islands, as *Pliny* informs us <sup>u</sup>, and afterwards *Strophades*, from a *Greek* verb, signifying, to return; because *Zethus* and *Calais*, the winged issue of *Boreas* and *Orithya*, are feigned to have pursued the *Harpyes* to these islands, and thence to have returned, being admonished by *Iris*, or *Jupiter*, to give over the pursuit. *Virgil* describes them as frequented, in the time of *Æneas*, only by these ravenous monsters <sup>v</sup>. At present they are inhabited by *Greek* friers, who live there, and enjoy the islands to themselves. In one of them there is a fine spring of fresh water, which is said to have its fountain in *Peloponnesus*, and to pass under the sea.

THE other islands mentioned by *Pliny* <sup>x</sup> as lying between *Zacynthus* and the *Asinæan* gulf, are *Letoia* or *Letoa*, now *Sphagiæ*, *Cristina*, near *Cephalonia*, the three *Sphagiæ*, or *Sphacteriæ*, opposite to *Pylus* of *Messenia*, and as many known by the name of *Orinæ*, lying over-against the city of *Messene*. The islands of *Sphacteriæ* are famous in history for a victory gained there by the *Athenians* over the *Lacedæmonians*, after which *Cleon* possessed himself of the islands, taking the *Lacedæmonians*, who garisoned them, prisoners. These islands are now called *Le Sapienze*, and the sea round them, the sea of *Sapienza*. In the *Laconic* gulf are, according to *Pliny*, the following islands; *Teganusa*, *Cothon*, and *Cythera*. *Teganusa*, or *Theganusa*, is placed by *Strabo* <sup>y</sup> and *Pausanias* <sup>z</sup>, not in the *Laconic*, but in the *Messenian* gulf, before the promontory *Acritas*, between *Metho* and *Caron*, two cities of

<sup>r</sup> LIV. l. xxxviii. c. 28. & 29.      <sup>s</sup> Vide hist. univers.  
vol. iv. p. 480.      <sup>t</sup> STRAB. l. viii. p. 248.      <sup>u</sup> PLIN.  
l. iv. c. 12.      <sup>v</sup> VIRGIL. Æneid. iii. ver. 209.      <sup>x</sup> PLIN.  
ubi supra.      <sup>y</sup> THUCYD. l. iv. p. 256. DIODOR. SICUL.  
l. xiii. c. 24.      <sup>z</sup> STRAB. l. viii. p. 248.      <sup>a</sup> PAUS.  
Messen. c. 34.

*Messenia.* Pomponius Mela<sup>b</sup> places *Cothon* in the *Ægean* sea, and *Salmafus* on the coast of *Africa*; but *Stephanus* agrees with *Pliny*. Over-against *Gythium*, in *Peloponnesus*, lies the small island of *Cranae*, mentioned by *Pausanias*<sup>c</sup>, and said by *Homer* to have been the first place, where *Paris* stopt, as he was carrying off *Helena*<sup>d</sup>.

*Cythera.* CYTHERA, now *Cerigo*, lies over-against *Malea*, a promontory of *Laconia*, from which it is distant, according to *Strabo*<sup>e</sup>, forty furlongs. It was named *Cythera*, if *Stephanus* is to be credited, from one *Cytherus* a *Phœnician*, who is said to have settled here. Before his arrival, it was known by the name of *Porphyris*, or *Porphyriſſa*, either because it abounded with porphyry, as *Solinus* is of opinion, or by reason the best scarlet was dyed here, as *Stephanus* affirms, on the authority of *Aristotle*. It is about sixty miles in compass, blessed with a fruitful soil, and has several havens; one especially, very safe and capacious, called antiently *Scandea*, about ten furlongs from the city of *Cythera*, a city once famous for the temple of *Venus*, surnamed *Urania*, or *Heavenly* (F).

Islands in  
the Argo-  
lic bay.

IN the *Argolic* bay *Pliny* places the following, *Pityusa*, *Irine*, *Ephyre*, *Tipareus*, *Aperopia*, *Colonis*, *Aristeria*, and *Calauria*. This last lay, according to *Strabo*<sup>h</sup>, in the bay of *Hermione*, over-against *Træzen*, a maritime city of *Argia*, from which it was distant four furlongs, being thirty in compass. It was famous for a temple consecrated to *Neptune*, and an asylum<sup>i</sup>. Here *Demosthenes* poisoned himself, and was buried within the inclosure of the temple<sup>k</sup>. The other islands contain nothing remarkable.

Ægina.

IN the *Saronic* gulf (G) are the islands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*, both equally famous in antient history. The former was antiently

<sup>b</sup> POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7.

<sup>c</sup> PAUSAN. Lacon. c. 22.

<sup>d</sup> HOMER. Iliad. γ. v. 445.

<sup>e</sup> STRAB. l. viii. p. 250.

<sup>f</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

<sup>h</sup> STRAB. l. viii. p. 254.

<sup>i</sup> Idem

ibid. & PAUSAN. Corinth. c. 33.

<sup>k</sup> PLUT. in vita. PAU-

SAN. ubi sup. & POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7.

(F) In this temple, which was believed to be the most antient which *Venus* had amongst the *Greeks*, was a statue of that goddess in complete armour, holding, like *Pallas*, a javelin in her hand. She is said, upon her first springing out of the froth of the sea (for such was her origin), to have been by gentle zephyrs carried to this island, and from

hence to *Cyprus*; on which account both islands were in a peculiar manner sacred to her. From *Cythera* *Venus* had the surname of *Cytherea*, often used by *Virgil*, and other poets.

(G) The *Sinus Saronicus*, or *Saronic* gulf, now called the gulf of *Engia*, lies between *Attica* to the north, and *Peloponnesus* to the south, extending from *Cenchrea*,

antiently known by the names of *Oenone*, or *Oenopia*<sup>1</sup>, and *Myrmidonia*; but *Æacus*, who reigned here, called it *Ægina*, from his mother, the daughter of *Afops* king of *Bœotia* (H). It was called *Myrmidonia*, because inhabited by the *Myrmidones*, so famous among the poets. It lies between the territory of *Athens*, and that of *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argia*, being distant eighteen miles from the coast of *Athens*, and fourteen from *Peloponnesus*. It is about twenty-six miles in compass, and had antiently a city of the same name<sup>m</sup>, which being destroyed by an earthquake, the inhabitants were exempted by *Tiberius* for the space of three years, from paying any kind of tribute<sup>n</sup>. *Pausanias*<sup>o</sup> speaks of two magnificent temples in this island, the one consecrated to *Venus*, the other to *Jupiter*: the ruins of a stately edifice, which are still to be seen at a small distance from the present village of *Engia*, are probably the remains of one of these temples. The country is said to have been at first very stony and barren; but, being inhabited by a laborious and thriving people, who, digging up the earth, cleared it of the stones, it became very fruitful. From this their industry, they were surnamed *Myrmidons*, that is, emmets, as *Strabo* informs

<sup>1</sup> PLIN. I. iv. c. 12.      <sup>m</sup> STRAB. I. viii. p. 258.      <sup>n</sup> TACIT. annal. I. ii.      <sup>o</sup> PAUSAN. in Corinth. c. 12.

*ebrea*, on the isthmus of *Corinth*, to the promontory of *Sunium* (59). It was named the *Saronic* gulf, according to *Pliny* (60), from a grove of oaks called by the antient *Greeks* *saronides*. Some derive this appellation from a city, others from an harbour, and some from a river, which fell into this bay (61). It was also called the bay of *Salamis* from the island of that name, and bay of *Eleusi* from that city. The entrance into the *Saronic* gulf is formed by two promontories, that of *Sunium* on the side of *Attica*, now stiled *Capo delle colonne*, from certain columns that are still standing there, and supposed to be the remains of a temple of *Minerva*; and

that of *Scylla*, now *Capo di Scilli*, on the side of *Peloponnesus*. The bay, where broadest, is three and-twenty miles over, its length twenty-five, and its compass fourscore (62). *Strabo*, and other geographers, call the islands in this gulf the *Æacides*, because they were held by the descendants of *Æacus* the son of *Jupiter* and *Ægina*.

(H) This is related by *Ovid* in the following lines (63):

*O Enopiam Minos petit, Æacida-  
lia regna.  
O Enopiam veteres appellavere,  
sed ipse  
Æacus Æginam genetricis nomine  
dixit.*

(59) *Strab.* I. viii. p. 254.  
*Hejseb. in hac voce.*  
*morp.* I. vii. v. 472.

(60) *Plin.* I. iv. c. 5.  
(62) *Spon. voyage, &c.*

(61) *Vide*  
(63) *Ovid. meta-*

us P, and not because the emmets, as the poets feign, were at the prayers of Æacus changed into men, to repeople the island, after all the antient inhabitants, king Æacus alone excepted, had been swept away by a plague. This island was first peopled by the *Epidaurians*, who were originally *Dorians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Crete* and *Argos* 9. These were in process of time expelled by the *Athenians*, who, making themselves masters of the island, divided the lands among themselves, but did not hold them long, being driven out by the *Lacedæmonians*, who restored the island to the antient proprietors 1. The *Myrmidons* were not a distinct people from those we have already mentioned, this being only a surname given to the inhabitants on account of their industry. The *Ægeineans* applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and sent colonies into the neighbouring islands, namely *Imbros* and *Crete*, the city of *Cydon* in the latter having been built, according to *Strabo* 2, and peopled by them. In the time of *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, they erected a magnificent temple in *Neucratis*, a city of that country, to *Jupiter*, following herein, as *Herodotus* informs us 3, the example of the *Samians*, who, in the same kingdom, had built one in honour of *Juno*. *Ephorus*, as quoted by *Strabo* 4, tells us, that the first money was coined in *Ægina* by one *Phidon*. *Pliny* commends the brass of this island, preferring it even to that of *Delos*; and adds, that the famous statue of brass, representing an ox, which stood in the *forum boarium* at *Rome*, was carried from hence to adorn that capital 5.

**Govern-  
ment.**

THE *Ægeineans* were first governed by kings, and afterwards formed themselves into a republic, which in process of time became so powerful, as to vie with *Athens* herself. The first king that reigned there was *Ætor* the son of *Dionæus*, and grandson, as the poets feign, of *Æolus*. By his wife *Ægina* he had three sons, *Æacus*, *Menætius*, and *Irus*. *Æacus* the eldest succeeded his father *Ætor* in the kingdom of *Oenone*, which he called from his mother's name *Ægina*, and peopled with new colonies invited thither from the continent and neighbouring islands. His piety and justice in the administration of public affairs gave rise to the fable of his being appointed by *Pluto* judge of the *Europeans*, after their death. He had by his first wife, named *Endeis*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, and by *Pjsamathe*, his second, *Phocus*. *Æacus* is said to have assisted the *Athenians* against *Minos* king of *Crete*, and to have been the first who paid divine honours to *Hercules*. His

P STRAB. ubi sup.

9 Idem ibid.

1 Idem ibid.

2 Idem ibid.

3 HERODOT. l. v.

4 STRAB. l. viii.

p. 258,

5 PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.

descendents were called *Æacidae*, and are much spoken of by all the antients, having reigned in different countries, and most of them attained to a great pitch of power and glory. *Cicero* observes \*, that they were for the most part better warriors than statesmen; and *Justin*, that few of them attained to the thirtieth year of their age. *Æacus* was, according to *Macrobius* †, about two generations older than the Trojan war, and the first who built a temple in Greece. As to the successors of *Æacus* in the island of *Ægina*, we are quite in the dark. The monarchical form of government being abrogated, the *Ægineans* became subject, on what occasion we know not, to the *Epidaurians*, depending upon them, as *Herodotus* ‡ informs us, in all things, and particularly in matters relating to the administration of justice. But afterwards, applying themselves to navigation, and the building of ships, they acquired great power by sea, revolted from the *Epidaurians*, ravaged their territory, and carried off, among other things, the two famous statues of *Damias* and *Auxesias* (I). This gave rise to an irreconcilable

\* CIC. l. ii. de divinat.  
l. vi. p. 131.

† MACROB. adversus gentes,

‡ HERODOT. l. vi. c. 83.

(I) The *Epidaurians*, seeing their country become unfruitful, sent to consult the oracle of *Delphi* about the cause of that calamity. The *Pythian* answered, that if they erected statues in honour of *Lamia*, or, as *Herodotus* calls her, *Damias*, and *Auxesias*, their affairs would prosper. *Lamia* and *Auxesias* were two virgins, who coming from *Crete* to *Træzen*, a city of *Argia*, in time of a tumult, had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were stoned to death. The *Epidaurians*, having received the abovesaid answer, consulted the oracle anew, to know whether the statues should be made of stone or brass; the *Pythian* replied, "Of neither, but of the wood of an olive-tree." Upon this answer the *Epidaurians* desired leave of the *Athenians* to cut down an olive-tree in their territory, either be-

cause they believed those of that soil to be the most sacred, or, as others say, by reason olive-trees at that time grew in no other country. The *Athenians* shewed themselves ready to grant their request, provided they promised to come annually to *Athens*, and there to offer sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Eretheus*. This condition the *Epidaurians* accepted; and, having obtained their request, they formed out of that wood two statues, which were no sooner erected than their country became fruitful again. In process of time the *Ægineans*, having overcome the *Epidaurians*, carried off these statues; and, having erected them at a place called *Oia* in the middle of their island, to render them propitious, they appointed sacrifices, accompanied with dances, to be performed by women in their honour, assigning to each statue



able enmity between the *Ægineans* and *Athenians*, the effects whereof we have elsewhere related at length. This island was

ten men to preside in the solemnity. On this occasion the women, who danced, were allowed to abuse one another with opprobrious language, but not the men who presided. This they did in conformity to the former practice of the *Epidaurians*, who, besides these, used other ceremonies on this occasion, not fit to be mentioned. After these statues were carried away by the *Ægineans*, the *Epidaurians* would no longer perform their contract with the *Athenians*, which they had religiously observed till that time; alledging, that the *Ægineans* who were in possession of the statues, and not they, who were to their great sorrow deprived of them, lay under that obligation. Hereupon the *Athenians* dispatched a messenger to *Ægina* to demand the statues, which the *Ægineans* refusing to deliver, they sent a ship, with some of their citizen, to *Ægina*, injoining them, in case of a refusal, to use violence. These, attempting to pull down the statues, were so terrified by a dreadful earthquake, accompanied with thunder and lightning, that they became outrageously mad, and fell upon one another with such fury, that one only remained alive, who made his escape to *Phaleron* in *Attica*. Thus the *Athenians* relate the story. But the *Ægineans* tell us, that the *Athenians* arrived in their island with a numerous fleet, and not, as is pretended, with a single ship, which they could have easily resisted. They add, that,

having landed their men without opposition, they marched directly to the statues, which, as they endeavoured to pull them down with ropes, fell on their knees, and ever after continued in that posture. Notwithstanding this miracle, the *Athenians* persisted in their resolution of carrying off the statues; but in the mean time the *Argians*, at the request of the *Ægineans*, having privately entered the island, cut off their retreat to the ships, and put them all to the sword, one man only excepted, who, as the *Athenians* affirm, soon perished in the following manner: Having, on his return to *Athens*, given an account of this disaster, the wives of those who had been killed in the island of *Ægina*, highly incensed that one man alone should be left alive of the whole number, crowded about him, and, asking for their husbands, killed him with the points of their pins. This action gave the *Athenians* more uneasiness than their defeat; and, as they could not any other ways punish the women, they obliged them to change their dress, which was after the *Dorian* fashion, and to wear the *Ionian* habit, that is, a linen vest, not fastened with any pins. From this event a custom was introduced among the *Argians* and *Ægineans* of making pins by three fourths larger than before. Of these pins consisted the chief offerings that were dedicated in the temples by the women of *Ægina*, who, in despite to the *Athenians* used, even in our

was at last reduced by the *Athenians*, and continued subject to them, till it was at the end of the *Macedonian* war declared free by the *Romans*, enjoying its liberty till the reign of *Vespasian*, when it underwent the same fate as the other states of *Greece*.

SALAMIS, now *Coluri*, lies in the same *Saronic* gulf, about Salamis. three leagues west of *Ægina*, over against the city of *Eleusis*, from which it is separated by a streight about a league over, called antiently *Porthmos*, and at present *Perama* <sup>b</sup>. It was formerly known by the names of *Cytheria*, from *Cythereus* the first king of the island, and of *Pityussa*, because abounding with pine-trees, called by the *Greeks* *pytus* <sup>c</sup>. The name of *Salamis* it borrowed from *Salamine* the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, whom *Neptune* is said to have ravished, and carried into this island. By her he had *Cythereus*, or *Cytherus*, the first who reigned in the island. As *Cythereus* died without children, he was succeeded by *Telamon* the father of *Ajax*, by *Hesione* the sister of *Priam*, and daughter of *Laomedon* king of *Troy* <sup>d</sup>; whence *Salamis* is stiled by *Virgil* the kingdom of *Hesione* <sup>e</sup>. It is, according to *Strabo*, between seventy and eighty furlongs in length; fifty miles in compass, and had antiently a city bearing the same name, and facing the island of *Ægina*. This city was destroyed, and another, called also *Salamis*, built on the coast over-against *Attica*, which was well peopled, and governed by its own laws, in the time of *Augustus* <sup>f</sup>. This island will be ever famous in history for the signal victory gained here by the *Greeks* over the *Persians*. It was first peopled by the *Ionians*, and afterwards by colonies from different cities of *Greece*. The form of government which first prevailed here was monarchical; but monarchy was of no long continuance, *Cythereus*, *Telamon*, *Euryfaces*, and *Philæus*, being the only kings who reigned over the *Salaminiens*. *Cythereus* is said by *Diodorus* to have killed a dragon, which infested the island; whence he had the name of *Ophis*; but *Stephanus* tells us, that he was so named on account of his

*Inhabitants, form of government, &c. Kings of Salamis.*

<sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. viii. PAUSAN. Attic. c. 35. <sup>c</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. STRAB. ubi supra. <sup>d</sup> Scholiast. in LYCOPH. <sup>e</sup> VIRG. Æneid. l. viii. v. 157. <sup>f</sup> STRAB. ubi supra.

our historian's time, pins of an extraordinary size (64). This was the original of the enmity between the *Ægineans* and the *Athenians*, which at last ended in the ruin of the former, as we have related in the history of *Athens* (65).

(64) Herodot. l. v. Pausan. in Corinth. p. 414.

(65) Hist. univers. vol. vi.

crafty and inhuman temper. As *Cychreus* had no male issue, he appointed *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* his successor. *Telamon* was succeeded by *Euryfaces* the son of *Ajax*, by *Tecmessa* the daughter of *Teuthras* the *Mysian*, *Teucer* the other son of *Telamon* being, on his return from the siege of *Troy*, banished by his father, as we have related in the history of *Cyprus*, for not revenging on *Ulysses* the death of his brother *Ajax*. After the death of *Telamon*, *Teucer* attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but *Euryfaces*, entering into an alliance with the *Athenians*, defeated his designs, and left the sovereignty of the island to his son, or, as others will have it, to his brother, *Philæus*, who of his own accord yielded the island to the *Athenians*, and, retiring to *Athens*, led there a private life. From him the tribe of the *Philiadæ*, of which was *Pisistratus*, borrowed its name; but his descendants, among whom were *Miltiades* and *Alcibiades*, were called *Euryfacidæ* from *Euryfaces*. The island of *Salamis* was taken from the *Athenians* by the *Megaræans*, and held by them till the time of *Solon*, who, being originally a *Salaminian*, prevailed upon the *Athenians* to attempt the recovery of that island. Their attempt was attended with success, and the *Salaminians* again brought under subjection to *Athens*; in which state they continued till the reign of *Cassander*, whom they joined against the *Athenians*, and were on that account driven from their antient habitations, a new colony being sent from *Attica* to take possession of their lands and estates. After the reduction of *Athens* by *Sylla*, *Salamis* was declared free, and enjoyed its freedom, till it was, with the other states of *Greece*, reduced by *Vespasian* to a *Roman* province.

## Eubœa.

THE island of *Eubœa* went antiently by the names of *Chalcis*, *Ellopiea*, *Aonia*, *Abantis*, or *Abantia*, *Macris*, *Oche*, *Bomo*, &c.<sup>b</sup> The name of *Chalcis*, which was common to the island with its capital, *Stephanus* derives from *Chalce* the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, and *Pliny* from a *Greek* word signifying brass, which he supposes to have been first made use of here<sup>i</sup>. It was called *Ellopiea* from *Ellops* the son of *Ion*, who settled in this island; *Aonia* from the *Aones*; *Abantia* from the *Abantes*, or, as *Strabo* insinuates, from one *Abas* an antient hero; *Macris* or *Macra* from its narrowness, that being the import of the *Greek* word, or from a nymph of that name, as the poets will have it, by whom they feign *Bacchus* to have been nursed in a cave of this island; *Oche* from an high mountain; *Bomo* from the cattle, with

<sup>a</sup> PAUSAN. in Attic. PLATO in Alcibiad. CALABER, l. iii. HERODOT. l. vi. c. 35. PLUT. ubi supra. <sup>b</sup> STRAB. l. x. sub init. PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. <sup>i</sup> PLIN. ibid.

which it was well stored, the antient *Arabian* word *Bomo* or *Bobma*, signifying, according to *Hesychius*, cattle, or herds of cattle. This appellation is, perhaps, the most antient of all, the island having been first peopled, as *Strabo* informs us, by the inhabitants of *Arabia* and *Phœnice*. The name of *Eubœa*, according to some writers, was borrowed from an antient heroine, according to others from a famous cave on the eastern coast of the island, called by the *Greek* *Boos Aule*, or the *Ox-stall*; but the common opinion is, that it was so named from its excellent pastures (A). It was formerly joined to *Bœotia*, as *Pliny* informs us<sup>1</sup>, by an isthmus, as it is at present by a bridge; so narrow in some places is the *Euripus* (K), which divides it from the continent. It extends

<sup>1</sup> PLIN. I. iv. c. 12.

(I) The name of *Eubœa* was changed in latter ages into that of *Egripus*, which is perhaps a corruption of the word *Euripus*: from *Egripus* was probably formed the modern name of *Negropont*; for the *Franks*, or western *Christians*, who first resorted to this island, being unacquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and hearing the inhabitants say, *Eis ton Egripou*, that is, to *Egripus*, took the name of the country to be *Negripou*, or *Negripont*. In like manner, from misunderstanding the words *eis ten Delon*, to *Delos*, they formed *Sdelos*, *Sdillos*, and *Lisdelos*, all modern names of the said island. Some have ignorantly imagined, that *Eubœa*, was called *Negroponte*, from its being joined to the continent by a bridge of black stone, the word *Negroponte* signifying, in *Italian*, a black bridge. This island lies opposite to the continent of *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Loeris*, extending from cape *Sunium*, now *Capo delle colonne*, in *Attica*, as far as *Theffaly* (65).

(K) That canal, or streight, which divides *Eubœa* from *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Locris*, was called by the antients *Euripus*. It is so narrow over-against the capital, that a gally can scarce pass through it. The agitations of the *Euripus* are, as every one knows, much spoken of by the antients. Some, among whom *Antiphilus* of *Byzantium*, say, that the whole canal has a flux and reflux only six times in four-and-twenty-hours; but *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Seneca* the tragedian, and *Suidas* agree, that it ebbs and flows seven times a day. *Livy* does not allow this flux and reflux to be so regular. Father *Babin*, a jesuit of great learning, who made many observations on the spot, during his long abode in the island of *Negropont*, tells us, that the *Euripus* is regular in its ebbing and flowing the first eight days of the moon; the same regularity he observed from the fourteenth to the twentieth day inclusively, and in the three last days; but in the other days

(65) *Strab. ubi supra.*

extends from north-east to south-west an hundred and fifty miles ; but its breadth bears no proportion to its length, being according to *Pliny*, and most of the modern geographers, forty miles over where broadest, and only twenty where narrowest.

It is three hundred and sixty-five miles in compass, and has several remarkable promontories stretching a great way into the sea. *Pliny* and *Mela* mention three, *Geraſtus* and *Cephæus* to the south, and *Cenæum* to the north ; *Geraſtus* faces *Attica*, *Cephæus* the *Helleſpont*, and *Cenæum* the country of *Locris* and *Thermopylæ*<sup>m</sup>. *Strabo* mentions a fourth, which he calls *Petalia*, and places over-against *Sunium*<sup>n</sup>. *Artemisium*, which faces the *Pegaſæan* gulf, and is famous for the first victory gained by the *Greeks* over the fleet of king *Xerxes*, is counted by *Cornelius Nepos*<sup>o</sup>, and *Plutarch*<sup>p</sup>, among the promontories of *Eubœa*. The same writers tell us, that on the top of *Artemisium* stood a temple, or rather a chapel, consecrated to *Diana*, surnamed *Proſea*, that is, eastern. *Pliny* speaks of *Artemisium* as a town, and not a promontory. The doubling of cape *Caphareus* was in former times, when navigation was, we may say, in its infancy, reckoned very dangerous on account of the many rocks and whirlpools on that coast, much spoken of by the antients q (L).

*Capha-*

<sup>m</sup> PLIN. *ibid.*

<sup>n</sup> STRAB. l. x. sub init.

<sup>o</sup> CORN.

NEPOS, in Themist. c. 3.

<sup>p</sup> PLUT. in Themist. p. 115.

<sup>q</sup> Vide SENEC. Agamem. v. 558. VIRGIL. *Æneid.* l. xi. v. 260.

OVID. *trist.* l. i. eleg. 1. ver. 83. SIL. ITAL. l. xiv. ver. 144.

TERTULLIAN. *de animal.* c. 52.

of the lunar month it is not so regular ; for it sometimes ebbs and flows eleven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen times in the space of a natural day. This irregularity, the causes of which both antients and moderns have sought in vain, became proverbial among the *Greeks* ; whence the expressions *Ἀνθρώπος Εὐρίππος*, *ἑὺρίππος*, *διὰ νοστα*, *Εὐρίππος*, &c. to signify the caprices of an uncertain and fluctuating mind. In this sense *Cicero* compares the *Comitia* or assemblies of the *Roman* people to the commotions and agitations of the

*Euripus* (66). *Justin* the martyr, and *Gregory of Nazianzum* say, that *Aristotle* died of grief, because he could not discover the causes of the flux and reflux of the *Euripus* ; and the testimony of these fathers, uncertain as it is, gave rise to the fabulous tradition, that this philosopher leaped into the *Euripus*, out of vexation at his not being able to account for its irregular motions, saying at the same time, *Since I cannot comprehend the sea, let the sea comprehend me.*

(L) Among these rocks the Grecian fleet returning from

(65) *Cic.* in orat. pro *Muræna*.

*Troy*

*Caphareus* is at present, according to *Sophian* and *Niger*, called *Capha-Capo d'Oro*, *Capo Chimi*, and *Capo Figera*. Cape *Cenæum*, reus. now *Capo Liter*, from a neighbouring town of that name, is supposed by the poets to have been called *Cenæum* from *Cenæus* an antient hero, whom *Neptune*, say they, rendered invulnerable. On this promontory stood a temple consecrated to *Jupiter*, surnamed from the place *Cenæus*. From *Cenæum* to *Geraſtus*, now *Capo Rosso*, *Strabo* measures the length of the island, these two promontories being, according to him, twelve hundred furlongs distant from each other, which measure exactly agrees with the length of the island, as set down by *Pliny*.

In *Eubœa* are several high mountains covered great part of the year with snow; namely *Oche*, the highest of the whole island, *Telethrus*, *Dyrphis*, *Nedon*, *Cotyleus*, and *Chalcis*, whence the city of that name, which stood under it, was called *Hypochalcis*. On mount *Dryphis* was a famous temple dedicated to *Diana*, worshiped there under the name of *Dryphas*. The following rivers are mentioned by *Strabo*, viz. *Callas*, *Budorus*, *Ciræus*, and *Neleus*, or, as others call it, *Melas*. The two latter, if that author is to be credited, had very different or rather opposite qualities, the wool of the sheep that drank their waters turning white by those of the *Ciræus*, and black by those of the *Neleus*. The same virtue *Pliny* ascribes to the *Melas* and *Cephissus*, two rivers of *Bœotia*. That writer speaks of another river in *Eubœa*, called *Lelas*, which watered the territory of *Lelantum*; and *Strabo* of a fountain in the same territory, which he calls *Arethusa*; but *Stephanus* will have *Arethusa* to be the name

Mountains

Rivers.

. I STRAB. l. x. sub init.

*Troy* under the command of *Agamemnon*, was shipwrecked by the treachery of *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa*, who understanding that his son *Palamedes* had been unjustly condemned by the artifice and intrigues of *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, resolved to revenge his death with the destruction of the whole fleet. To this end, as the *Greeks* were, in all likelihood, to sail that way on their return from *Troy*, he caused fires to be made on the tops of the most dangerous rocks, not doubting but they would take them, ac-

cording to the custom of those times, for tokens of a safe harbour, and thither steer their courses. This malicious device had the desired effect; two hundred ships and upwards being dashed to pieces, and many thousands of men perishing in the whirlpools. However *Ulysses* and *Diomedes*, whose ruin *Nauplius* chiefly designed, had the good luck to escape the common calamity, which so grieved the king of *Eubœa*, that he threw himself headlong from one of those very rocks, and perished in the sea.

of a city, and not of a fountain. The champain country of *Eubœa* is exceeding fruitful, yielding great plenty of corn, oil, wine, and all sorts of delicious fruit; but it was chiefly famous for its rich pastures, which the *Athenians*, as *Thucydides* informs us <sup>1</sup>, made use of even before the *Peloponnesian* war to fatten their cattle.

**Citius.** THIS island had in former times many cities of great note mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Mela*. On the eastern coast, between the two promontories of *Geraſtus* and *Caphareus*, stood the cities of *Geraſtus*, *Petalia*, and *Caryſtus*. *Petalia* is mentioned only by *Strabo* <sup>2</sup>; and *Geraſtus* by *Homer* <sup>3</sup> and *Livy* <sup>4</sup>, who speak of it not as a city, but a famous haven. In the time of *Stephanus* it was a village. *Caryſtus*, or, as *Ptolemy* writes it, *Caryſte*, now *Caſtel Roſſo*, stood, according to *Strabo* and *Livy*, at the foot of mount *Oche*, and was ſo called from *Caryſtus* the ſon of *Chiron*. It was alſo known by the names of *Chironia* from *Chiron*, and *Ægea* from *Ægon*, who reigned here, and is ſuppoſed by *Stephanus* to have given his name to the *Ægean* ſea. The inhabitants of *Caryſtus* worſhiped the giant *Briareus*, who, according to *Homer*, was the ſame with *Ægæan*, adored by the *Chalcidians*, the name of *Ægeon* being given him, as that poet informs us, by men, and that of *Briareus* by the immortal gods. Near *Caryſtus* were the two ſmall villages of *Styra* and *Marmarium*, and at a ſmall diſtance from the latter the famous quarries of marble in great requeſt among the *Romans*, to whom it was known by the name of *Caryſtian* marble <sup>5</sup>. Here alſo was dug up the wonderful ſtone called *Anianthos* or *Aſbeſtos*, whereof cloth was made, for it was ſpun and drawn into thread like hemp or flax, which, however ſtained, recovered, if *Strabo* is to be credited <sup>6</sup>, its firſt gloſs and beauty, if kept ſome time in the flames. *Styra* was firſt peopled by the inhabitants of *Marathon*, a city of *Attica*, and was deſtroyed in the *Lamian* war by *Phædrus* the *Athenian* commander, who beſtowed its territory on the *Eretrians*. About five miles from *Caryſtus*, on the coaſt facing *Attica* and *Bœotia*, ſtood the village of *Amarynthus*, famous for a temple of *Diana*, furnamed from thence *Anarynthia*. *Stephanus* ſpeaks of *Amarynthus* as a ſeparate iſland, wherein he was certainly miſtaken.

ON the ſame coaſt, over-againſt *Oropus* in *Attica*, ſtood the antient city of *Eretria*, the next, according to *Strabo*, in greatneſs, beauty, and wealth, to *Chalcis*. It borrowed

<sup>1</sup> THUCYD. l. i.

<sup>2</sup> STRAB. ubi ſupra.

<sup>3</sup> HO-

MER. Odyſſ. γ. ver. 176.

<sup>4</sup> LIV. l. xxxi. c. 45.

<sup>5</sup> PLIN. l.

xxxvi. c. 6. TIBULL. l. iii. eleg. 3.

<sup>6</sup> STRAB. ubi ſupra.

the name of *Eretria* from *Eretrius* the son of *Phæton*, one of the *Titans*, and was built, according to *Strabo*, by the *Athenians* before the *Trojan* war. *Herodotus* tells us <sup>a</sup>, that it was peopled by *Æolus* and *Clothus*, two *Athenians*, after the destruction of *Troy*. Other writers will have it to be a colony of another city in *Attica* bearing the same name. Be that as it will, *Eretria* was in the earliest ages a place of great renown, and at the height of its glory, as *Strabo* informs us <sup>a</sup>, in the reign of *Darius Hytaspis*. The same writer mentions a pillar erected by the *Eretrians* in the temple of *Diana Amarynthia* with an inscription, the purport of which was, that they had triumphed with three thousand soldiers, six hundred horses, and sixty chariots. They were long masters of the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, and *Cos*, and carried on a war with the *Chalcidians*, which *Thucydides* styles the *antient war*. *Strabo* mentions a school of philosophers founded here by *Menedemus*, and called the *Eretrian school*. The antient city of *Eretria* was destroyed by the *Persians*, and another, known by the name of *New Eretria*, built near the ruins of the former, which were still to be seen in *Strabo's* time. The new city was overstocked, as we read in *Livy* <sup>b</sup>, in proportion to its bigness and other riches, with pictures, statues, and ornaments of the like nature. The *Eretrians*, in their speech, used not only to add the letter *R* to the end, but insert it in the middle of their words; for which uncouth pronunciation they were ridiculed by the other *Greeks* <sup>c</sup>. The city of *Eretria* in *Thessaly*, and those which stood in the neighbourhood of *Pallene* and *Athos* in *Macedonia*, are said, by *Strabo*, to have been built and peopled by the *Eretrians* of *Eubœa*. In the territory of *Eretria* stood *Oechalia*, formerly a city, but in *Pliny's* time a village. *Strabo* likewise calls it a village, and adds, that the antient city was destroyed by *Hercules* <sup>d</sup>, which is confirmed by *Ovid* <sup>e</sup>.

ON the same coast, over-against *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, stood *Chalcis*, the metropolis of the whole island, known to the antients by the names of *Eubœa*, *Stymphilos*, *Halicarna*, and *Hypochalcis*. The name of *Chalcis*, which prevailed over all the rest, is supposed to have been borrowed from the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, called *Combe*, and surnamed *Chalcis* from her having first invented brazen armour. *Chalcis* was built by *Æolus* and *Clothus*, according to some before, according to others after the *Trojan* war, and is celebrated by all the antients as a most magnificent, populous, and wealthy

*Chalcis,*  
*the metro-*  
*polis of*  
*Eubœa.*

<sup>a</sup> HERODOT. l. v. c. 94.

<sup>a</sup> STRAB. ubi supra.

<sup>b</sup> LIV.

l. xxxiii. c. 16:

<sup>c</sup> STRAB. ubi supra.

<sup>d</sup> Idem ibid.

p. 308.

<sup>e</sup> OVID. de Ponto, l. iv. epist. viii. v. 61.



Other ci-  
ties.

city. The *Chalcidians* applied themselves early to navigation, and sent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Corcyra*, *Italy*, *Lemnos*, &c. in all which places were cities, as *Aristotle* quoted by *Strabo* informs us, built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* \*. The *Chalcidians* are more commended by the antients on account of their courage and bravery, than for their morals, having been in all times infamous, even among the *Greeks*, for their unnatural lust. Their avarice was a standing topic of ridicule, as *Hesychius* informs us; among the antient comedians †. *Chalcis* stood on the narrowest part of the *Euripus*, being joined to *Bœotia* by a bridge; which situation agrees with that of the present city of *Negropont*. It was one of the three cities, which *Philip* the son of *Demetrius* used to call the fetters of Greece ‡. Between *Chalcis*, and the promontory *Genæum*, stood the cities of *Ædepsum* and *Oreos*. The former was famous for its hot baths mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who commend them under the name of the hot baths of *Hercules*. Near these issued suddenly out of the earth, if *Athenæus* is to be credited, in the reign of *Antigonus*, a spring of cold water, which, as it performed most stupendous cures, drew crowds of people to it from the most remote nations. But the governors of *Antigonus*, to whom *Eubœa* was then subject, obliging those who used the waters to pay a certain tax, the spring immediately disappeared. The city of *Oreos*, built, according to *Homer*, during the *Trojan* war, was formerly one of the most powerful cities of *Eubœa*, the fourth part of the island belonging to the *Oreans* in the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*.

In the several revolutions of *Greece* it became subject to different masters, and, after it had undergone many changes, it was by *Pericles* brought under subjection to the *Athenians*, who sent thither a new colony, after having driven out the antient inhabitants, and obliged them to retire into a canton of *Thessaly* called *Hesiotides*. The newly transplanted *Athenians* changed the name of *Oreos*, which was given it because built on an hill, into that of *Istiaæ* or *Hestiaæ*, which was the name of their tribe. The territory of *Oreos* was famous for its vineyards, whence it is by *Homer* distinguished with the epithet of *Polystaphylos*, that is, abounding with vines. *Goltzius* produces a medal of *Istiaæ* with an ox on one side, alluding to the excellent pastures of *Eubœa*, and bunches of grapes on the other, to shew the nature of the soil. In *Pliny's* time this city was no-ways considerable, and now it is only a small village called *Oreo*. These are the cities of note on the coast facing *Attica* and *Bœotia*.

\* STRAB. *ibid.* † Vid. ERAS. *chiliad.* ‡ POLYB. I. xvi. c. 40.

ON the north-side of the island over-against *Theffaly*, and extending from *Cenæum* to *Artemisium*, stood *Dia*, or *Athênæ* *Dia*, *Ce-Diades*, founded by one *Dias* an *Athenian*, who called it after *rinthus*, his own name, and that of his native city *Athens*, *Diades*, &c.

This *Dias* was, according to *Stephanus*, the son of *Abas*, and brother of *Aleo* and *Arethusa*. The inhabitants of *Dia* peopled the city of *Canæ* in *Æolis*. *Ptolemy* calls *Dia* or *Dium* only a promontory. On the coast, which is washed by the *Ægean* sea, stood the city of *Cerintus*, built, according to *Strabo*, by *Ellops* the son of *Ion*, and brother of *Æclus* and *Clothus*. *Pliny* counts this among the ancient cities of note in *Eubœa* <sup>b</sup>. *Homer* mentions both *Dium* and *Cerintus*, calling the latter a maritime city, and the other an high town <sup>i</sup>.

THE inland cities mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are *Eliopia*, *Nysa*, *Eubœa*, *Orabiæ*, *Rhamnus*, *Porthmus*, *Ellopiæ*, *Algæ*, and *Tamyne*. *Ellopiæ*, according to *Strabo*, stood at the foot of mount *Telebrium*, and was so called, as was also the whole island, from *Ellops* its founder, who, as the same author tells us, was the son of *Xuthus*, and grandson of *Hel-leus*. The inhabitants of this city, after the battle at *Leuſtra*, were obliged, by the tyrant *Philistides*, to abandon their native country, and settle at *Istiaæ* <sup>k</sup>. *Algæ* stood over-against *Anthedon*, the last maritime city of *Bœotia* on the side of *Loëris*; *Strabo* calls it the *Euboic Algæ*, and also *Æges*, to difference it from two other cities of that name, the one in *Achaia* near the river *Cratis*; the other in *Æolis*. The same author is of opinion, that from this place, once famous for a temple of *Neptune*, the *Ægean* sea borrowed its name. In the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, the city of *Orobiæ* was in great part overthrown by an earthquake, and laid under water by sea, which on that occasion broke in <sup>l</sup>.

THE most ancient inhabitants of *Eubœa* were the *Titans*, *Inhabit-* according to *Solinus* <sup>m</sup>, who, by the kingdom of the *Titans*, *ants*. understands the island of *Eubœa*. But this opinion is only founded on the religious worship, which the inhabitants paid to *Briareus* and *A'geon*, two of that race, or rather one known by two different names. Other writers, taking no notice of the *Titans*, suppose the *Abantes* to have first peopled the island. These took the name of *Abantes* from *Abas* a city of *Thrace*, whence they passed over into *Eubœa*, which from them was named *Abantis* and *Abantia* (K). *Herodotus* counts

<sup>b</sup> PLIN. l. iv. c. 12.    <sup>i</sup> HOMER. catal. v. 45.    <sup>k</sup> STRAB. l. x. sub initium.    <sup>l</sup> THUCYD. l. iii.    <sup>m</sup> SOLIN. c. 10.

(K) This is the opinion of *Aristotle*, as quoted by *Strabo*; but others pretend, that they were called *Abantes* from *Abas* their

counts the *Abantes* of *Eubœa* among the people of *Ionian* extraction<sup>n</sup>. *Homer* gives them the epithet of brave, and represents them with a long lock of hair on the back-part of their head ; from which description his interpreter *Eustathius* concludes the *Curetes* and *Abantes* to be one and the same people ; which was the opinion of *Archemagus*, an antient *Eubœan* writer quoted by *Strabo* (L). It is remarkable that *Homer*, who often stiles the island *Eubœa*, yet never calls the inhabitants *Eubœans*, but constantly *Abantes*. The *Pelusi*ans likewise, abandoning *Peloponnesus*, settled in this island<sup>o</sup>, which, on that account, is called *Pelasgia* by the scholiast of *Apollonius*. To these *Diodorus Siculus* adds the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Eleans*, and *Dryopes*. The latter being driven from *Phocis* by *Hercules* after the death of their king *Phylas*, settled partly in *Eubœa*, where they built *Carystus*, and partly in *Cyprus* and *Peloponnesus* <sup>p</sup>.

*EUBOE*A must have been formerly a very considerable state, since it is by the antients stiled the queen of the *Ægæan*, and by *Herodotus* equalled to the island of *Crete* itself. The *Chalcidians*, *Eretrians*, and *Carystians*, were deemed expert mariners, and courted by the contending powers of those days. They sent forty ships, a grand armada in those times, to the war of *Troy*, under the conduct of their king *Elephenor*, and are said, at least by the poets, to have given on that occasion proofs of an uncommon valour.

Government.

THE first form of government, which prevailed in *Eubœa*, was monarchical. *Solinus* dates the beginning of the *Eu-*

<sup>n</sup> HERODOT. I. i. c. 146.

DION. HALICAR. I. i.

<sup>p</sup> DIOD. SIC. I. x.

their leader, who was the first that reigned in the island. The learned *Reineccius* takes the *Abantes* to be the *Arabians*, who, according to *Strabo*, followed *Cadmus* into *Eubœa*, and settled there.

(L) *Archemagus* was a native of *Eubœa*, wrote several books on the animals, and other remarkable things of that island, and is often quoted and commended by *Athenæus*. This antient writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Chalcis* and *Eretria* disagreeing about a certain field called *Campus Lelantus*, came to

an engagement, wherein the *Eretrians* closing with the *Chalcidians*, and taking hold of them by their long hair, easily overcame them. Whereupon the *Chalcidians*, to prevent misfortunes of the like nature for the future, cut off their hair ; leaving, out of superstition, but one lock on the back part of their heads. From this manner of shaving they were called, according to *Archemagus*, *Curetes*, so that the *Curetes*, who are said to have once inhabited *Chalcis*, were originally *Abantes*.

*bœan* kingdom from the time of the *Titans*, which it is no easy matter to define. Others, taking no notice of the *Titans*, suppose *Abas* to have been the first who reigned in *Eubœa* (M). *Abas*, according to *Homer*, and the scholiast of *Apollonius*, had by his wife *Aglaia* two sons, *Chalcodon* and *Canethus*. *Chalcodon*, who succeeded his father, made war upon the *Thebans*, reduced their city, and obliged them to submit to an annual tribute. He was afterwards overcome and killed by *Amphitryon* the father of the *Theban Hercules*. Upon his death the *Thebans* recovered their antient liberty. *Plutarch*, who mentions this war, calls the place where the battle was fought, and *Chalcodon* killed, *Leuctra* \*. From this king *Homer* styles the *Eubœans Chalcodontidæ* †. *Canethus*, who, according to *Apollonius* ‡, gave his name to a mountain of *Eubœa*, had a son named *Canthus*, who attended *Jason* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and lost his life in that enterprize. *Chalcodon* had by his wife *Imonarete* two sons, *King of Elephenor* and *Pyræchmes*. The latter renewed the war *Eubœa*. against the *Thebans* and *Bœotians*; but, being overcome and taken prisoner by *Hercules*, he was tied to two horses, his arms to one, and his legs to the other, and cruelly torn asunder §. *Elephenor* was banished for killing his grandfather, as we have related above. But, as his countrymen were preparing to set out for the *Trojan* war, he drew near the *Euri-pus*, and, standing on a rock on the *Bœotian* side of the streight, he invited them to assemble, convinced the assembly of his innocence, and prevailed upon them not only to restore him to his native country, but to entrust him with the command of the fleet, consisting of forty ships, which was ready to set sail for *Troy*. In this war *Elephenor*, if we believe *Homer* ‖, gave proofs of an extraordinary valour; but was at last killed by *Agenor*.

\* PLUT. in amat. narrat.

† Vide EUSTATH. in Iliad. β.

‡ APOLLON. Argonaut. l. i. &amp; iv.

§ PLUT. in parall.

\* HO-

MER. Iliad. 6.

(M) He was, according to *Homer* and *Eustathius* (77), the son of *Neptune* and the nymph *Arethusa*. By the sons of *Neptune* the antients meant expert mariners, or princes powerful by sea. *Isacius Tzetzes* tells us, that he was killed inadvert-

ently by his grandson *Elephenor*, who being provoked at seeing a slave, who led him in his old age, perform that duty without due care, discharged a blow at him with a club; but, missing the slave, unfortunately killed the prince (78).

(77) *Homer. Iliad. β.*(78) *Isaac Tzetzes, in Cassandr. Lycophran.*

AFTER the destruction of *Troy* the *Abantes* or *Eubœans*, on their return home, joined the *Locrians* of *Thronium*, and, landing near the *Ceraunian* mountains, possessed themselves of the adjacent country, and built there a city; the city they called *Thronium*, but the country *Abantis*, and held them both, till they were many years after driven out by the inhabitants of *Apollonia* <sup>γ</sup>. Some writers tell us, that, upon the death of *Elephenor*, *Nauplius* the father of *Palamedes* was placed upon the throne of *Eubœa*; but others are of opinion, that the *Eubœans*, immediately after the *Trojan* war, formed themselves into a republic, or rather into several small republics, most of their cities being governed by their own laws, and quite independent of each other. In the reign of *Darius Hystaspis* the cities of *Chalcis*, *Eretria*, *Carystus*, and *Oreos*, were so many distinct republics, governed by the nobles, whom they called *hippobates*, that is, horsemen, none being admitted into the administration, but such as could maintain a certain number of horses; whence it is manifest, that oligarchy prevailed at that time in those cities.

BUT this form of government was frequently disturbed, either by the unruly multitude introducing in its room a democracy, or by domestic tyrants, who, taking all the power into their own hands, ruled in their respective cities without controul. Among these we find the following tyrants mentioned by the antients as reigning in the city of *Chalcis*, *Antileon*, *Phoxus*, *Menefarchus*, *Callias*, and *Taurosthenes*. The two first are spoken of by *Aristotle*, who tells us, that *Phoxus* was put to death by the incensed multitude <sup>α</sup>. *Menefarchus* committed great devastations in the territories of the *Athenians* without any provocation; but, in the mean time, the *Thebans* having made a descent in the island with a design to drive out the tyrants, and restore the cities to their former state of liberty and independence, *Menefarchus* had recourse to the *Athenians*, who, notwithstanding the injuries he had done them, hastened to his assistance, and, in the space of thirty days, obliged the *Thebans* to abandon the island, and leave the tyrants in the possession of their usurped power. *Menefarchus* had two sons, *Callias* and *Taurosthenes*, and was succeeded by the former, who, unmindful of the favours his father had received from the *Athenians*, joined *Philip* of *Macedon*, their declared enemy; but, being overcome by *Phocion* the *Athenian* general, and disgraced by *Philip*, he was obliged to sue for peace, which the *Athenians* generously granted him, and even assisted him to the utmost of their power against

<sup>γ</sup> PAUSAN. in *Boeot.*  
& 12.

<sup>α</sup> ARISTOT. *polit.* l. v. c. 4.

*Philip* and the *Thebans*, who had invaded his territories. When he saw himself attacked at once by two so powerful enemies, he went in person to *Athens*, and there, in an assembly of the people, pronounced an oration composed by *Demosthenes*, which had so good an effect on their minds, that they not only forgot his ungrateful behaviour, but resolved without delay to send troops to his assistance. By this means he withstood the efforts of his enemies, and maintained his power to his death <sup>a</sup>. *Taurosthenes*, according to some writers, succeeded him, according to others died before him. If he outlived him, he did nothing after he was vested with the supreme power, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity.

IN the city of *Eretria* reigned the following tyrants; *Dia-* Tyrants of  
Eretria.  
*goras*, who, as *Aristotle* informs us <sup>b</sup>, having driven out the *Hippobates*, took the whole power into his own hands: *Themison*, who took the city of *Oropus* from the *Athenians*, and stirred up the *Thebans* against them; but afterwards changing his mind entered into an alliance with *Athens*, and assisted his new allies in the recovery of *Oropus* <sup>c</sup>. *Plutarchus*, who, being overcome in a pitched battle by the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding the succours sent him from *Athens*, was driven out by his own subjects, and obliged to abandon the island <sup>d</sup>. Upon his flight the *Eretrians* recovered their antient liberty, which they did not long enjoy; for divisions and parties arising among the citizens, some of them favouring *Philip* of *Macedon*, and others the *Athenians*, *Philip* took advantage of these disturbances, and, by means of one *Hipponicus* having made himself master of the city, put the whole power into the hands of *Hipparchus*, *Automedon* and *Clitarchus*, who were all at the head of the *Macedonian* faction. But they were soon driven out by *Phocion* the *Athenian*, who restored the *Eretrians* to the enjoyment of their former liberty <sup>e</sup>. The city of *Oreos* was cruelly harassed by one *Philistides*, who was supported in his tyranny by *Philip*. He held also the city of *Ellopiea*, which he obliged the inhabitants to abandon, and retire to *Oreos* <sup>f</sup>. Besides the tyrants of particular cities, we find one *Tynnondus* mentioned by *Plutarch* <sup>g</sup> as lord of the whole

<sup>a</sup> *ÆSCHIN.* in orat. contra Ctesiphon.

<sup>b</sup> *ARISTOT.* polit. l. v. c. 6.

<sup>c</sup> *DEMOSTHEN.* pro Ctesiph. *DIOD. SIC.* l. xv. *ÆSCHIN.* de falsa legat. & contra Ctesiph.

<sup>d</sup> *PLUT.* in Phocione. *PAUSAN.* in Attic. *ULPIAN.* in orat. contra Midiam. *ÆSCHIN.* ubi supra.

<sup>e</sup> *DIODOR. SICUL.* lib. xvi. *PLUT.* in apoph. *DEMOSTHEN.* orat. iii. in Philippum, & in orat. pro Ctesiphonte.

<sup>f</sup> *STRAB.* l. x. *DEMOSTHEN.* orat. iii. in Philip. & orat. pro Ctesiph.

<sup>g</sup> *PLUT.* in Solon.

island; but all we know of him is, that he was contemporary with *Solon* the legislator, and that he governed with great equity and moderation<sup>h</sup>. The wars of the *Eubæans* with the *Athenians*, *Persians*, and *Spartans*, we have described elsewhere<sup>i</sup>; and therefore shall only add here, that they submitted first to *Philip*, and then to his son *Alexander*, after whose death they shook off the *Macedonian* yoke, but were by *Antigonus* brought anew under subjection. When the *Romans* first passed over into *Greece*, the island of *Eubæa* was subject to the kings of *Macedon*, but soon after declared free by a decree of the senate, in order to weaken the power of *Philip* in those parts. *Antiochus*, surnamed *the Great*, and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, were in their turns masters of *Eubæa*; but the *Romans*, prevailing in the east, restored the *Eubæans* to their former state of liberty. *Marc Antony* subjected them to *Athens*; but *Augustus*, incensed against the *Athenians* for siding with his rival, declared free first the city of *Eretria*, and soon after the whole island, which was governed by its own laws, and continued in a flourishing condition till the reign of *Vespasian*, when it underwent the same fate as the other states of *Greece*.

Atalanta,  
and the  
islands Pe-  
talææ.

In the *Euripus*, now gulf of *Negropont*, *Pliny* places the island of *Atalanta*, which is mentioned also by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, and the *Petalææ*, so called, because they lie over-against the city of *Petalia* in *Eubæa*. They are four in number, but rocks rather than islands. Some writers rank *Anticyra*, famous for its hellebore, among the islands of the *Ægean* sea, and place it in the *Pegasean* bay, between *Eubæa* and *Thessaly*, over-against mount *Oeta*; but *Strabo*, a most accurate writer, though well acquainted with the other *Greek* islands, seems to have been quite a stranger to this. He mentions indeed two cities of this name, the one on the coast of *Phocis* near *Cissa* on the side of *Bæotia*<sup>k</sup>; the other, which he commends for its hellebore, as *Pausanias* does the former<sup>l</sup>, on the banks of the *Sperchius*, at an equal distance from mount *Oeta*, and the *Maliac* gulf<sup>m</sup>; but he no-where speaks of an island bearing the name of *Anticyra*; and his silence inclines us, notwithstanding the authority of *Pliny*, *Gellius*, and some modern geographers, to believe that there was no such island; the more, because neither *Pliny* nor *Gellius* give us any account of its situation, but only tell us, that the island of *Anticyra* was famous for its hellebore, mistaking, in all likelihood, one of the above-mentioned cities for an island.

<sup>h</sup> PLUT. *ibid.*

p. 85.  
c. 26.

<sup>i</sup> Vol. vi. p. 359, 360. 364. et vol. vii.

<sup>k</sup> STRAB. I. ix. p. 299.

<sup>l</sup> STRAB. *ibid.* p. 299.

<sup>m</sup> PAUSAN. in Phoc.

But it is now time to dismiss this subject, and take our leave of the *Ægean* or *Archipelago*, having visited with *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, the best guides of antiquity, all the islands of note in that sea, without suffering any thing to escape our notice, which those eminent antiquaries have thought worthy of observation. The present account, with that which we have delivered in the foregoing volume of the several *Greek* states in *Europe* and *Asia*, completes, we may say without presumption, the most distinct and extensive history of *Greece* that has hitherto appeared in any language.

## C H A P. II.

*The History of the Macedonians.*

## S E C T. I.

*A Description of Macedonia.*

**A**S this country was antiently inhabited by various nations, *Names.* so it was, in a long succession of ages, distinguished by different appellations, being sometimes <sup>a</sup> called by the name of one of its districts, and sometimes by that of another, as the nation inhabiting those regions prevailed. Thus, in the most antient times, it took its name from *Æmathia* <sup>b</sup>, which received its appellation from *Æmathius*, a prince of great antiquity; but afterwards the whole country, which the *Greeks* called *Macedonia*, received that denomination from <sup>c</sup> king *Macedo*, a descendant from *Deucalion*, as some think, or, as others affirm, by an easy mutation of *Mygdonia*, the name of one of its provinces, into *Macedonia* (A).

THE

<sup>a</sup> JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 1. LIV. l. x. c. 3. <sup>b</sup> JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLIN. hist. nat. l. iv. c. 10. <sup>c</sup> CLUVER. geog. l. iv. c. 9.

(A) It is the opinion of many commentators on the holy Scriptures, that by the *כְּתִימִים* *Chittim*, or the descendants of *Ceth*, we are to understand the inhabitants of this country (1). The learned *Bocbart* is of a different sentiment, and will have the *Chittim* to be the people of *Italy* (2). The judicious Mr. *Shuckford* supports the former notion, and hath offered many probable reasons in justification of his reviving it (3). Some critics have

(1) Gen. x. 4. *Ishaiab* xxiii. 1. 12, 13. 1 *Maccab.* i. 1. viii. 5. (2) *Pol. Symp. critic. in locis supradict.* *Bocbart. pbaleg.* (3) *Connection of sacred history with profane*, vol. i. p. 155.



THE bounds of this country are not very easily assigned, because, according to the fortune of its princes, they have been sometimes esteemed larger, and sometimes less. We shall, however, endeavour to accommodate our description to the succeeding history in such a manner, as the reader may easily perceive what accessions it received from time to time from the valour of its antient kings. Of old then it was bounded on the east by the *Ægean* sea, on the south by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, on the west by the *Adriatic* or the *Ionian* sea, and on the north by the river *Strymon* and the *Scardian* mountains, afterwards by the river *Nessus* or *Nestus* (B).

PLINY

fantied, that the old name might easily be reconciled to the new thus, κήτεροι Μακέται, Μακεδόνες; but whether in length of time this permutation of names might really happen, the reader's judgment must determine. As to *Cluverius's* conjecture, that *Macedonia* was derived from *Mygdonia*, through the different pronunciation of the *Greeks*, we can affirm nothing concerning it (4). The old opinion, however, seems preferable, that it was so called from the antient hero *Macedo*, whom *Diodorus* asserts to have been the son of *Osiris* (5); but *Solinus* will have him to be a descendant from *Deucalion* (6). They agree, however, in this, that from him this country received its name, which was before called *Æmathia*. Concerning the antient king *Æmathius*, from whom this appellation came, we have nothing in history, except that he lived in the oldest times, and was probably the first king of that little district which retained its name, though it was a province only of *Macedonia* (7). It is from *Livy* that we learn *Pæo-*

*nia* was once the general name of this country, which afterwards became peculiar to a people thrust up into the northern part thereof, lying under mount *Scopus* (8). Thus much may suffice on this subject, which, however dry, the intelligent reader will find to have its uses.

(B) The accessions of territory which *Macedonia* received from the wisdom and virtue of its kings, were made at different times, and in different wars. *Caranus* and his immediate successors were pent up in the midst of *Macedonia*, and the conquests they made were either towards the north, at the expence of the *Pelagonians*, *Edonians*, and other nations, or on the south, where they gained some very rich and fruitful countries from the *Thessalians* (9). In process of time, when the *Persian* king came to have great affairs in this part of the world, the tributary princes of *Macedon* found their account in it; and, as the reward of their attachment to that crown, had several of the western provinces bestowed on them (10). This

(4) *Crophi antiquæ Macedon.* l. iv. c. 4.  
c. 2.

(6) *Polybius.* c. 14.

l. x. c. 3.

*Diodor. Strab. Pausan. &c.*

(7) *Iustin.* l. vii. c. 1.

(5) *Biblioth. histor.* l. i.

(8) *Hist.*

(10) *Herodot.* *Thucyd.*

PLINY <sup>e</sup> tells us, that no less than an hundred and fifty *Cities*. different nations were seated within this territory ; and <sup>f</sup> *Pomponius Mela* confirms the multitude of different states in this country, by saying it had as many nations as cities. Of those the <sup>g</sup> *Taulantii* inhabited the western part, on the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea. Within this territory stood the city <sup>h</sup> *Epidamnus* or *Epidamnus* ; which, for its unlucky name, the *Romans* afterwards thought fit to change into *Dyrrhachium* ;

<sup>e</sup> Hist. natur. l. iv. c. 10.

<sup>f</sup> De situ orbis, l. ii. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> STRAB. geograph. l. vii. p. 326. edit. Paris. 1620. ARRIAN. exped. Alex. l. i. c. 5.

<sup>h</sup> DIO CASS. l. xli. p. 176. CICERO. pro Ligar. c. 9. PLIN. hist. nat. l. iii. c. 23.

enabled them to contest the possession of the sea-coasts with the most powerful republics of Greece ; who, under pretence of settling colonies, fought, by all possible methods, to establish large principalities, and to draw immense riches to themselves. The jealousy the *Macedonian* kings had of this, their art in procuring supplies from one republic to distress another, and their dexterity in negotiating treaties, when they were no longer able to carry on war, restored them to the possession of the eastern coast, and left them on that side no other boundary but the sea. On the west they had still many nations between them and the *Adriatic*, when *Philip* the father of *Alexander* came to the throne ; but he, contemning all limits not set by nature, forced all those nations to submit to his sway ; and, having conquered all the country to the sea on this side, he turned his arms to the south-east, where driving out the *Athenians*, *Thracians*, and other nations, he

added all the rich and plentiful regions between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus* or *Nestos* to *Macedonia*, adorning the old city of *Grenides* with rich and stately buildings, and calling it from his own name *Philippi* (11). This account will free the reader from those difficulties, which otherwise, in the perusal of this work, might frequently give him trouble. He will therein meet with accounts of wars carried on by the *Lyncestians*, *Almopians*, and other nations, against the *Macedonians* ; though it should seem that the countries inhabited by these nations were within the limits of *Macedonia* : he will find the *Athenians*, *Corcyrians*, and *Corinthians* holding large districts in this country ; and he will hear the river *Strymon* sometimes, at other the river *Nessus*, named as the boundaries of *Macedonia* on the east, and the authorities of the antients quoted for both (12) ; all which this short account will render perfectly clear and intelligible.

(11) *Demosthen*, in orat. *Philip*. *Plut.* in vit. *Demosthen*. & *Phocion*. (12) *Diud. Sic. biblioth.* l. xxi. xxii. x.iii. *Plin. hist. nat.* l. iv. c. 10. *Solin. Polyhist.* c. 14. 15. *Tit. Liv.* l. xlv. c. 29, 30. *Strabon. geog.* l. vii. *Pomp. Mel.* l. xlv.

Apollo- it is now called *Durazzo* <sup>1</sup> (C). *Apollonia* stood also within  
 nia, &c. the confines of this people, seven *Roman* miles from the sea-  
 shore,

<sup>1</sup> STRAB. geograph. l. vii. p. 322. CICERO. Philip. ii. c. 11.  
 VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 59.

(C) The city of *Epidamnus* was seated on the entrance of the *Ionian* gulf (13). It was a colony of the *Corcyrians*, but settled under the command of *Phalius* the son of *Heratoclidus*, a *Corinthian* by birth; and, as to family, descended of *Hercules*. At the time of their settlement here, the *Taulantii* looked upon the territory they seized as justly belonging to them; on which account the rising city and its inhabitants were frequently disturbed by them, and other barbarous nations; but, by degrees, the *Epidamnians* grew powerful, and stood in little awe of their neighbours, till their own seditions furnished both with opportunity and force the *Taulantii* their antient enemies. This happened about the second year of the eighty-fifth *Olympiad*; when the people, having expelled the nobility, constrained them to fly to the barbarians. These, excited by the exiles, presently invaded the territories of the *Greeks*, and shortly after besieged the city, which they reduced to great streights. The *Epidamnians* in great distress applied for assistance to the *Corcyrians*, but were refused. They then, at the instance of the oracle, made suit to the *Corinthians*, who furnished them speedily and effectually with all things they desired. This terri-

bly incensed the *Corcyrians*, who thought the *Corinthians*, in relieving their colony, had meddled where they had nothing to do, notwithstanding that they themselves were a colony from *Corinth*, and that part of the original colony settled at *Epidamnus* were *Corinthians* also. The next year therefore after the *Corinthians* had relieved this city, the *Corcyrians* fitted out a great fleet, attacked the *Corinthians* and their allies, and also besieged *Epidamnus*; which proceeding of theirs induced what was called the *Corinthian* war (14). In succeeding times this, like the rest of the *Macedonian* cities, laid hold of every opportunity of asserting its freedom; and tho' we cannot be very particular as to the accidents which befel it in so long a series, yet we know, that the fact was so; for we find *Diodorus Siculus* setting down the reduction of this place by *Cassander*, who left a garison in it; however, 'in a short time afterwards the city dismissed the garison, and sided with *Glaucias* king of the *Illyrians* (15). After *Epidamnus* fell under the jurisdiction of the *Romans*, they are said to have changed its name into *Dyrrachium*, on account of the unluckiness of its former appellation (16); though *Appian* says; that the *Corcyrians* made

(13) *Cluver. geogr.* l. iv. c. 9.

(15) *Diodor. Sicul. biblioth.* l. xix.

(14) *Thuryd. de bello Pelopon.* l. i.

(16) *Plin. hist. nat.* l. iii. c. 23.

shore, a city remarkable for its excellent laws, and in latter times celebrated as a seat of learning, though now fallen into such decay, that authors are not well agreed about its modern name (D). South of the *Taulantii*, but still on the coast of the *Adriatic*, lay the country of the *Elymiotæ*, whose chief cities were *Elyma* and *Bullis*\*, both sea-ports, and

\* THUCYD. bel. Pelop. l. xi. p. 169.

this change, and called it *Epidamnus*, holding its antient name *Dyrrhachium* to be ominous (17); however, the former seems the more probable opinion of the two, since *Plautus* gives us the reason why the last-mentioned

name was thought unlucky, it being expressive of the nature of the inhabitants, who were, generally speaking, knaves, sycophants, and prostitutes; his words are these,

*Nunc ita est hæc hominum natio Epidamnia ;  
Voluptarii atque potatores maximi ;  
Tum sycophantæ & palpatores plurimi  
In urbe hac habitant ; tum meretrices mulieres  
Nusquam perbibentur blandiores gentium.  
Propterea huic urbi nomen Epidamno inditum est :  
Quia nemo ferme huc sine damno divortitur* (18).

Some have thought, that *Dyrrhachium* was rather the name of the port than the city ; and others again have suggested, that the antient city of *Epidamnus* stood on the continent, whereas *Dyrrhachium* was seated in a peninsula (19). It is now, without doubt, called *Durazzo*, and is a port of some note, considering the condition of other maritime places on this coast, which once made a considerable figure in history (20).

(D) *Apollonia* stood seven miles from the sea on the river *Laus*. It was a colony of the *Corinthians*, and also of the *Corcyrians*, perhaps in the same manner as *Epidamnus*. It had some

time the name of *Gylace* from *Gylaces* a *Corinthian*, who probably was the leader of the first colony (21). The reader will find in *Herodotus* a remarkable, but fabulous story concerning one *Euenius*, a native of this city (22). In the days of *Cassander* king of *Macedon*, it was delivered from the *Macedonian* yoke (23). Under the *Romans* it flourished, and was very famous, particularly on account of its pleasant situation, which invited many persons to settle there, and form a kind of academy. It is now (as we think) called *Pallina* (24).

(17) *Appian. lib. ii.*

(19) *Scaliger. animad. in Euseb. p. 78.*

*geog. ubi supra.*

*rodes. l. ix. c. 91, 92.  
supra.*

(18) *Menæchm. act. ii. scen. 1. ver. 350.*

(20) *Bunon. in Cluver.*

(21) *Erasm. Vinding. Hellen. p. 372.*

(22) *Me-*

(23) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. Cluver. ubi*

*supra.* (24) *Bunon, in not. Cluver, introduct. geog. l. iv. c. 9.*

Ægæa.

both mentioned by *Pliny*<sup>1</sup>. Eastward of the *Elymiotians* lay a little inland district, called the kingdom of *Orestes* (E), said to have received its name from the settling here of the son of *Agamemnon*, after he had slain his mother<sup>m</sup>. Its capital was *Gyrton*, mentioned by *Pliny*<sup>n</sup>. The *Eordians* lay behind the country of the *Taulantii*, and between it and the kingdom of *Orestes*<sup>o</sup>. To the north of these lay the territory of the *Dassareta*<sup>p</sup>, whose chief cities were *Lychnides* and *Evia*. *Polybius*<sup>q</sup> indeed calls the former *Lychnidia*. It was a place remarkable for its fine situation near a lake of the same name, and is at this day called *Ochrida*<sup>r</sup>. East of this country lay *Æmathia*<sup>s</sup>, properly so called, a region from whence, as we have said, the whole country, since called *Macedonia*, derived its most antient name. It stretched itself quite to the *Sinus Tharmaicus*, or, as it is now called, the gulf of *Salontchi*; and contained several famous cities, particularly *Ægæa* or *Edeffa*, the antient capital of the *Macedonian* kingdom,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. nat. l. iv. c. 10. p. 53. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40. <sup>m</sup> Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 34. & l. xlii. c. 38. STEPH. in voce 'Ορεσία. <sup>n</sup> Hist. natur. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40. <sup>o</sup> HERODOT. lib. vii. c. 185. STRAB. geogr. l. vii. p. 223. <sup>p</sup> Liv. l. xlv. c. 9. <sup>q</sup> L. v. p. 353. <sup>r</sup> BUNON. in Cluver. geog. l. iv. c. 9. <sup>s</sup> JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 1. LUCAN. l. i.

(E) The little district in the kingdom of *Macedonia*, which retained for ages the denomination of *Orestes's* kingdom, is said to have derived that title thus: *Orestes* the son of *Agamemnon*, after he had been acquitted of his mother's murder, and had stolen away *Hermione*, retired with such *Greeks*, as, out of regard to his virtue, were content to follow his fortunes, through *Thessaly* and *Epirus* into this region, which lay on the borders of the latter; and there settled himself. Here by *Hermione* he had a son, whom after his own name he called *Orestes*, who succeeded him in the kingdom; and, by his just and gentle sway, so endeared himself to his

people, that in memory of his father's goodness towards them, they called their country and themselves after the name of these princes (25). This people, tho' they lived within the bounds of the *Macedonian* kingdom, and were obedient to its kings, at least after the reign of *Philip*, yet they preserved such privileges, and vindicated their liberty with such firmness, that when the *Romans*, after the overthrow of *Perseus*, possessed themselves of *Macedon*, they left this people in freedom, and allowed them to set up the form of a dependant commonwealth, acknowledging the *Roman* protection, but not the jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates (26).

(25) Stephanus in voce 'Ορεσία.

(26) Tit. Liv. hist. l. xliii.

of which we shall have hereafter occasion to speak at large, it having been the royal seat of *Caranus* the first king of *Macedon*, and the burial-place of the kings of his line to the time of *Alexander the Great* <sup>1</sup>.

**PELLA**, antiently called *Bunomos* or *Bunomia*, seated at Pella, the mouth of the river *Aëtius*, famous for being the birth-place of *Philip*, and his son *Alexander*, and for having in its neighbourhood the tomb of *Euripides* the celebrated tragic poet <sup>2</sup>. *Europus*, a place seated, as *Pliny* tells us, on the river *Aëtius* <sup>3</sup>, and *Berœa*, where a sedition was raised against the apostle *Paul* by the *Jews* <sup>4</sup>. South-east from *Æmathia*, and close on the shore of the gulf of *Saloniotis*, lies the little country of *Pieria* <sup>5</sup>, famous for its being the region of the *Muses*, who were from thence stiled *Pierides*. Its chief cities were *Pydna*, antiently called *Citron*, standing between the *Pydna* mouths of the rivers *Aliacmon* and *Lydius*, in which *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, *Roxana* his wife, and *Alexander* his son, were put to death by *Cassander* <sup>6</sup>. In its neighbourhood was fought the decisive battle between *Paulus Æmilius* the Roman consul, and *Perseus* king of *Macedon*, wherein the latter was utterly defeated <sup>7</sup>. *Phylace*, and *Dion* or *Dium*, *Phylacæ* a strong town, in which *Alexander the Great* is said to have seen a vision, wherein he was promised the conquest of the *Persian* empire <sup>8</sup>. On the other side of *Æmathia*, that is, to the north, lay the country of *Mygdonia*, in which were the cities of *Antigonis*, *Letæ*, and *Terpilus* <sup>9</sup>. East of this we find the region of *Amphaxitis*, in which stood the noble city of *Thessalonica*, antiently called *Therma*, or rather built near the place where that old city stood. Its founders were *Cassander*, and *Thessalonica* the daughter of *Philip*, and sister to *Alexander the Great*. It is celebrated in history on many accounts, and is at this day the most considerable place in *Macedonia*, under the name of *Salonichi* <sup>10</sup>. *Stagira*, a city famous for producing *Hipparchus* the philosopher, and the celebrated *Aristotle*, preceptor to *Alexander the Great*, whose

<sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLIN. hist. nat. l. iv. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. c. 52.

<sup>2</sup> HERODOT. l. vii. c. 12; LIV. l. xlv. prop. fin. P. MELA, de sit. orb. l. ii. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. natur. STRABO, excerpt. l. vii. PHILOST. l. ix. c. 8. <sup>4</sup> Aët. apost. c. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> STRABO, ubi supra. <sup>6</sup> STRABO, ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. JUST. l. xiv. c. 6.

<sup>7</sup> TIT. LIV. l. xlv. c. 8. <sup>8</sup> Idem, l. xlv. c. 9. THUCYD. l. iv. p. 305. POLYB. l. iv. c. 42. ARRIAN. l. i.

<sup>9</sup> THUCYD. l. ii. p. 179. <sup>10</sup> HERODOT. l. vii. THUCYD. l. i. p. 40.

Augæa,  
Singus,  
&c.

Palena,  
Potidæa,  
Torone,  
&c.

knowledge was as extensive as the conquests of his pupil <sup>f</sup> (F). South-east of this country lies the region of *Chalcidica*, in which were the towns of *Augæa*, *Singus* and *Acanthus*, now called *Eristo* &c.

NEXT lay the country of *Paraxis*, full of gulfs and inlets formed by the *Ægean* sea. In it were the cities of *Palena* <sup>h</sup>, anciently called *Phlegra*, as *Herodotus* tells us, in the neighbourhood of which there dwelt of old certain cruel and inhospitable giants, who were extirpated by *Hercules* <sup>i</sup>. *Potidæa*, a colony of *Corinthians*, but afterwards possessed by the

<sup>f</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. HERODOT. l. vii. c. 115. THUCYD. l. iv. p. 311. <sup>g</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 22. <sup>h</sup> THUCYD. l. i. p. 41. <sup>i</sup> HERODOT. l. vii. c. 123.

(F) *Thessalonica* had the good luck to remain always considerable in the midst of that almost total ruin, which various conquests brought on *Macedonia*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time it was the most flourishing city in the kingdom (27). *St. Paul* found it no less flourishing when he preached the gospel therein; and how great regard he had for the church there, appears from the epistles directed thereto (28). Even at this day it makes a very great figure under the name *Salonichi*, and is not only remarkable for the great trade carried on there, by which its inhabitants are still rich, at least in proportion to their neighbours, but also for the noble ruins which testify its antient magnificence. There are the remains of several triumphal arches, as well as one which is still almost intire, erected in honour of the emperor *Antoninus*. There are also churches, now turned into mosques, of surprising beauty; particularly that which was consecrated to *St. Demetrius*, containing two churches,

one over the other, both of excellent marble, and adorned with upwards of 1000 columns of jasper, porphyry, &c. In this, and in other churches, are the tombs of several illustrious persons; and without the city are numerous fragments of antiquity, with variety of inscriptions. There are also quantities of medals frequently found here; but the *Turks* are so incurious, that they set no value upon them; and so careless, that they will not preserve them for those that do; insomuch that travellers are constrained to make use of various arts to obtain from this illiterate nation, pieces of which they neither know the use, nor account them of any value (29). It is very probable, that the excellent situation of *Thessalonica* hath been the chief cause of that respect which all conquerors have shewn it. It has certainly such advantages from it, as are scarce to be met with elsewhere, and which have been celebrated by the antients, as well as admired by the moderns.

(27) *Geograph. l. vii. p. 330.*  
(29) *Voyage du S. P. Lucas, tom. i. p. 203.*

(28) *Two epistles to the Thessalonians.*

*Athenians*, from whom it was taken by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. It was afterwards re-edified by *Cassander*, who called it from his own name *Cassandria*, which appellation it still retains <sup>k</sup>. *Torone*, from whence the neighbouring bay received the appellation of *Toronaicus* <sup>l</sup>. *Olinthus*, a city famous for the several sieges it sustained, and for being the birth-place of *Callisthenes* the philosopher <sup>m</sup>. The *Bisaltæ* held a small country bordering on the *Sinus Strymonicus*, and in the northern part of *Macedonia*. Their chief cities were *Euporia*, *Offa* and *Calitera* <sup>n</sup>. North-west from them lay the region of *Edonia*, on the confines of which ran the river *Strymon*. In it stood the cities of *Amphipolis*, *Scotusa* and *Berga*; the first famous for being a colony of the *Athenians* <sup>o</sup>; and some think, that the ancient city *Crenides* stood also within its bounds, which *Philip* the father of *Alexander* rebuilt, and called *Philippi* <sup>p</sup>. North-west of this territory lies the country of *Pelagonia*, bordering on mount *Hæmus*, the chief city of which was *Stobi*, now called *Starachino* <sup>q</sup>. West of it lies *Orbelia*, in which were seated the cities of *Orma* and *Gariscus* <sup>r</sup>. Next, bending to the south-west, lies the country of *Joria*, in which stood the city of *Forum*. West from it is situate the territory of the *Ahnopians*, in which stand the cities of *Europus*, *Albanopolis* and *Apsalus* <sup>s</sup>. Directly south of these we find the region of the *Æstrians*, the chief city in which was antiently called *Æstrium* <sup>t</sup>. East of them, and in the very heart of *Macedonia*, lies the country of the *Lyncesti*, the chief city in which was called *Heraclea* <sup>u</sup>; north of which lay the inland country of *Sintica*, the principal towns in which were *Paræopolis* and *Tristolus* <sup>x</sup>.

*MACEDONIA*, according to *M. de l'Isle's* map of *Greece*, *The extent* lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and of *Macedonia* between the 37th and 42d degrees of longitude. *Briënius* reckons from mount *Orbelus* to *Pindus*, that is, from north to south, 2000 *stadia*, and from *Epidamnus* to mount *Athos* 2500 *stadia* <sup>y</sup> from west to east. According to the map before-mentioned, it is from north to south about 160 miles,

<sup>k</sup> *TIT. LIV.* l. xlv. c. 11. *STRAB.* excerpt. l. vii. <sup>l</sup> *DIODOR. SICUL.* lib. xvi. cap. 55. *POMPON. MELA*, lib. ii. cap. 3.

<sup>m</sup> *DIODOR. SICUL.* l. xvi. c. 54. <sup>n</sup> *TIT. LIV.* l. xxxv. c. 29. *PLIN.* nat. hist. l. iv. <sup>o</sup> *THUCYD.* l. iv. p. 320.

*HERODOT.* l. vii. c. 114. *TIT. LIV.* l. xlv. c. 45. <sup>p</sup> *PLIN.* nat. hist. l. iv. c. 11. <sup>q</sup> *STRABON.* geogr. l. vii. p. 225.

<sup>r</sup> *CLUVER.* l. iv. c. 9. <sup>s</sup> *PLIN.* nat. hist. l. iv. c. 10. *THUCYD.* l. ii. p. 170. <sup>t</sup> *CLUVER.* ubi sup. <sup>u</sup> *THUCYD.* l. iv. p. 333. <sup>x</sup> *CLUVER.* ubi supra. <sup>y</sup> *LES*

*états & empires, Tit. Macedonie.*



and from west to east about 220. Its form is very irregular; but its situation is excellent, in respect that it is washed on the east by the *Egean* sea, and on the west by the *Ionian*; which advantages, however, were never cultivated as they might have been, nor were the *Macedonians* ever powerful at sea, notwithstanding that many noble bays and excellent harbours are to be found in their country.

**Mountains** AMONGST the most considerable mountains in this region, we may reckon that great ridge running across the north part thereof, stiled the *Scardian* mountains. In this part also of *Macedon* stood mount *Pangæus*, lofty, and well covered with wood, yet infinitely more valuable from its contents, which were both gold and silver, as we shall shew elsewhere<sup>a</sup>. *Hæmus*, or rather *Aemus*, the western spurs of which, joining the *Scardinian* hills, divide this country from *Thrace*<sup>a</sup>. *Athos* in the *Chalcidian* region, one of the most celebrated mountains in the world<sup>b</sup>. *Mela* reports, that it is so high, as to reach above the clouds<sup>c</sup>. *Martianus Capellus* affirmed it to be six miles high<sup>d</sup>; and it was a received opinion, that it never rained thereon, because the ashes left on the altars erected near its summit were always found as they were left, dry and unscattered; but if, on many accounts, it was famous among the antients, it is no less so among the moderns. The *Greeks*, struck with its singular situation, and the venerable appearance of its towering ascent, erected so many churches, monasteries, and hermitages thereon, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees, and from thence received the name of the *holy mountain*, which it still retains, though many of those consecrated works are now decayed (G). *Olympus*, another lofty mountain,

<sup>a</sup> PLIN. hist. nat. l. iv. c. 11. DION. CASS. l. xlvii. p. 347.

<sup>d</sup> PLIN. hist. nat. lib. iv. c. 11. DIOD. SICUL. lib. iv. c. 84.

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. lib. vii. c. 22. PLIN. nat. hist. l. iv. c. 11. <sup>c</sup> De

situ orbis, l. ii. c. 2. <sup>d</sup> Ap. VAREN. geogr. l. i.

(G) This mount *Athos* is thought to have received its name from a giant, who, the scholiast on *Theocritus* informs us, was the son of *Neptune* and *Rhodope*; but in this there is a concealed meaning; because he is said to have removed this mountain from the neighbourhood of a lake of the last-mentioned name, hence he is called the son of *Rhodope*, be-

cause from her he came; and the son of *Neptune*, because he came to him. There are coins, which, on their reverse, have the summit of mount *Athos*, with a man of a gigantic size lying on the rocks, with his right hand over his head. Whether this be the *Giant*, the *Genius* of the *Mountain*, or *Jupiter Athos*, is not clear (21). *Herodotus* gives

(21) *Gronov. antiq. Græc. v. l. i. Tit. Athos.*

mountain, supposed not only to surpass the clouds, but to reach almost the confines of heaven ; whence the poets took the

us the following description of the mountain : “ *Athos* is a mountain of great fame and magnitude, leaning upon the sea, and well inhabited. It terminates to the landward in the form of a peninsula, and makes an isthmus of about twelve stades in length, containing a plain, with some mixture of little hills from the coast of *Acanthus* to that of *Torone*. On this isthmus, which lies at the foot of mount *Athos*, stands *Sana*, a Grecian city ; but *Xerxes* determined to cut off from the continent all the other cities, which being built upon the mountain, and be-

“ yond this place, were *Dion*, “ *Olophyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thysus*, “ and *Cleone* (22).” From *Thucydides* we learn, that the inhabitants of the five cities were barbarians, speaking two tongues ; that is, the *Greek*, and a language of their own. *Plutarch* and *Pliny* have both written, that this mountain is so high, as to project its shade, when the sun is in the summer solstice, on the market-place of the city *Myrrhina* in the island of *Lemnos*. On account of this it is said, that the inhabitants of this city erected a brazen calf at the termination of the shadow, on which was inscribed this *monoslich* :

Ἄθως καλύπτει πλεῖστα Λημνίας βοίης.  
Half *Lemnos*’ calf doth *Athos* shadow hide.

*Pliny* asserts the distance between the foot of mount *Athos*, and the island of *Lemnos* to be 87,000 paces. He does not tell us at what hour of the day this shadow was observed, yet this may be supplied by supposing it to have been a little before sun-set ; the sun being then in the vertical circle, which passeth over *Athos* and *Myrrhina* ; or rather, it may be supposed two degrees higher, because otherwise the shadow could not be so exactly observed in *Lemnos* (23). These points settled, it will appear from the principles of trigonometry, that the altitude of *Athos* is thirty-two furlongs, which however is not very consistent with truth. The

reason in all probability is, because *Pliny* hath assigned too great a distance between the mountain and the island. The best maps we have make that island but fifty-five *Italian* miles ; which being assumed, reduces it nearer the true height, viz. of eleven furlongs, or a little more (24). As to the modern state of this celebrated mountain, we cannot inform the reader better thereof, than by translating the accurate description of a *French* traveller : “ As I staid a good “ while at *Salonichi* ; and as this “ city is not far distant from “ *Monte Santo*, which is mount “ *Athos*, so much celebrated by “ the antient poets for its height,

(22) *Herodot.* l. vii. c. 22.  
*venius’s geography*, vol. i. p. 12,

(23) *L.* iv. c. 12. p. 58.

(24) *Id.*

the liberty of making it the seat of the gods; yet, with the leave of these towering wits, men of cooler imaginations conceived

\* STRAB. geogr. l. ix. VIRG. Georg. i. ver. 281.

“ and so famous among the modern *Greeks*, for the monks  
 “ and hermits residing thereon, I could not be satisfied without  
 “ going to see it. In the space of a few days I examined this  
 “ wide and so much talked of wonders, leaving no part of it  
 “ unexplored, no not even the chapel on the summit, which  
 “ is very little visited. As I ascended, I found a good deal  
 “ of snow; but as it was in the finest season of the year,  
 “ (in the month of *June*) the sun began to operate upon  
 “ it every-where, and to turn it into water. Its summit  
 “ is a perfect rock, and absolutely naked; but the  
 “ snow did not lie there so long as in the vallies. Passing to  
 “ the south-side, we found it shady. Arriving at the chapel,  
 “ which was seated on a high rock, we were informed,  
 “ that it was consecrated in memory of the transfiguration,  
 “ and that on the sixth of *August* they sung a solemn mass in  
 “ the presence of a multitude of people, who out of devotion  
 “ remained there all night. As to other things, we found  
 “ them in pretty good order, considering it is a place not to  
 “ be visited but in summer-weather. The building too  
 “ was well enough, especially if we consider its situation, it being  
 “ not a little surprising to find a chapel erected, where  
 “ one cannot stay a quarter of an hour without a great fire.

“ That which our geographers call *Monto Santo* comprehends  
 “ not only mount *Athos*, but the whole chain of mountains,  
 “ which unite it to the continent of *Macedonia*. This chain is  
 “ seven or eight leagues long, and three or four broad; and  
 “ it is true, that the *Greeks* call this ridge *Oros Agion*, or the  
 “ *Holy Mountain*; but when they speak of mount *Athos* in  
 “ particular, they call it still *Athos*. Of the twenty monasteries  
 “ erected in this solitude, there is but one, which stands on this  
 “ mountain, and that is dedicated to St. *Laura*, which is indeed  
 “ richer and more considerable than all the rest; and it is owned,  
 “ that from the monks inhabiting therein, the rest took the rule  
 “ under which they live. These convents, generally speaking,  
 “ resemble fortresses rather than religious houses. They are  
 “ surrounded with good walls, flanked with towers, or at least  
 “ surmounted by a vast *donjon*, well furnished with artillery,  
 “ and all things else necessary for defence. This is a very  
 “ necessary precaution, considering their situation in the midst  
 “ of thieves. As these monasteries are generally five or six  
 “ stories high, the apartments in them are numerous, and  
 “ very large, but not over well disposed. They are covered  
 “ with lead, which by the reflection of the sun-beams,  
 “ shine like silver; and, all things

conceived it no impossible task to measure it. This *Xenagoras* attempted, and performed with success; whereby he found, that its height did not much exceed an *English* mile. Many geographers reckon this mountain to *Thessaly*, but we think it belongs rather to *Macedonia* (H).

WE

“ things considered, we may  
 “ rather wonder at their being  
 “ in so good state, than at their  
 “ being in no better. These  
 “ monasteries are independent of  
 “ each other in point of govern-  
 “ ment; and though in the cen-  
 “ tre of these monasteries, there  
 “ is an episcopal see in a pretty  
 “ large town called *Kapiarb*, yet  
 “ the monks pay no sort of obe-  
 “ dience to this bishop. The  
 “ cathedral, however, is stiled  
 “ *Acrotaton*, i. e. *the most high*,  
 “ and is served by monks sent  
 “ by the superiors of the re-  
 “ spective convents for that pur-  
 “ pose. There is also on mount  
 “ *Atbos* a considerable church,  
 “ dedicated to St. *Anne*, where  
 “ the *Anchorites* resort for the  
 “ performance of their devotions  
 “ at certain festivals, and other  
 “ settled times. These poor  
 “ people are quite secluded from  
 “ the rest of human race. They  
 “ may be about sixty in number,  
 “ and live most of them alone;  
 “ the rest, two in a cell; they  
 “ live by the labour of their  
 “ hands, as did the antient  
 “ monks, and are under the dire-  
 “ ction of a chief, who is called  
 “ *Dicaïos*, i. e. the *Just*; yet he  
 “ himself is dependent on the  
 “ monastery of St. *Laura*, be-  
 “ cause their cells are built on  
 “ the ground belonging to that  
 “ religious house. All the mo-  
 “ nasteries have little farms be-

“ longing to them, which are  
 “ managed by certain monks for  
 “ the benefit of the house. All  
 “ these religious, as has been  
 “ said before, live under a com-  
 “ mon rule; which rule consists  
 “ chiefly in the strict observance  
 “ of the following points: 1.  
 “ The keeping certain stated  
 “ fasts, which they recommend  
 “ vehemently in their sermons,  
 “ and which, to do them justice,  
 “ they recommend no less by the  
 “ severity with which they keep  
 “ them. 2. The passing whole  
 “ nights in certain churches con-  
 “ secrated to the honour of God,  
 “ where they either make so-  
 “ lemn prayers, or else join to-  
 “ gether in chanting psalms, con-  
 “ forming herein to the practice  
 “ of the antient church, in  
 “ which these devotions were  
 “ stiled *vigils*. 3. They suffer  
 “ no woman to approach the  
 “ holy mountain, which they  
 “ carry yet farther, by excluding  
 “ all kind of animals of the fe-  
 “ minine gender; and on this  
 “ principle they were wont also  
 “ to cause their younger monks  
 “ to be instructed in separate  
 “ houses, as if youth itself had  
 “ something in it feminine (25).”

(H) As *Atbos* astonished by its  
 height and bulk, the mountain  
*Olympus* struck the beholder with  
 reverence by its amazing lofti-  
 ness; and at the same time in-  
 vited his ascent by the beauty

*Woods, de-  
serts, &c.*

WE have heretofore observed, that the *Scardian* hills and mount *Athos* were well covered with woods; and indeed the whole kingdom of *Macedonia*, being every-where intermixed with mountains, hills, and rising grounds, abounded with all sorts of trees, which are valuable in *Europe*, either on account of timber, fruit or shade. As to deserts or large wastes, we find not that there were any such in antient times; on the contrary, it appears, that no part of *Europe* was more thoroughly peopled; but since it has been in the hands of the *Turks*, great part of it is become uninhabited, a thing not uncommon in other parts of the *Ottoman* empire.

*Seas, ri-  
vers,  
lakes, &c.*

THE peculiar happiness of *Macedonia*, in having the sea on each side of it, we have already remarked. It is our duty here, however, to be a little more particular. The *Adriatic* washes its western coast, and, besides the great haven of *Epidamnus*, now *Durazzo*, makes several safe ports, which are now most of them neglected. On the east the *Ægean* sea was still more advantageous, opening to *Macedonia* not only the trade of *Greece*, but that of *Asia* also; which commerce

and variety of prospects which it afforded. The river *Peneus*, one of the clearest, gentlest and most beautiful streams in the universe, washed its foot, dividing it from *Ossa*, and making a multitude of small, but charming isles, covered with shady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grottoes, porticoes, and other stately buildings (26). Its height is certainly very great; but, as we observed above, not near so great as it was imagined by the antients. As to the notion of its being above the second region of the air, it depended intirely upon a fact, viz. that letters traced on the ashes of *Jupiter's* altar, remained undefaced for a long space of time. This altar stood on the very summit of *Olympus*, and the god was worshiped there with peculiar devotion. On the south-east side of the hill ran the famous river

*Helicon*, and near it stood a noble temple of *Jupiter*, in the midst of a shady grove. The mountains *Ossa* and *Pelion* were in its neighbourhood, much spoken of in antient authors, and very considerable for their height, tho' they come far short of *Olympus*. *Dicæarchus Siculus*, at the command of some of the neighbouring princes, measured mount *Pelion* with great exactness, and found it to be in height 1250 paces, or about an *Italian* mile and half. It is now called *Petras*, and has some little forts on its sides (27). There is some doubt amongst geographers, whether this region ought to be reckoned to *Macedonia* or *Thessaly*; but as we make the river *Peneus* their common boundary, *Olympus*, and the territory about it, falls under our cognizance here.

(26) *Tempe, secund. d'script. Ortelii.*  
*Virg. Georg. l. i. ver. 281. Voss. geogr. p. 118.*

(27) *Strab. geogr. l. ix. p. 807.*  
*Plin. hist. nat. l. iv.*

was especially forwarded by the spacious bays every-where *Bays*. formed on the coast. Four of these were chiefly remarkable, viz. *Sinus Strymonicus*, having on its north-side part of *Thrace*, and on the south the long extending promontory of *Athos*, including in its bosom the island of *Thasus*. It was called the *Strymonic* bay, because the river *Strymon* ran there into the sea. It is now called *Golfo di Contessa*. *Sinus Singiticus*, having on one side mount *Athos*, and on the other a long slip of land, once full of rich and populous towns, of which there is now no appearance; the bay therefore takes its present name from a neighbouring mountain, and is stiled *Golfo di Monte Santo*. *Sinus Toronaicus*, having the ridge of land before-mentioned on the one side, and part of the region *Paraxia* on the other. It received its old name from the city *Torone*, but is now called *Golfo d' Aiomama*. *Sinus Thermæus*, having on the one side *Macedonia*, on the other, for the most part, *Theffaly*. It is at least sixty miles in length, and received its name from the ancient city *Therma*, called afterwards *Theffalonica*, now *Salonichi* <sup>f</sup>.

In speaking of the rivers of *Macedon*, we will begin with those which run into the *Adriatic*, and after speak of such as run into the *Ægean* sea. *Panyasus* rises not far from the city *Pitheum*, and, after a winding course of upwards of an hundred miles, from the southern borders of *Macedon* to *Epidamnus* or *Durazzo*, near which it discharges itself into the *Adriatic* g. The *Apsus*, rising not far from the city of *Eordea*, after a short course of thirty miles, discharges itself about ten miles below the mouth of the *Panyasus*. The *Laous*, called also *Æas* and *Aous*, has its source near the city of *Antigonina*, and, after a north-west course of forty miles, enters the *Adriatic* a little below the city of *Apollonia*. *Celydnus*, or *Pepylicus*, running from the *Acroceraunian* mountains directly into the *Adriatic*, would not be worthy of mention, if it were not regarded as the boundary between *Macedon* and *Epirus*. *Rivers running into the Adriatic.*

THE rivers running into the *Ægean* sea are, the *Aliacmon*; it rises in the mountains lying above the city *Elymea*, and, running for some time parallel to the *Panyasus*, after a course of seventy miles almost due east, enters the bay of *Theffalonica*, between the cities of *Pydna* and *Dium*. The *Erigon* rises in the country of the *Lyncestæ*, and, running directly north about thirty miles, turns then to the east, and, declining by degrees to the south, falls, after a farther course of forty miles, into a lake formed by the waters of the river *Axius*. *Rivers running into the Ægean sea.*

<sup>f</sup> CLUVER. geog. l. iv. CELLAR. geog. antiq. l. ii. c. 13.  
<sup>g</sup> See, in the map, the course of this and other rivers.

*Axius*, and with them runs into the sea. The *Axius*, which is by far the greatest river in *Macedon*, rises from two fountains in the *Scardian* mountains, and, after a course of eighty miles, it spreads itself into a large and noble lake below the city of *Edeffa*, and, having received the *Erigon* there, falls into the bay of *Theffalonica* almost over-against that city. The river *Strymon* rises in *Thrace*, and, rolling with a rapid stream almost directly south, after a course of seventy miles, it enters by two broad and deep mouths that bay, which from it was stiled the *Strymonic*. This river was the antient boundary of *Macedon* towards *Thrace*; but *Philip* the father of *Alexander* took in all the country between it and the river *Nestus*, or, as some write it, *Mestus*; which, running almost parallel to the river *Strymon*, falls into the same bay near the city of *Abdera*, about forty miles distant from the mouths of the *Strymon*.

Smaller  
rivers.

SMALLER rivers there are many, such as the *Chidorus*, *Astræus*, *Pontus*, &c. As to lakes, besides those formed by the overflowing of the river *Strymon*, and the junction of the rivers *Axius* and *Erigon*, there is almost in the heart of *Macedon*, not far from the *Candavian* mountains, a large and famous lake, called the lake of *Lychnidus*, or the lake of *Prespa*. There is another famous lake in the province of *Mygdonia*, and another near the antient city of *Sintia*, called afterwards *Heraclea Sintica*. As for springs and fountains, they are innumerable; such as on account of their properties are remarkable, we shall mention elsewhere.

The cli-  
mate, soil,  
produce,  
riches, &c.

THE air of *Macedonia* is, generally speaking, clear, sharp, and wholesome, insomuch that people live there commonly to a very great age. This is easily accounted for, when we consider, that it lies in the middle of the north temperate zone, and in the sixth and seventh climates, its longest day containing about fifteen hours. The soil is every-where tolerable, in most places fruitful, on the sea-coast especially abounding with corn, wine, and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be desired, either for the use or convenience of men; but the principal riches of *Macedonia* consisted in its mines, of which it had many, and of almost all kind of metals, but of gold particularly. In *Pieria*, under its antient kings, there were found large quantities of this precious metal in the sand, in lumps of considerable bigness<sup>b</sup>. There were also gold mines in the country between *Theffalonica* and *Stagira*, which mines are said to have been wrought by the *Turk*; but by far the most considerable were in the mountain *Pangæus*, which king *Philip* added to his dominions. The *Thasians*, inhabit-

<sup>b</sup> ARISTOT.

ants of a little island lying in the *Strymonic* bay, had rendered themselves very considerable by the wealth they drew from them. This made the *Athenians* so covetous of this tract of country, which, after many expeditions, and much ado, they attained, and lost it to the *Thracians* afterwards. *Philip* drove them out, and, having rebuilt the antient city of *Crenides* in a magnificent manner, called it by his own name *Philippi*; and, carefully establishing persons skilful in the art of refining there, he made much greater advantage of those mines, than any of their former possessors had done; nay, it is said, that he obtained the empire of *Greece* chiefly by means of the treasures extracted hence; which must appear very probable, if what *Diodorus* tells us be true, that he received annually a thousand talents of gold <sup>l</sup>. The *Romans*, when they reduced *Macedonia* into a province, restrained the inhabitants from digging or refining gold or silver, leaving them at liberty, however, to manufacture any other metal <sup>k</sup>.

MACEDONIA, in antient times, abounded with horses *Animals*. above all the other countries of *Greece*. There were kept in the royal stud near *Pella* three hundred stallions, and thirty thousand mares <sup>l</sup>. It is evident from hence, that the *Macedonian* kings placed their hopes not in horse, but in foot, which might be serviceable in all countries, whereas cavalry could act only in plains.

As to the rarities of *Macedonia*, which, according to the *Rarities*. order observed in this work, ought to close the description, we will begin with the *Pierian* hills and shades, which, on account of their lovely verdure, and pleasant solitude, were stiled the habitations of the *Muses*, who thence also were called *Pierides*. Amongst them rose the fountain *Pimplia*, from whence they were called *Pimpliades* <sup>m</sup>. *Vitruvius* tells us, that, near the sepulchre of *Euripides*, there flowed from a fountain waters of so poisonous a nature, that, if swallowed, brought on immediate and inevitable death <sup>n</sup>. A modern traveller informs us, that, in passing mount *Jougous*, which seems to be part of that ridge formerly called the *Scardian* mountains, he found a certain flower, which he takes to be a kind of *Lunaria major*, which produced, as he apprehended, a stem or button, according to the increase of the moon, till those buttons equalled the days of the month's age. He brought some roots and seeds of this flower with him into *France*, that this curiosity might be more leisurely observed and considered <sup>o</sup>. We might add to these abundance of other

<sup>l</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. xvi.<sup>k</sup> TIT. LIV. l. xlv.<sup>l</sup> ÆLIAN.<sup>m</sup> CLUYER. l. iv. c. 9.<sup>n</sup> Lib. viii.<sup>o</sup> Voyages

du Sieur P. LUCAS, tom. i. p. 195.



curiosities, could we give credit to all the fragments of natural history left us by the antients, or to the ordinary collections on the same subjects, which have been made by the moderns ; but, as many of these relations are apparently absurd, many more very injudiciously recited, and the authorities in most cases but very weak, we shall not trouble the reader with them, but proceed to more important subjects.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the antiquity, government, customs, laws, manners, and military discipline of the Macedonians.*

*The Macedonians originally Argives.*

WE have observed above, that *Macedonia* was originally inhabited by many nations. Those from whom that race sprung, which from small beginnings became lords of *Greece*, were *Argives*. Under the leading of *Caranus*, who was descended from *Hercules* by his son *Temenus*, they came into this country, and with their swords carved out for themselves fair possessions <sup>a</sup>. By degrees they enlarged their dominions, not more by their valour, than by their prudence and condescension ; for erecting no trophies after victories, and treating those they subdued with the tenderness of brethren, they vanquished not only their persons, but their minds ; and thus, taking away all distinctions, they in time reduced various tribes into one nation, which of course became too potent for its neighbours, and continually made encroachments upon them, unless restrained by their united force, or the fear of provoking the *Persian* monarch, or some of the most powerful *Greek* republics. As the *Macedonians*, whose history we are now writing, were composed of many nations mixed with each other, and as all those nations were remarkable for bravery, hardiness, and contempt of luxury, it is easy to conceive, that the *Macedonians* were not unlike them.

*Their form of government.*

THE *Macedonians* had always kings ; yet, under their administration, they preserved as great or greater liberty than was enjoyed under most of the *Grecian* commonwealths <sup>b</sup>. Their monarchs ruled, but they ruled according to law, or rather according to the maxims of natural equity, and did not commit any flagrant injustice merely to gratify their wills. This was the original constitution, and it may be said to the glory of this nation, that it was not subverted but with the

<sup>a</sup> JUSTIN. hist. l. vii. c. i. EUSEB. chron. p. 47. <sup>b</sup> ARRIAN. exped. Alexand. lib. iv. p. 265. CURT. vit. Alexand. lib. vi.

## C. II. *The History of the Macedonians.*

kingdom. On this account *Lucian*, introducing *Philip* and *Alexander* in his dialogues, makes the former call the *Macedonians*, *Freemen* <sup>c</sup>. In cases where the punishment was capital, the cause was heard by the army, or by the people; and, till they condemned the party, the king did not pretend to put him to death. We shall meet with many instances of this in the reign of *Alexander*, who maintained the customs of his native soil when far from it, and did not think that all his victories could release him from the obligations he was under of acting according to the constitution of his country. When in his passion he killed *Clitus*, he, on recollection, would have punished himself with death, if the army had not interfered, and taken his guilt upon them <sup>d</sup>. *Polybius* informs us, that when king *Philip*, the last but one of the *Macedonian* princes, had caused *Leontius*, whom he suspected of conspiring against him, to be seized, a body of targeteers, who were advanced before the army, sent deputies to desire that he might not be proceeded against, till they should rejoin it, that the king might not seem to have no regard for them or their sentiments <sup>e</sup>. It is true, the same author tells us, that the king, provoked by this message, put *Leontius* sooner to death than he would have done; but he excused himself from the necessity of the thing, and punished the rest of the conspirators after the antient manner, *By verdict of the army*.

THE throne was hereditary, and continued in the race of *The crown Caranus* till the slaughter of *Alexander's* family; but it does *hereditary* not appear, that the *Macedonians* were very strict as to the succession, so it was of the royal house, though generally speaking the eldest son succeeded. The antient kings of *Macedon* were very modest in the ensigns of their dignity; for *Alexander the Great* seems to have been the first who wore a diadem, and rich robes of state; which however he transferred to his successors; yet the old kings had what was sufficient to distinguish them from their subjects, splendid armour, and a chair of state <sup>g</sup>. The generality of the people were always wonderfully loyal, and not only chearfully obeyed, but were zealously addicted to the service of their prince; nay, they seem to have carried their affection towards his person too far by making a law, or else adopting it from the *Persians*, that not only conspirators, but all who were related to them, should be put to death, with which however *Alexander* dispensed <sup>h</sup>. Their love for their princes nevertheless did not carry them into any indecent or idolatrous submission,

<sup>c</sup> ἀλευβήρους ἄνδρας, in dial. Phil. & Alex. <sup>d</sup> CURT. viii. 11, 12. <sup>e</sup> Hist. libv. cap. 27. <sup>f</sup> JUSTIN. hist. l. xii. c. 3. CURT. l. vi. c. 6. <sup>h</sup> CURT. l. vi. c. 11.

when they approached them; on the contrary, they conversed with them freely, and saluted them with a kiss<sup>l</sup>. When therefore *Alexander* would have introduced the *Perſian* cuſtom of adoring him, the *Macedonians* were extremely diſpleaſed, and did not forbear declaring their ſentiments, *that reverence was due to kings, but adoration to the gods*<sup>k</sup>. In point of marriage the *Macedonian* kings ſeem not to have been very ſtrict; for it appears from hiſtory, that they had frequently many wives, and concubines not a few<sup>l</sup>.

*The education of their kings children.* IN the education of their children they were exceedingly ſtrict; their ſons were brought up under the beſt maſters, in the love and knowledge of all things great and glorious; their daughters in the practice of all things virtuous. What *Alexander* ſaid to *Siſygambris* will better demonſtrate this than any deſcription; *Mother, the robe I have on, was not only the gift of my ſiſter, but the work of her hands*<sup>m</sup>. In the conduct of

*The kings remarkably moderate.* their affairs the kings of *Macedon* were remarkably moderate, and behaved with the greateſt prudence; they did not affect magnificent entertainments, but eat plainly with their friends. They admitted all ſorts of perſons to their preſence, and, by a continual habit of buſineſs, made themſelves at once neceſſary and agreeable to their ſubjects<sup>n</sup>. Hunting was their chief diverſion, and *Alexander* was ſo addicted to it, that he would follow it for a whole day without taking reſreſhment<sup>o</sup>.

*Learned, or favourers of learning.* Theſe princes were, generally ſpeaking, learned, or at leaſt favourers of learned men. *Archelaus* was the great patron of *Euripides*, and not only honoured him living, but mourned for him when dead. *Philip* the father of *Alexander* was one of the beſt ſpeakers of his age; he was generous to ſuch men of learning as ſought his friendſhip, becauſe he thought himſelf honoured thereby; and he pardoned libellers, becauſe he would not puniſh wit even in an enemy<sup>p</sup>. If his ſon *Alexander* had not been the moſt active prince in the world, he would have been celebrated for being the moſt knowing<sup>q</sup>.

*They bear eaſy.* As in the ordinary occurrences of life, the kings of *Macedon* did not affect that pomp, which in thoſe days was frequent enough with princes; ſo in the moſt ſolemn acts of their adminiſtration they preſerved ſuch a modeſt decorum, as rather endeared them to, than awed, their ſubjects. They

<sup>l</sup> CURT. l. x. c. 5. JUSTIN. hiſt. l. xii. c. 15. <sup>k</sup> ARRIAN. l. iv. p. 264. <sup>l</sup> PLUT. in Anton. circa fin. <sup>m</sup> CURT. l. v. c. 11. <sup>n</sup> CURT. iii. c. 12. JUSTIN. l. ix. c. 8. <sup>o</sup> PLUTARCH. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. viii. c. 6. <sup>p</sup> JUSTIN. l. ix. c. 8. SOLIN. Polyhiſt. cap. 14. HORAT. epiſt. l. iii. ep. 1. v. 232. <sup>q</sup> PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. viii. cap. 16. ATHENÆUS deip. l. ix. c. 13.

heard causes in person, and suffered those, who pleaded before *They bear*  
them, to speak with the utmost freedom. Thus, when *Philip causes.*  
after drinking hard had decided contrary to right against a  
poor woman, she cried out, *I appeal. To whom,* said the  
king? *Why,* replied she, *from Philip, with his head disturbed*  
*by the fumes of wine, to Philip when he shall be sober, and in*  
*his right senses* \*. Which the king received as a just rebuke,  
and without the least resentment. This custom, by a fel-  
licity peculiar to this people, continued as long as they had  
kings; for *Livy* tells us of *Perseus*, the very last of them,  
that, after the manner of his ancestors, he sat in an ivory  
chair, and heard all sorts of causes, even those which were  
of little consequence †. The kings of *Macedon* spoke even *Their con-*  
to private soldiers with great freedom and condescension; they *descension,*  
took as much care of them, as if they had been their children,  
or at least their intimate friends, and such of them as were  
slain in the wars were always carefully interred with all mili-  
tary honours. Such as behaved themselves with extraordinary  
valour were honoured with particular marks of distinction;  
and it is especially recorded of *Alexander the Great*, that he  
suffered no one to go without a just recompence of his  
merit ‡.

THE great men of the kingdom were honoured with the *Their*  
titles of the king's friends and counsellors, nor were they so *friends*  
in name only, but in reality; they gave their advice as state- *and coun-*  
men, but they gave it with all the freedom the most intimate *sellers.*

friendship should confer †. *Hephestion* the friend of *Alexander*  
was not afraid even of the resentment of the queen-mother,  
answering her angry letters with a manly freedom, telling her  
that, secure in his innocence, he was in no pain from her  
threats, since *Alexander* was to judge of all things ‡. And  
that this was not peculiar to *Hephestion* or *Alexander*, we  
may guess from the observation in *Justin*, *That the friends of*  
*the Macedonian kings were not only companions in war, but*  
*associates in empire* §. They were allowed to wear purple,  
were intrusted with armies without instruction, and, when  
the *Macedonian* greatness triumphed over kingdoms, they  
were appointed governors of them with the court and state  
of kings †. The king's life-guard, which consisted but of a *Their*  
small number, was a post of high honour; *Oxathres* the *household*  
troops.

\* PLUTARCH. apophthegm. † TIT. LIV. xlii. lxvii. & xli.

20. ‡ CURT. ix. 6. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. DION.

SID. I. xvi. § JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 2. ARRIAN. l. ii. p. 113.

& l. i. p. 48. VALER. MAX. l. v. c. 1. \* CURT. l. iii.

& vii. † Hist. lib. xiii. cap. 4. ‡ TIT. LIV. l. xlv.

cap. 32. CURT. lib. vi. cap. 11. JUSTIN. lib. xiii. c. 7.

brother of *Darius* was received into this number: besides these, there were other household troops, the commanders of which were not only honourable persons, but even the private men, who, as occasion served, were from thence preferred to great commands<sup>b</sup>. With respect to civil officers, we find that the king's secretaries were very much considered; they not only drew up orders, but saw them executed<sup>c</sup>.

*The king's  
seal or signet.*

THE king's seal or signet, which was on his ring, remained, generally speaking, in his custody; but sometimes he delivered it for special purposes to one of his friends, because whatever was sealed therewith was by the *Macedonians* held sacred and inviolable. *Alexander*, when dying, delivered his signet to *Perdiccas*, which was thought to explain an expression he had before made use of, that the government should be vested in the most worthy. Not that he meant to disinherit his own family, but that by this act he constituted *Perdiccas* protector of the kingdom; and in this sense *Perdiccas* understood it, when in the presence of the *Macedonians* he desired to decline that mighty load of business, which the king in his last moments would have laid upon his shoulders<sup>d</sup>.

*The royal  
physicians.*

THE royal physicians were highly considered in the court of *Macedon*, and were treated by their masters, as if they had been their intimate friends<sup>e</sup>. When the kings were sick, the whole nation made prayers and vows for their recovery, the meanest people shewing the same sorrow in their looks, their habits, and their speeches, as if their nearest relations were on their death-beds<sup>f</sup>. When *Alexander* lay ill at *Babylon*, the grief of the soldiers some days before his death was so tumultuous, that he condescended to shew himself, and, notwithstanding his great weakness, extended his hand, and suffered every one of them to kiss it<sup>g</sup>. After their deaths

*The affection  
of the  
people for  
their prince.*

the *Macedonian* kings were interred in the royal sepulchre built by *Argeus* at the command of his father *Perdiccas*, with this assurance, that, while the kings were buried there, his race should never fail, and, after their interment, the people mourned for them, as for their common parents<sup>h</sup>. Such was the easy, such the excellent constitution of *Macedon*, such the paternal piety of its princes, and such the filial obedience of their people. Let us now proceed to the second head.

THE *Macedonians*, in point of religion, followed the opinions embraced by the rest of the *Greeks*, worshiping many

<sup>b</sup> CURT. lib. x. cap. 6. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. lib. iii. p. 128. & lib. iv. p. 268. <sup>c</sup> ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 167. <sup>d</sup> CURT.

l. x. c. 6. <sup>e</sup> ARRIAN. l. ii. p. 89. CURT. l. iii. c. 6.

<sup>f</sup> CURT. l. iii. c. 5. <sup>g</sup> ARRIAN. CURT. PLUT. in vit.

Alex. <sup>h</sup> JUSTIN. hist. l. vii. c. 2.

gods, and indulging a vast variety of vain and ridiculous rites. *The cult of Jupiter, Hercules, and Diana, were especially revered by them.* The first as their protector : the second as the patron of the brave : the last as the goddess of hunting, to which they were universally addicted <sup>1</sup>. As they were strict in their morals, so according to the mode of those times they were very religious. Their princes disdained not to act on special occasions as priests, and to offer sacrifices for themselves and their people. All the historians, who have wrote of the life of *Alexander*, agree in furnishing us with many instances of his devotion, not only in sacrifices, but in erecting altars, instituting games, dedicating statues, and many other things. Omens were greatly heeded by this people ; two eagles fluttering the whole day over the royal palace when *Olympias* was in labour, was construed to portend, that the two empires of *Europe* and *Asia* would centre in the child of which she was then delivered <sup>2</sup>. Many other instances of a like nature occur in the history, as the reader will observe ; and therefore we need not anticipate them here.

IN their ordinary manner of living this nation was remarkably temperate ; but, when they feasted, they were always magnificent, and loved to eat well, and drink hard. *Caranus* the first king of *Macedon* is recorded to have made a marriage-feast remarkably splendid <sup>3</sup>, and the same taste appeared in his successors, particularly in *Philip*, who was a prince of high spirit. At these feasts the young men were admitted to sit down, as soon as they had killed a wild boar fairly, that is, with their spears, without toils or nets <sup>4</sup>. From their very infancy they were accustomed to ride to hunt, and, as soon as they were able, to go into the field. At their banquets no women were admitted, and it was an inviolable rule with them, that nothing said at them should be repeated. At marriage-feasts they had an extraordinary custom, a piece of bread was cut in two with a sword, one part of which was given to the bridegroom, and the other to the bride, which had no doubt some concealed meaning <sup>5</sup>. Their captives they made use of as concubines, but it was held dishonourable to marry them ; yet *Alexander* broke through this by his marriage with *Roxana*, and numbers followed his example. It is certain his victories changed the manners of his soldiers, as well as his own ; for, whereas before they were content with

<sup>1</sup> *ARRIAN. lib. i. p. 32. JUSTIN. hist. l. xi. c. 12. CURT. l. iii. cap. 12.* <sup>2</sup> *JUSTIN. hist. lib. xii. c. 16.* <sup>3</sup> *ATHEN. deipnosoph. lib. iv.* <sup>4</sup> *HEGESAND. apud Athen. deipnosoph. lib. i.* <sup>5</sup> *HERODOT. lib. v. c. 17. CURT. lib. viii. c. 4.*

plain and light arms, they afterwards adorned themselves with the spoils of the vanquished, and became not only well, but richly clad, at the expence of the *Persians* °.

*Little  
versed in  
maritime  
affairs.*

In affairs of government we have shewn them to be wise and prudent; in one thing however they were very defective, viz. in their care of maritime affairs, which, notwithstanding the great advantage they had, they neither practised nor understood, as is evident from the accounts we have of *Alexander's* fleets and naval expeditions, and the fright and terror his seamen were under at every new sight they saw <sup>p</sup>. We can account for this no otherwise, than from their being continually engaged in wars with their neighbours upon the continent, and having their ports at the same time either in the hands of, or blocked up by, the maritime powers of *Greece*. *Philip*, who first freed his country from these inconveniencies, had not time to think of naval affairs before he was cut off by an immature death; his successor, amongst other great designs he had formed, had that of settling and increasing his fleets in his mind when he died at *Babylon* <sup>q</sup>. Whatever contributed to make them strong and warlike was particularly affected by the *Macedonians*, which was the true reason why hunting was their great exercise, and prime diversion; besides this, they were addicted to all the *Grecian* exercises, particularly wrestling and boxing, for which sports there was a place set apart in all their camps, and their commanders, when the business of the war allowed them leisure, diverted themselves with seeing the activity of their soldiers on these exercises <sup>r</sup>. They also practised a kind of military dancing, which was at once both pleasant and wonderfully graceful <sup>s</sup>.

*Fond of  
hunting,  
and other  
manly ex-  
ercises.*

*Their  
laws.*

WE have already said, that their laws consisted only in the decrees of their princes, which were however founded on the principles of natural equity, or otherwise would have exposed him, whose decisions they were, to the hatred and ill-will of his subjects. We have likewise observed, that in capital cases judgment was given by the people of the army; here it will be fit for us to observe, that the accused was always suffered to defend himself with the utmost freedom, though even at his trial he appeared bound in a habit of distress, and without any ensigns of dignity, let his quality be what it would. In doubtful cases the torture was permitted without any respect to birth or former services, of which we shall find frequent instances in the history of *Alexander*, whose reign, as

° CURT. lib. ix. cap. 3.

lib. ix. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii.

var. hist. lib. ix. c. 3. PLUT. vit. Alexand.

ipnos. lib. xiv.

<sup>p</sup> ARRIAN. lib. iii. CURT.

<sup>q</sup> DIOD. SIC. lib. xviii.

<sup>r</sup> ALIAN.

<sup>s</sup> ATHEN. de

It was tinged with the blood of his enemies, so it was also stained with the gore of his countrymen. The punishments among them were of different kinds; sometimes the criminal was thrust through with darts, at other times crucified with his head downwards: sometimes they were thrown chained into rivers; yet these seem to have been either foreign customs or punishments inflicted in extraordinary cases; that which was most frequent, and which consequently seems to have been legal, was stoning to death, wherein the army, as they had been made judges, were executioners, which perhaps was no ill expedient to prevent rash judgments.

THE *Macedonian* year, or, as it is usually called, the *Greek The Macedonian* year, to distinguish it from the *Attic* year, was composed of twelve months; but, as to the number of days in each of these months, and the method of the *Macedonian* calendar, there are great disputes, we shall set down the scheme of the judicious archbishop *Usher*, and shall inform the learned and inquisitive reader where he may receive further satisfaction in a note u.

#### A TABLE of the Macedonian months.

**DIUS** consisted of thirty days, the first of which answered to the 24th of *September*, the last to the 23d of *October*.

**APELLACUS**, containing thirty days, the first of which answered to the 24th of *October*, the last to the 22d of *November*.

**AUDYNAEUS**, consisted of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 23d of *November*, the last to the 23d of *December*.

**PERITIUS**, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 24th of *December*, the last to the 22d of *January*.

**DYSTRUS**, consisting of thirty days, the first answering to the 23d of *January*, the last to the 21st of *February*.

**XANTHICUS**, containing thirty-one days, the first answering to the 22d of *February*, the last to the 24th of *March*, excepting the intercalated year, when it answered to the 23d. In this month there was a lustration solemnly performed, which, from the name of the month, was called *Xanthica*, in this manner: They divided a bitch in the middle, laying one side with the intrails on their right hand, the other on the left; between marched the army in battalia, and, after they had passed, they separated into two corps, and maintained a mock-fight.

\* *CROHN*, antiquitat. Macedon. l. ii. c. 4.

\* *USHER*, dissertation.



ARTEMISIUS, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of *March*, and the last to the 24th of *April*.

DAESIUS, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *April*, the last to the 24th of *May*; this month the *Macedonians* held to be extremely unfortunate, which *Alexander* observing, and knowing how dangerous superstition is, when strongly seated in vulgar minds, he as a remedy in the present case decreed, that this month should not be for the future called *Daesius*, but, by a repetition of the name of the former month, called it the second *Artemisius*.

PANEMUS, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of *May*, the last to the 24th of *June*.

LOUS, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *June*, the last to the 24th of *July*.

GORPIACUS, consisting of thirty-one days, the first answering to the 25th of *July*, the last to the 24th of *August*.

HYPERBERETAE, containing thirty days, the first answering to the 25th of *August*, the last to the 23d of *September*.

THUS the *Macedonian* year consisted of seven even months, that is, of months of thirty days each, making in all two hundred and ten days, and of five unequal months, consisting of thirty-one days each, making in all an hundred and fifty-five days, together three hundred and sixty-five days; but every fourth year the month *Hyperberetae* consisted of thirty-one days, which answered the end of our leap-year (A).

As

(A) *Lalamantius* wrote three dissertations on the ancient methods of computing time; the second of which relates only to the *Macedonian* year, which he tells us consisted of twelve months, *Kantius* the first, and *Dysius* the last. One half of these months he asserts to have consisted of twenty-nine days, and the other half of thirty; taken together, the *Macedonian* year, according to him, consisted of 354 days; to reconcile which to the solar year, at the end of each third year they intercalated a month of thirty-three days. He does not attempt to support all

he says by authorities, but contents himself with laying them down as matters of fact. The very learned and judicious prime *Usher*, in his excellent work, intitled, *A Dissertation on the Macedonian and Asiatic solar year*, has examined this matter to the bottom; and with all the skill of a learned astronomer, and all the knowledge of a critic in the *Greek* literature, hath made this matter as plain as it can be made, supporting every thing which he advances by reason and authority; to him therefore we have adhered in this hitherto intricate matter, and to his

As there were very rich mines in Macedonia, so under *Their* several kings there were great variety both of silver and gold pieces coined; of the latter sort were the *Philipics*, so called from bearing the bust of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which are so often mentioned in ancient authors, and were for a long time the most current money in Greece; and such were many others, descriptions of which are to be found among the writings of antiquaries, as some of the pieces are yet extant in the cabinets of the curious. There is a singularity in the *Macedonian* coins, which ought not to be passed over, and it is this; they not only bear the busts and inscriptions of the princes under whom they were coined, but also the names of the cities in which they were coined, and the figures in their reverses frequently refer to those cities \*.

THE *Macedonian* tongue differed very much from the *Their* *Greek*, that is, from all the several dialects of that language, as is evident from *Strabo* and *Athenæus* †; but especially from *Curtius*, in his account of the proceedings against *Philotas*; from whence it is clear, that the natives of Greece, who served in *Alexander's* army, were not able to understand a discourse delivered in the *Macedonian* tongue ‡.

WE come last of all to the military discipline of the *Macedonians*, which was their peculiar glory, and which raised them from a mean and obscure people to be lords of Greece. They were in their first beginning obstinately brave, as well as naturally warlike; by degrees they acquired knowledge in discipline, and became at last invincible from a happy mixture of superior courage with superior skill. We are indebted for these observations to *Polybius*, an author of equal character for veracity and penetration, who, in his description of the military virtues of the *Macedonians*, does them all the justice that the best of writers could afford the bravest men §. But it may be objected, if the *Macedonians* were always so fierce and so unconquerable a nation, how they came to be so long under the dominion of the *Persians*, to be awed by the *Illyrians*.

\* CROPH. antiquitat. Macedon. lib. ii. cap. 5. WOLFGANGI

LAZII Græc. antiq. † STRAB. geograph. lib. vii. p. 687.

‡ Deipnosoph. l. iii. c. 33. § CURT. l. iv. p. 9. Hist.

l. iv. c. 11.

his most excellent treatise we find mention of the *Macedonian* ka-  
mastrer, the inquisitive reader  
a perfect account of the con-

(1) Joannis Lalamentii dissertationes tres de tempore, et eius partibus, de anno Macedonum seu Græcorum, & de anno Attico, apud Gronov. lib. Græcæ antiq. vol. xi. Jacobi Usserii de Macedonum & Asianorum annis solari dissertationis, apud Gronov. l. G. antiq. vol. xi.

*rians, Thracians, and other neighbouring nations, and to be tributary to the Athenians even to the time of Philip?* The reader will find an answer to all this in the course of the succeeding history, whence it will appear, that these were so many obstacles placed in the way of the *Macedonian* greatness from the natural situation of things, against which they continually struggled, and in the end overcame them all. True it is, that the *Macedonians* were often less powerful, though never less brave than their neighbours; that till the time of *Philip* they were far from being rich, and that till his reign they had not either shewn hope or ambition of assuming the sovereignty of *Greece*; but, when once the genius of their prince had opened a path to empire, they seconded his efforts, by undertaking cheerfully the most arduous expeditions, and undergoing, in order to their accomplishment, the severest discipline. War from this time forward was the business of the whole nation, insomuch that the youth of *Alexander's* army were not only bred, but born in the camp; but it is necessary for us to be more particular, and therefore we will subdivide the remaining part of this head into five considerations.

*Their soldiers.*

The first shall relate to the choice of the army, that is, the troops of which it was made up; and these, after the *Macedonian* kings became considerable, were, first, their natural-born subjects; secondly, their allies; and thirdly, mercenaries. The natural *Macedonians* served at their own expence, and contented themselves with the spoil of their enemies<sup>c</sup>. The allies were composed of the respective quotas of *Thessaly, Paonia*, and other dependent provinces, as also of the auxiliary troops furnished by *Greece* after the kings of *Macedonia* were elected captains general<sup>d</sup>. The mercenaries were soldiers of fortune, who never inquired the cause, if they stood in no doubt about their pay<sup>e</sup>. When *Alexander* marched on his grand expedition, his infantry consisted of thirteen thousand *Macedonians*, seven thousand auxiliaries, and five thousand mercenaries<sup>f</sup>. The *Thessalians* furnished, generally speaking, horse, and there were also many troops of *Macedonian* cavalry; their discipline was strict, for, in case the private men lost their horses either by sickness or in action, their officers were obliged to furnish others out of their own stables, if they had any in them, from an old-fashioned notion, that the good of the public was to be preferred to the pomp of private men<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> CURT. l. iii. c. 10.

<sup>d</sup> JUST. hist. l. xii. c. 4.

CURT. l. x.

cap. 2.

<sup>e</sup> CURT. lib. v. cap. 1.

<sup>f</sup> DIOD. Sic.

l. xvii.

<sup>g</sup> ARRIAN. l. vi. p. 426. CURT. lib. vii. c. 1.

SECONDLY, let us speak of the order of the *Macedonian* troops; the foot were composed of three sorts, *The order of the Macedonian troops*; the light-armed <sup>k</sup>, the *Peltastæ*, who were better armed <sup>i</sup>, and the heavy-armed soldiers, of whom the phalanx was composed <sup>k</sup>. These troops were suited to all sorts of enterprizes; for, if a post was to be attacked suddenly, the light-armed foot were employed; if steadily, and in expectation of an obstinate resistance, then the *Peltastæ* or targeteers were sent; the heavy-armed foot were generally drawn up in the centre of the army in a square body, which was called the phalanx <sup>l</sup>. *The phalanx.* *Polybius* tells us, that it consisted of sixteen in flank, and five hundred in front, all pikemen, the soldiers standing so close, that the pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. It is evident from hence, that the pikes of the last ranks were of no use according to this disposition; they had, however, an excellent remedy for this, which was thus; the hindermost ranks leaned the pikes on the shoulders of those who were before them, and, locking them fast, pressed briskly against them when they made the charge, so that the first five ranks had the impetus of the whole phalanx, which was the reason why its shock was, generally speaking, irresistible <sup>m</sup>.

It is not very clear into what corps the gros of the *Macedonian* infantry was divided; but that they were divided into many small bodies, is apparent. But, as in all the wars the king was commander in chief, so, generally speaking, he had the greatest trouble upon his hands; for in camp, in sieges, and in battles, he went every-where, and directed all things, affecting neither pomp of habit, or, by a large train, to distinguish himself from other commanders; but, on the contrary, he fared as meanly as any of his soldiers, and exceeded them all in his labours; nor is this to be understood only *The kings share the toils of war with the soldiers* of *Philip* and *Alexander*, those great and shining lights in the *Macedonian* empire, but of their predecessors and successors also; the last *Philip* is recorded by *Livy* to have trod the same steps, and to have disdained, that either the lustre of the empire, or the load of upwards of threescore years, should excuse him from any part of that fatigue, which he required of the meanest *Macedonian* <sup>n</sup>. Happy nation, in which the royal diadem was known and revered, not from the splendor of its jewels, but of the virtues of him who wore it!

<sup>k</sup> *ÆLIAN. tact. c. 6.* <sup>i</sup> *TIT. LIV. l. xxxi. c. 36.* <sup>k</sup> *CURT. l. vii. c. 9.* <sup>l</sup> *ARRIAN. & CURT. mult. in locis.* <sup>m</sup> See *BOTTER'S archæol. vol. ii. l. iii.* <sup>n</sup> *ARRIAN. l. v. TIT. LIV. l. xlii. c. 58.*

Their  
arms.

Their buc-  
klers and  
swords.

Spea

Breast-  
plates.

THIRDLY, we will consider the arms of the *Macedonians* offensive and defensive. At first their targeteers were furnished only with wooden bucklers, or such as were made with a kind of wicker; but, in process of time, they had them of leather and brass, as we learn from a speech of *Alexander's*, when his soldiers were about to mutiny, wherein he reproaches them with their being in a manner naked, in his father's time being furnished only with wooden arms, and bucklers made of huddlers<sup>o</sup>. It is a difficult thing to write clearly on this subject after *Curtius*, because he uses words as synonymous, which have very different significations. *Arrian* therefore is a better guide; from him we discover, that the *Macedonians* had a large strong shield called in *Greek* *aspis*, and a small light buckler called *pelte*, the former belonging to the heavy-armed troops, the latter to those who were between the heavy and light-armed, who were from thence called *peltastæ* or *targeteers*<sup>p</sup>. As to the *Macedonian* swords, we do not find that they differed from those of the rest of the *Greeks*; they were made both for pushing and cutting, as will appear from various incidents in the succeeding history; their hilts were wrought in various forms, and that pretty early, as appears from the murder of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which was performed by *Pausanias* with a sword, on the hilt of which was engraven a chariot drawn by four horses; the *Macedonians* also made use of daggers; as to their spears, they were of different kinds, *viz.* long and short; the former were used by the soldiers composing the phalanx, and were sometimes sixteen, at the least fourteen cubits, or one-and-twenty feet in length; the shorter spear was used by the light-armed troops<sup>q</sup>. The head-piece was made of a raw ox's hide, that is, untanned, we may suppose, for the sake of its toughness; *Livy* speaks of horns to it. It is very probable, that these were the wings of a double crest, one of which, as *Plutarch* tells us, was struck from the head-piece of *Alexander* at the battle of *Granicus*. They had also breast-plates made of linen quilted to a proper thickness, and a particular kind of military shoe<sup>r</sup>. The horsemen wore the same defensive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and smaller, and their spears shorter. All these things were well contrived for the times in which they were used; and it is observable, that the *Roman* authors all speak of the *Macedonian* discipline as very complete, and acknowledge that the phalanx was almost an equal match for the *legion*.

<sup>o</sup> CURT. l. x. c. 2.  
xvii.

<sup>p</sup> ARRIAN. l. iv.

<sup>q</sup> POLYB. eclog.

<sup>r</sup> CROPH. antiquitat. Macedon. l. iii. c. 4.

FOURTHLY,

FOURTHLY, let us turn our thoughts on the *Macedonian*. *Their discipline in the field.* Their armies when in the field. The phalanx was drawn up generally in the centre; the horse and light-armed troops in two lines on the right and left. In all engagements the phalanx marched slowly, but was particularly quick in its motions; that is to say, it did not press precipitately upon the enemy, but, receiving its orders from the king, took what form he directed, sometimes extending itself in front, at others deepening its files, till it had the shape of a wedge, fighting steadily and obstinately, till the force of the enemy was intirely broken, who were then pursued by the light-armed forces, and the horse, the phalanx remaining in the field of battle, and carefully preventing the enemy's rallying their troops \*. It is not evident from any of the antient historians, that the phalanx was divided into very small corps; a phalanx of sixteen thousand men consisted but of ten battalions; and, as they were seldom intended to march in separate bodies, there was no great occasion for those subdivisions, which were in use in other armies †. When the armies drew near, the charge was sounded by trumpets; after which the king or general was wont to make an oration ‡. If the soldiers were pleased with the king's speech, then they signified it by the clashing of their arms; but, if it did not affect them, then they remained silent. When they charged, they cried out, *Alala, alala*, a word, which may be properly enough rendered into *English* by one used to the same purpose, *viz. Huzza*. Lastly, when they desired quarter, their method was to hold their spears aloft in the air §.

In the fifth place their general discipline, or rather the *Macedonian* art of war, falls under our cognizance. *Their general discipline, or art of war* With respect to the hardiness, frugality, and good order of the *Macedonian* troops, all authors are agreed; and though, it may be, their discipline was in some measure relaxed, when *Alexander* distributed amongst them the spoils of the east, yet by degrees the antient rules were restored, so that the very last *Macedonian* armies were much admired for the regularity of their discipline. When the army was in the field, the king, assisted by his generals, and by such officers of the army as were best acquainted with those matters, marked out a place for a camp, which was immediately fortified with a good ditch and retrenchment. *Their camps.* When the army was to march, part of this retrenchment was levelled, that they might march in order; an excellent maxim, if we consider the structure

\* POTTER'S antiquities, vol. ii. lib. iii.

† APPIAN. in Syria.

‡ TIT. LIV. l. xxxiii. c. 4. XIPHIL. in Carac.

§ Lib. iv. c. 13. § ARRIAN. l. i. p. 15.

*The tents.* of their phalanx, which could not well have borne passing through several openings <sup>y</sup>. The tents were small, as being intended to supply only a necessary covering against the inclemency of the weather. They were made of skins, and therefore, when they were bundled up, they sometimes made use of them in passing rivers; two soldiers lay in a tent. As for the king, his tent was pitched in the centre, wherein he lay by himself; it seems to have consisted but of two apartments, one where the king slept, the other where he saw company, before the door of it his guards did duty <sup>z</sup>. The military signals among the *Macedonians* were either trumpets or fires. On a march the cavalry and light-armed troops took post in the van, the phalanx in the centre, and the baggage in the rear, except when there was reason to apprehend a sudden engagement; then they marched in order of battle; every soldier had a kind of knapsack, and there were also carts and waggons which attended on the army, but not in such numbers as were used by other nations, because among the *Macedonians* neither women nor useless servants were indulged <sup>a</sup>.

*Plunder, how disposed of.* As to the plunder, it was sometimes distributed amongst the soldiers, at others collected together, and sold for the use of the king, or for the army <sup>b</sup>. When in quarters, to keep up discipline, and to preserve the army from corruption, military games were instituted, wherein rewards both honorary and lucrative were bestowed. After victories obtained, their kings were wont to reward all such as particularly distinguished themselves; as for such as died in the service, they were honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute; in all other respects, they were treated with the greatest humanity and condescension, and, when the time limited for their service expired, or their wounds rendered them incapable of serving, they were dismissed, not to seek a living where they could, but with ample provision for themselves and families, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labours, and, by living in ease and peace, excite younger and more robust men to serve cheerfully in their stead <sup>c</sup>. We have insisted the longer upon this head, because the *Macedonians* were rendered considerable by nothing so much as their abilities in war; their empire was gained and preserved by arms, and of consequence the *Macedonian* history would be unintelligible, if the nature and discipline of their armies were not fully and properly described; for want of it, the exploits of *Philip* have been ill understood.

<sup>y</sup> CURT. l. viii. c. 5.<sup>z</sup> CURT. l. iv. c. 10.<sup>a</sup> Idem.

l. vi. c. 2.

<sup>b</sup> Idem, l. iv. ARRIAN. l. i. p. 6.<sup>c</sup> ARRIAN.

l. ii. p. 113. CURT. l. ix. cap. 1. DIOD. l. xvi. VELL. l. i.

and

and those of *Alexander* wear too often the air of romance. We hope, that, in the subsequent sheets, they will appear in the light of true history.

## S E C T. III.

*The history of the Macedonian kingdom from its foundation to the reign of Philip the father of Alexander.*

THE great obscurity of the *Greek* history, arising chiefly from the want of ancient historians, and the variations which are visible in the works of such authors, as have attempted to give us the story of those ancient times, have already sufficiently appeared from the account we have given of the fabulous and heroic times, and of the ancient states of *Greece*. The history of the *Macedonian* kingdom wants not many difficulties of the same kind, and flowing from the same causes; however, the series of its ancient kings is pretty well settled, and, though we have no regular account of them in any one ancient historian, yet from the scattered relations in *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Justin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and other ancient writers, we have been able to assemble such a number of passages, as, when ranged in their just order of time, afford us a very passable account of the *Macedonian* affairs during the period assigned at the head of this chapter; and thenceforward we shall meet with fewer doubts and obstacles, and scarce any chasms in the narration to the very end of the *Macedonian* monarchy under *Perseus* the son of *Philip*. But, in the first place, it will be necessary to exhibit a scheme of those kings, and the years of their reigns, as they are set down by the learned *Petavius*, who has adjusted these intricate points with wonderful judgment and perspicuity.

*A TABLE of the Macedonian kings, from the foundation of that monarchy to the reign of Philip the father of Alexander the Great.*

|                     |    |                          |    |
|---------------------|----|--------------------------|----|
| 1. <i>Caranus</i>   | 28 | 8. <i>Alcetas</i>        | 28 |
| 2. <i>Cœnus</i>     | 28 | 9. <i>Amyntas</i>        | 49 |
| 3. <i>Thurimas</i>  | 45 | 10. <i>Alexander</i>     | 43 |
| 4. <i>Perdiccas</i> | 48 | 11. <i>Perdiccas II.</i> | 23 |
| 5. <i>Argeus</i>    | 32 | 12. <i>Archelaus</i>     | 14 |
| 6. <i>Philippus</i> | 35 | 13. <i>Orestes</i>       | 0  |
| 7. <i>Æropeas</i>   | 42 | 14. <i>Areopas</i>       | 4  |
|                     |    | 15. <i>Pau-</i>          |    |



|                          |    |                                |    |
|--------------------------|----|--------------------------------|----|
| 15. <i>Pausanias</i>     | 1  | 19. <i>Alexander</i>           | 2  |
| 16. <i>Amyntas II.</i>   | 1  | 20. <i>Ptolemaeus Alorites</i> | 3  |
| 17. <i>Argeus</i>        | 2  | 21. <i>Perdiccas III.</i>      | 5  |
| 18. <i>Amyntas again</i> | 21 | 22. <i>Philippus.</i>          | 24 |

**Caranus.** CARANUS the founder of this kingdom was an *Argive* by birth, and a descendant from *Hercules*; though authors are not well agreed at what distance (B). On what account *Caranus* quitted his native country, no authors inform us; but all agree, that he left it at the head of a considerable body of *Greeks*, with whom intending to settle, as the custom of those times was, in some other country, he consulted the oracle as to the measure which he ought to take; he was answered, that he should establish his empire according to the direction of the goats. It is very probable, that *Caranus*, when he received this response, knew not what to make of it; however, in pursuit of his first intention, he entered that country, since known by the name of *Macedonia*, and particularly the little kingdom of *Æmathia*, at that time governed by king *Midas*, and drew near to its capital, which he then called *Edeffa*. On a sudden the sky being overcast, and a great storm coming on, *Caranus* observed a herd of goats running for shelter to the city; immediately recollecting the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them closely; and entering the city by surprize, he possessed himself first of it, and after of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors, he changed the name of the place into *Ægea*, and called his people *Ægeates*; he likewise made use of a goat in his standard, in order to perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event.

*Settles in Macedonia.*

*Subdues the neighbouring princes.*

TELEGONUS the son of *Astriopæus*, the friend of *Priam*, and one of the heroes in the *Trojan* war, governed *Pæonia*, and other little princes the several regions of which *Macedonia* is composed\*. *Caranus* subdued by degrees such of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own, laying by this means the foundation of that

\* JUSTIN. hist. l. ii. cap. 6.

(B) An antient *Greek* writer, line from *Temnus*, one of the cited in *Eusebius's* chronicon, sons of that hero; and that this places him in the eleventh degree (1); but *Velleius Paterculus* says, that he was the sixteenth from *Hercules* (2). It is however owned, that he derived his

*Caranus* was the brother of *Phlædon*, the brother of *Argos*, who is reported to have been the inventor of weights and measures.

(1) P. 47.

(2) Hist. l. i. cap. 6.

kingdom, which his successors afterwards raised to such splendor (C). Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of this prince's reign; but after considering what has been offered on all hands, and comparing the conjectures of the learned in this science with the facts mentioned by ancient historians, the most probable opinion seems to be, that he founded this kingdom about seventeen years before the first *Olympiad*, that is to say, about the years specified in the margin, according to the tables of the judicious archbishop *Usher* <sup>e</sup>.

Year of  
the flood  
1553.  
Bef. Chr.

To *Caranus* succeeded his son *Cænus*, of whom we know very little more, than that his mother was the daughter of one *Cnopis* a *Colchian*, who on some account or other came into *Macedonia*, and lived with *Caranus*, who married his daughter; this *Cænus* began his reign in the last year of the third *Olympiad*; and having governed twenty-eight years, he left his throne to *Thurymus* or *Thurimas* his son <sup>f</sup>.

795-  
Cænus.  
Year of  
the flood  
1584.  
Bef. Chr.

*THURYMAS*, *Thurimas*, or *Thyrmas*, succeeded to the *Macedonian* throne about the eleventh *Olympiad*. As to the particulars of his reign, we are totally in the dark, no antient author having recorded any thing about it. After possessing the crown of *Macedon* forty-five years, he transmitted it to his son *Perdiccas* <sup>g</sup>.

764-  
Thurymas.  
Year of  
the flood  
1612.  
Bef. Chr.

*PERDICCAS* the first was a monarch of great parts, and happy in his fortune; he extended his dominions at the ex-

736.

<sup>e</sup> USSER. ad A. I. P. 3920.  
p. 51.

<sup>f</sup> HELVIC. theatr. chron.  
<sup>g</sup> USSER. ad A. I. P. 3966.

(C) *Pausanias* has recorded an exploit performed by this prince, which deserves consideration, inasmuch as it confirms what we have said before, and shews also how maxims come to be established in particular kingdoms. *Caranus* among other princes, against whom he turned his arms, attacked *Cissius* the sovereign of a small territory south of the new kingdom *Ægea*, and conquered his country; whereupon, according to the custom of the *Argives*, *Caranus* erected a trophy; but a lion coming out of

a forest in the neighbourhood of *Olympus*, destroyed it; of which the conqueror being informed, understood it as a caution from the gods not to irritate his barbarous neighbours, by erecting monuments to their shame; whence he made it a rule to himself, and left it as an inviolable maxim of state to his successors, never to treat any vanquished people as enemies, but to receive them immediately into their protection, as if they had been born their subjects (3).

(3) *Pausan.* l. ix. *Scaliger*, ad *Esseb.* p. 47. *Can. isagog. lib.* ii. p. 163. lib. iii. p. 33.

Perdiccas. pence of his neighbours, and did so many great things, that, like most other heroes, the light of his glory hath received some diminution from the shade of fiction which hath followed it<sup>b</sup>. When full of years, he is said to have shewn his son the place where he desired to be buried, and where he likewise exhorted him to order his own body to be laid; and those of his posterity; signifying at the same time, that till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to sit upon the throne; and some have been superstitious enough to imagine, that this prediction was fulfilled on the interring *Alexander the Great's* body elsewhere<sup>c</sup>. *Herodotus* hath recorded many things, which have indeed the air of fable in relation to this prince; but as it is fit the reader should be acquainted with them, they are placed below in a note (A).

Year of  
the flood  
1657.  
Bef. Chr.  
691.

ARGÆVS

<sup>b</sup> HERODOT. l.vii. c. 22. & l. viii. c. 137. 138.  
IN. l. vii. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> JUST-

(A) The relation of *Herodotus* runs thus: "*Perdiccas* obtained the monarchy of *Macedonia* in the following manner; *Gavanes*, *Æropus*, and *Perdiccas*, three brothers, descendants of *Temenus*, fled from *Argos* to *Illyria*, and from thence passing into the upper *Macedonia*, arrived in the city of *Lebæa*, where they entered into the king's service for wages. One of them had the care of his horses, another of his oxen, and *Perdiccas*, who was the youngest, kept the lesser cattle; for in antient time, not only the people, but monarchs too had little wealth. And as the wife of this king made their bread, she constantly perceived that of *Perdiccas* increased to double the quantity of the rest; which when she had long observed, she acquainted her husband with what she had seen. The king having heard, and taking the thing for a prodigy, portending some considerable e-

vent, sent for the brothers, and commanded them to depart out of his territories. They answered, that in justice they ought to receive their salaries, and then they would readily go. But the king hearing them mention their salary, and at the same time seeing the sun shining through the chimney into the house, blasphemously said, *This I give you as a sufficient reward of your service*, pointing to the sun as he pronounced these words. *Gavanes* and *Æropus* the elder brothers, stood amazed at his discourse; but the youngest answering, *We accept thy offer*, O king, took out a sword which he happened to have about him; and having drawn a circle upon the floor, round the brightness, made three several motions to put up the light of the sun into his bosom, and then departed with his brothers. After their departure, one of those that were present, told the

ARGÆUS the son of *Perdiccas* succeeded his father about Argæus. the thirty-fourth *Olympiad*; he was a prince of great affability and goodness, whereby he gained the love of his people, and governed with much tranquillity and applause. In his time the *Illyrians*, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the *Macedonians*, and did them considerable mischief; but *Argæus*, who was a wise and valiant, as well as a mild and peaceable prince, put himself at the head of his troops in order to oppose them; and having by a stratagem drawn them into his power, he fell upon them, and put them to the sword, with great effusion of blood. He enjoyed the sceptre thirty-two years; and dying, left the kingdom to *Philip* <sup>k</sup>.

PHILIP the first became king of *Macedon* about the en-Philip I, trance of the forty-second *Olympiad*; he was a very good, as well as very valiant monarch; but as to the transactions of his reign, there is little or nothing recorded about them, farther than that he fought with great courage in defence of himself and his people against the *Illyrians*, by whom he was slain in battle, and so left the crown to his son, an infant in his cradle <sup>l</sup>.

ÆROPAS became king of *Macedon* about the beginning of *Æropas* the fifty-first *Olympiad*; at which time the *Thracians* and *Illyrians* ravaged all his country, and were continually successful in their battles against his subjects, till the *Macedonians*,

k HERODOT. l. viii. c. 139. JUSTIN. ubi sup. <sup>1</sup> JUSTIN. ubi supra.

“ the king what the youth had “ to inhabit in another country  
 “ done, and that being the “ of *Macedonia*, near the gar-  
 “ youngest, he must have had “ dens that are said to have be-  
 “ some design in accepting his “ longed to *Midas* the son of  
 “ offer: which when the king “ *Gordias*; where roses of sixty  
 “ heard, he fell into a great rage, “ leaves each, and of a more fra-  
 “ and sent away men on horse- “ grant scent than any other,  
 “ back, with orders to pursue “ grow naturally, without any  
 “ and kill the brothers. In this “ cultivation. If we may be-  
 “ country is a river, to which “ lieve the *Macedonians*, *Silenus*  
 “ the descendants of these *Argians* “ was taken in these gardens,  
 “ sacrifice, in commemoration “ which are sheltered by a moun-  
 “ of their deliverance; because “ tain called *Bermion*, inaccessible  
 “ they had no sooner passed, “ in winter. Here they be-  
 “ than the streams ran so high, “ gan their first enterprizes; and  
 “ that the horsemen could not “ after they had reduced these  
 “ possibly get over. The *Te- “ parts, they reduced the rest  
 “ menides*, thus escaping, went “ of *Macedonia* (1).

(1) Herodot. hist. l. viii. c. 137, 138.

enraged by the misfortunes they had suffered, and superstitiously conceiving, that they could never fight successfully, but under the auspice of their king, caused the young *Æropas* to be carried into the midst of the battle in his cradle; and, either encouraged by the presence of their infant prince, or disdaining to leave a child in danger, they fought with such obstinate resolution, that they intirely defeated the *Illyrians*, and obliged them to retire. What were the future fortunes of a prince so prosperous in his infancy, no antient historian has told us; and therefore we can only say, that after ruling *Macedon* forty-two years, he yielded to fate, and left his dominions to his son<sup>m</sup>.

*Alcetas.* **ALCETAS** began his reign over *Macedon* at a time when the several states of *Greece* exerted their increasing power, and sought to extend their fame and their dominion both by sea and land, when the affairs of *Asia* and the whole east were strangely altered by the fall of the *Assyrian* empire, and the conjunction of the *Persian* and *Median* power in the person of the great *Cyrus*; and when the petty princes in his neighbourhood began to feel the effects of the *Greek* power on the one side, and of his new erected empire on the other. What precautions this king of *Macedon* took, either to preserve his own dominions from insults, or to extend their boundaries by subduing his neighbours, is not to be distinguished in the *Greek* histories now extant; but if we may conjecture from what they relate of the transactions happening in his son's time, it will appear most probable, that he contented himself with the kingdom left him by his ancestors, and sought rather to preserve that in peace, than to run the hazard of war, through an ambitious desire to increase it<sup>n</sup>.

*Amyntas.* **HE** was succeeded by *Amyntas*; to whom *Megabizus* the *Persian* general sent seven of the principal commanders of his army, to require him to acknowledge king *Darius*. *Herodotus* has preserved to us a very exact account of this negotiation: We are of opinion, that the reader will not be displeased to have it, as near as may be, in his own words.

*The Persians require him to acknowledge Darius.* **WHEN** the *Persians* arrived in *Macedon*, they went and demanded earth and water in the name of *Darius*. *Amyntas* not only gave them what they required, but received them for his guests; and, having prepared a magnificent feast, entertained them with great humanity. But as the *Persians* were beginning to drink after supper, "*Macedonian* friend," said they, "when we make a great feast in *Persia*, our manner is to bring in our concubines and young women to the

<sup>m</sup> JUSTIN. ubi supra.<sup>n</sup> JUSTIN. ubi supra.

company; and therefore, since you have received us so affectionately, treated us with such magnificence, and owned king *Darius* by the delivery of earth and water, we invite you to imitate our custom." *Amyntas* answered, "The manner of our country is quite different; for we keep our women separated from our men: nevertheless, because you are our masters, and require their attendance, we will do as you desire." Having finished these words, he sent for the women, who coming in, as they were ordered, placed themselves on the other side of the table, opposite to the *Persians*. But when they saw the women were very beautiful, the *Persians* told *Amyntas*, that they were not placed with discretion; and that he would have done better not to send for them at all, than to let them sit at that distance only to gratify their eyes. Upon this *Amyntas*, compelled by necessity, ordered the women to sit down among the men; which when they had done, the *Persians*, when full of wine, began to handle their breasts; and some would have proceeded to kisses. These freedoms *Amyntas* saw with indignation; yet seemed unconcerned, because he was afraid of the *Persian* power: But his son *Alexander*, who was present, and observed the same thing, being a young man, and unacquainted with adversity, was no longer able to endure their insolence; and therefore said to *Amyntas*, "Father, consider your age; and leave the company to retire to your rest. I will stay here, and furnish these strangers with all things necessary". *Amyntas* perceiving that *Alexander* had some rash design to put in execution, "Son, said he, I pretty well discern by thy words, that thou art angry, and art resolved to attempt some imprudent action in my absence. I charge thee therefore to do nothing against these men, that may turn to our disadvantage; but be contented to observe their actions with patience; and, for my part, I will comply and retire." When *Amyntas* had given him this counsel, and was gone out, *Alexander* spoke to the *Persians* in these terms: "Friends, said he, these women are at your command; you may lie with all, or as many of them as please you best; and therefore I desire you to declare your intentions with freedom: for I see you are inclined to sleep, and abundantly replenished with wine. Only permit them, if you think fit, to go out to bathe; and in a little time you may expect their return." The *Persians* applauded this proposal; and *Alexander* sending away the women, ordered them to their own apartment: and having dressed a like number of smooth young men in the habit of women, he furnished every one with a poniard; and, introducing them to the *Persians*, said, "We have treated you

*They are all dispatched by the contrivance of Alexander.*

*Bubaris, sent to revenge their deaths,*

*Is pacified by Alexander.*

*Amyntas and his son Alexander continue faithful to the Persians.*

“ with all manner of variety : we have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could procure : and, which is more than all the rest, we have not denied you our matrons and daughters to complete your entertainment, that you may be abundantly persuaded we have paid you all the honours you deserve ; and at your return may acquaint the king who sent you, that a *Grecian* prince of *Macedonia* gave you a good reception both at table and bed.” Having thus spoken, *Alexander* placed at the seat of every *Persian*, a young *Macedonian* in the disguise of a woman ; who, when the *Persians* attempted to caress them, immediately dispatched all the seven. This was the fate of these *Persians* : and their attendants, together with the chariots and all the baggage, presently disappeared <sup>q</sup>.

*MEGABIZUS* hearing nothing of the messengers he had sent into *Macedonia*, and disdaining to march against so poor a kingdom himself, sent thither *Bubaris*, one of his principal officers, with a considerable body of troops, instructing him, as soon as he entered the frontiers of *Macedon*, to send for *Amyntas*, and make a strict inquiry after the ambassadors sent him before. This had certainly been the ruin of the *Macedonian* kingdom in the house of *Caranus*, if *Alexander*, who had been the author of the death of the *Persians*, had not likewise contrived a method how to pacify *Bubaris* : in order to this, he went directly to confer with him as soon as he entered the country, carrying with him *Gygæa* his sister, a very beautiful woman ; with whom *Bubaris* became so much in love, that for the sake of obtaining her for a wife, he adjusted all things to the satisfaction of *Amyntas*. Thenceforward the kings of *Macedon* became dependent on the *Persian* emperors, but were always regarded as faithful allies, and therefore worthy of good usage and esteem <sup>r</sup>.

*MARDONIUS*, *Darius's* general, is said by *Herodotus* <sup>s</sup> to have added *Macedonia* to the *Persian* dominions : but this must be understood in a restrained sense ; for it is universally agreed, that the *Persians* did never deprive *Amyntas*, or any of his posterity, of the kingdom ; but, on the contrary, treated them always with kindness and respect. When *Xerxes*, the successor of *Darius*, marched with his army into *Macedonia*, in order to fall upon *Greece*, the diligence and fidelity of *Amyntas*, his son *Alexander*, and their subjects, appeared in so fair a light to the *Persians*, especially through the representation of *Bubaris*, who had married *Alexander's* sister, that he thought fit to add to the *Macedonian* kingdom the country

<sup>q</sup> HERODOT. l. v. c. 20.

<sup>r</sup> Idem, ubi sup. c. 21. JUST.

TIN. ubi sup.

<sup>s</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 44.

lying near mount *Hæmus* and *Olympus*; at the same time *Amyntas* the nephew of *Alexander* obtained the city of *Alabanda* in *Phrygia*. When the *Greeks* first heard of *Xerxes's* invasion, they had thoughts of sending a body of forces into *Thessaly*, in order to check him there, and to prevent his easy entrance into *Greece*; but the *Alluadæ* princes of *Thessaly*, and *Alexander* of *Macedon*, adhering to the *Persian* interest, the *Greeks* were constrained to abandon this scheme, and content themselves with disputing the passage at *Thermopylæ*. After the famous battle of *Salamis*, *Murdonius* being left with an army of four hundred thousand men, to try if he could conquer the *Greeks* by land, whom his master had found invincible by sea, sent for the principal persons of the adjacent countries, to whom he represented what a mighty confidence the great king reposed in them, and exhorted them, by their zeal on this occasion, in bringing troops to join his army, to demonstrate their being worthy of his friendship. This made such an impression on the *Macedonians*, and the rest, that, exerting themselves to the utmost, they in a short time augmented the *Persian* army with two hundred thousand men. However, the city of *Potidea* in *Macedonia*, in the midst of these preparations, absolutely refused to send any succours to the *Persians*; but on the contrary declared for their enemies the confederated states of *Greece*: with these the *Pallenians* joined, and the *Olynthians* shewed some inclination to increase the defection, which began now to be very formidable to the *Persian* power. *Murdonius*, that he might as soon as possible put a stop to this evil, detached *Artabazus* at the head of sixty thousand men, to reduce these rebels. Against the *Olynthians* and *Pallenians* this commander was very successful; but the *Potideans* gave him a great deal of trouble: it is highly likely, that the inhabitants of this place being free, and subsisting chiefly by their traffic with the *Greeks*, were better disciplined, and consequently more capable of defending themselves against the *Persians*. At first *Artabazus* contented himself with blocking up *Potidea*, because he at the same time besieged the city of *Olynthus*, then inhabited by the *Bottiaenes*, who had been driven out of the coast of the bay of *Therma* by the *Macedonians*. But after the taking of this city, and putting most of the inhabitants thereof to death, he came with his whole army before *Potidea*, and entered in earnest on the siege. How strong soever the place might be, and whatever valour the citizens might exert, it narrowly escaped the fate of *Olynthus*; for *Tymoxenus* the commander of the *Scyonæans* entered into a conspiracy to betray the city; the manner in which he carried on his correspondence with *Artabazus*, was by putting a letter into the

*The Potideans, Pallenians, and Olynthians, refuse to send succours to the Persians.*

*Olynthus taken, and the inhabitants put to the sword.*



*A conspiracy discovered in Potidea besieged by the Persians.* head of an arrow, afterwards affixing the feathers, and then shooting it to a certain place. But *Artabazus* having the misfortune to shoot when the people were about the place, it so happened, that his arrow struck into the shoulder of one of the *Potideans*; upon this several gathered about him, and drawing out the arrow, the letter was discovered, and thereby the conspiracy defeated. But this was not the only misfortune; after *Artabazus* had continued the siege three months, the sea broke into his camp; upon which he raised the siege, and marched as expeditiously as he could to *Pullene*; but before they had reached half way to that city, the waters overtook them; and, what was still more fatal to him, the *Potideans* in their boats; so that such as could not swim, were drowned; and such as could were slain by the enemy; only *Mardonius* lying in *Thessaly*, *Artabazus* found means to march the small remainder of his army, which had taken the higher road to his camp, and thereby finished this unfortunate expedition; which, inasmuch as *Potidea* is a city of *Macedon*, fell properly within this section of our history<sup>n</sup>.

*The siege raised, and the Persians either drowned, or put to the sword.*

In the beginning of the spring, *Mardonius* sent one *Mus*, of *European* extraction, to consult the most famous oracles on the present state of affairs. At his return, he took a sudden resolution of treating with the *Athenians*, whom he justly looked on as the most dangerous enemy his master had. In

*Alexander the son of Amyntas sent by Mardonius to negotiate a separate peace with the Athenians.* order to negotiate a separate peace with them, and thereby weaken the force of *Greece*, he made choice of *Alexander* the son of *Amyntas* king of *Macedonia*, to be his ambassador (A).

WE have given elsewhere the speech he made on this occasion, as well as the answer both of the *Athenians* and *Lac-*

\* HERODOT. lib. viii. c. 127, 128, 129.

*cedæmonians.*

(A) What were the motives that determined him to this, are not very exactly recorded; but it is not difficult to discover them with some degree of certainty. *Alexander* was a prince of great genius, strictly allied to the *Persians*, and at the same time not a little esteemed by the *Greeks*; for he, when a very young man, being present at the *Olympic* games, and challenged there as a barbarian who had no right to assist, had proved himself by defence an *Argive*, on which being

admitted, not only to see, but to strive, he carried off the prize, and had the honour to be victor. When he came to *Athens*, that wife and then virtuous people, though they received him with great hospitality and kindness, yet delayed giving him audience, till the *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors arrived. Then, in a solemn assembly, he was permitted to speak freely, and to acquaint them with the propositions with which he was entrusted by *Mardonius*.

*cedæmonians.*

*cedæmonians* °. *Alexander*, having received his answer, returned to *Mardonius*, who, when he found that the *Athenians* would not hear of a treaty, immediately determined to march his mighty army into their country, and destroy *Athens* a second time ; which he did accordingly \*. Having performed this, and gratified his revenge, he quitted *Attica*, and marched into *Bæotia*, because, being a champain country, it was more proper for his horse. Here he encamped on the banks of the river *Æfopus*. The confederated states of *Greece*, having drawn together their army, marched towards the enemy, and encamped over-againſt them in the neighbourhood of mount *Citheron*. For ſome time the armies looked upon each other, neither of them caring to act offensively ; it having been declared by ſuch as inſpected the ſacrifices, that the victory would be on that ſide that ſhould be attacked. *Mardonius* at length growing weary of this lingering kind of war, where-by they were reduced to the want both of proviſions and forage, reſolved, againſt the opinions of *Artabazus* and the *Thebans*, to fight the *Greeks*. Having one day diſcovered his opinion, and ordered all things to be diſpoſed for the attack early in the morning, *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, when the night was far ſpent, mounting on horſeback, advanced to the *Athenian* guard, deſiring to ſpeak with their leaders, whom he named diſtinctly : notice being given them, they came immediately to the barrier ; then *Alexander* addreſſed himſelf to them in theſe terms : “ I come to depoſit a ſecret with you, O *Athenians*, on condition you will conceal it from all men, except only *Pauſanias*, leſt you ſhould ruin me. I would not make this diſcovery to you, if I were not extremely concerned for the ſafety of *Greece* ; and being myſelf of *Grecian* original, were not very unwilling to ſee the liberty of *Greece* oppreſſed. Know then, that *Mardonius* would have fought long before this time, if the ſacrifices offered for him and his army had been found favourable ; but now he has taken a reſolution to have no regard to the ſacrifices, and to attack you at the break of day ; fearing, as I conjecture, that more forces may come in to your ſuccour. Be therefore in a readineſs to receive him. But if *Mardonius* ſhould defer the execution of his purpoſe, and not come to a battle, continue in your camp ; for his proviſions are not ſufficient to laſt many days. And if this war terminates happily on your ſide, ſome of you ought to remember me ; who for the ſake of the *Grecians*, and out of a deſire to preſerve their liberty, have voluntarily undertaken ſo dangerous an enterprize, and acquainted

\* See vol. vi. p. 391, 392.

\* See vol. vi. p. 392.

“ you with the intentions of *Mardonius*, to the end that the  
 “ barbarians may not surprize you, and fall upon your forces  
 “ before you are prepared to receive them.” Of this advice  
 the *Greeks* made great use, and no doubt retained a grateful  
 sense of *Alexander's* favour.

NOT long after a decisive battle was fought, in which *Mardonius* was slain, and his prodigious army cut to pieces, excepting only a body of forty thousand men, commanded by *Artabazus*, who retired as soon as he saw that victory declared against him. With these he passed safely, though with great haste, through *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, dissembing the defeat which the *Persians* had received, and affirming, that *Mardonius* with the gros of the army was marching after him &c. The subsequent actions of *Alexander's* life are most of them covered with oblivion, because we have no antient writer left, who treats expressly of the *Macedonian* affairs before the time of *Philip*, and therefore we are forced to join such circumstances from general historians as regard that people, in order to fill up, as well as we may, that obscure period between the accession of *Caranus*, and that of the famous monarch we have before-mentioned (D). *Alexander* had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*; the first suc-

† HERODOT. l. ix. c. 43, 44. PLUTARCH. in vit. Aristid.

(D) The antient historian informs us, that, in the beginning of the 78th *Olympiad*, the *Argives*, moved by ambition, and a thirst of revenge, made war against the *Mycenians*, a brave and free people, whom by degrees they greatly distressed; and at last, taking their capital city, drove them out of their native country, and obliged them to seek habitations among strangers. Drawn by the fame of his generosity and virtue, numbers of these distressed people fled into *Macedonia* to king *Alexander*, who received them with much kindness and hospitality, assigned them a region to dwell in, and thereby gained immortal honour to himself. As he was extremely

useful to the *Persians*, so we need not question that he took the necessary measures, in order to make them useful to him, by procuring from time to time, as their circumstances would allow, such additions to his dominions, as made him before his death a great and formidable prince. But, however extended his territories might be, his soul was yet superior to his fortunes; he lived with such magnificence, made such noble presents to the oracles, and gave, on all occasions, such testimonies of generosity and munificence, that he was by the *Greeks* surnamed *The Rich*, and is always very respectfully spoken of by their authors.

ceeded to his throne, but the latter kept up for a long time a claim thereto, and thereby created great disturbances in their native country \*.

PERDICCAS the son of *Alexander*, in the very beginning of his reign, discovered such prudence and forecast as seemed to demonstrate, that he succeeded to his father's abilities as well as to his dominions; he found himself environed on all hands either by open enemies, or suspicious friends. The inhabitants of *Thrace*, and other barbarous nations, looked on his increasing kingdom with an envious eye; the *Persians* treated him as their vassal; and, on the other hand, the *Athenians* became so powerful by their colonies and allies on the sea-coast, that he was in no small danger from them. Awhile he amused them with a shew of friendship; but when he found that they treated him with an air of superiority and haughtiness, he resolved to check their progress in this part of the world; nor did he long want an occasion. The city of *Epidamnus* or *Epidamnum*, being alike distracted by seditions at home, and terrified with the approach of foreign enemies, were in the utmost distress; the weaker party had called in the *Illyrians* to their assistance, by which the government was brought so low, that they sent first to the *Corcyrians*, after to the *Corinthians*, for aid; they being a colony immediately from the former, who were themselves a colony of the latter. The *Corinthians* sent relief to *Epidamnus*, which the *Corcyrians* resented, and sent a fleet on the coast of *Macedonia*, in order to compel the *Epidamnians* to submit to such terms as they were pleased to prescribe them. Thus a war was begun between the two states, in which the *Corcyrians* had the better in the beginning; for they beat the *Corinthians* by sea, and took the city of *Epidamnus* by storm.

THE *Athenians* also took part in this business, and assisted the *Corcyrians*; whereupon the *Corinthians* tampered with the city of *Potidea*, to revolt from *Athens* at the same time that king *Perdiccas* declared himself against that state, and persuaded the *Chalcidians* to abandon their sea ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of *Olynthus*. The *Athenians*, highly provoked at these proceedings, determined to revenge themselves on those who had deserted them, and especially on king *Perdiccas*, whom they looked upon as the principal author; to which end, they sent *Agnon* with a fleet, and a considerable army on board it, to besiege *Potidea*, and to reduce the *Chalcidians*; but the plague infecting his army, he was able to effect little; and therefore failed quickly back to *Athens*, leaving *Potidea* as he found it, blocked up by a small

\* THUCYD. l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. xi. PAUSAN.

Which  
submits.

army the *Athenians* had there before. By the end of winter the *Potideans*, finding themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, inasmuch that they had been obliged to eat one another, treated with *Xenophon*, *Hesiodorus*, and *Callimachus*, the *Athenian* generals, to render the place on honourable terms, which were granted them; so that they had leave to depart with their wives and children, every man having one suit of cloaths, and every woman two, with a small sum of money to bear their charges into *Chalcidia*, and other places where they thought fit to retire.

The Athenians stir up Sytacles king of Thrace against Perdiccas

THE next year the *Athenians*, under the command of *Xenophon*, made war against the *Chalcidians*, but with ill success. *Perdiccas* in the mean time foreseeing that in the end the *Athenians* would be too powerful for him, endeavoured to reconcile himself to that state, or rather, made a shew of reconciliation, in which he was assisted by *Sytacles* king of *Thrace*, a very potent prince, and one who sought to augment his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. But how artfully soever the *Macedonian* managed his affairs, the *Athenians* suspected him anew, and *Sytacles* took umbrage at his behaviour. The *Athenian* ambassadors, then at the *Thracian* court, solicited this king to make war upon *Perdiccas*, and exalt *Amyntas* the son of *Philip* his brother to the throne of *Macedon*, into which project *Sytacles* was easily drawn. That the invasion might be attended with all imaginable success, the several nations of *Thrace*, and all its allies, were invited to contribute their quota's to the war, which in hopes of plunder, they readily did; the *Athenians* also promising to send a strong fleet, with a considerable number of land-forces on board. *Sytacles*, taking with him the ambassadors, and young

Who enters his dominions at the head of a formidable army.

*Amyntas*, entered *Macedon* at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand men, two thirds foot, the other cavalry. *Perdiccas*, knowing it was impossible for him to make any resistance in the field against so great an army, withdrew his forces into strong towns, that he might spin out the war into the greater length. At first *Sytacles* went on as prosperously as he could with; for the principal cities in that territory, which formerly belonged to *Philip*, readily yielded to his son; *Mygdonia*, *Grestonia*, and *Anthemus* he wasted without opposition; *Ectoropus*, however, he attacked in vain; and the *Macedonian* horse, falling on him in defiles, and other advantageous places, where his numbers could be of no use, did him considerable mischief: In the end however, it appeared, that though the *Macedonian* horse were excellent, yet numbers would over-

power them ; and therefore *Perdiccas* would not hazard any longer his forces in these skirmishes.

HE found, indeed, an easier and safer way of getting clear *Perdiccas* of this formidable enemy ; for having engaged one *Seuthes* finds the king's near relation in correspondence with him, he offered him his sister *Stratonica* with a vast fortune, in case he could bring about a peace. *Seuthes* immediately applied himself to the work with an eagerness suitable to the reward which was promised him ; nor did he want very plausible topics to induce *Sytacles* to enter into measures which were to be profitable to him. In the first place, he insisted, that the *Athenians*, instead of a fleet, had sent ambassadors only with inconsiderable presents, notwithstanding the war was entered into at their request, and was carried on chiefly for their advantage : he observed next, that though this war had not profited the king much, yet it had stirred up a multitude of enemies ; for the *Thessalians*, not knowing what turn this war might take, were all in arms in the south ; and in the north, all the *Thracians* inhabiting the plain country, with the *Panæans*, *Odontians*, *Droans*, and *Dersæans*, were likewise in arms ; fearing this humour of conquest might lead him their way : but, above all, he argued from the situation he was in, unsupported by his allies, harassed by his enemies, and already straitened for victuals, as well as pinched with cold. After eight days consideration, *Sytacles* yielded to his kinsman's arguments ; and, quitting the *Macedonian* territories, marched with all imaginable speed into his own. Within a short space after this, *Seuthes* had his wife given him, with a large sum of money ; and *Amyntas*, in support of whose title the war was undertaken, was left in the same melancholy state in which he was before <sup>b</sup>.

*PERDICCAS* being rid of this formidable enemy, and retaining a most implacable enmity against the *Athenians*, who had stirred up *Sytacles* to this invasion ; privately negotiated with the *Lacedæmonians* to send an army into these parts ; promising to do all in his power to drive the *Athenians* out of all their colonies and conquests in *Thrace* and *Macedon*. This was in the beginning of the eighth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, and the *Lacedæmonians* having had lately many and great misfortunes therein, gladly accepted this offer, in hopes of retrieving the honour of their arms : in order to which they dispatched *Brasidas*, one of their best and bravest captains, with a well-provided army to march through *Thessaly* into *Macedonia*. The *Thessalians*, when he first entered their country, were in great confusion ; they were well in-

<sup>b</sup> THUCYD. ubi supra.

Openly de-  
clares a-  
gainst  
them.

Offended  
at the con-  
duct of  
Brasidas.

Amphi-  
polis bloc-  
ked up by  
Athenians  
and Thracians.

clined to the *Athenians*, but had never done any thing to provoke the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore looked upon *Brasidas*'s coming amongst them as an invasion. But this general, being a person of a very moderate temper, as well as invincible courage, entertained them with soft words, and general assurances of friendship and kindness, till he reached *Dion*, a small city in the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, and the first in the *Macedonian* dominions; of which when he had given *Perdiccas* notice, that prince declared openly against the *Athenians*, and owned, that he called *Brasidas* to expel them out of his own country and *Thrace*.

BUT there was still more at the bottom; *Perdiccas* had framed a design of subduing the *Lyncestheans*, a bold and warlike people, very troublesome to himself, as well as to his ancestors; and though he had given out, he sought only to protect his own dominions, and the *Chalcidians*, who, at his persuasion, had revolted from the *Athenians*; yet, when *Brasidas* arrived, he would have immediately employed him in his forces against *Arrhibæus* king of the *Lyncestheans*; but *Brasidas* desired to be excused, till he had sent an herald to that prince, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to demand, whether he would be a friend or foe to *Sparta*. *Perdiccas* took this very ill; and could not forbear saying, That he did not send for him thither to be an arbitrator, but to fight against such enemies as he should shew him. The *Chalcidians*, however, hoping to attach *Brasidas* more strongly to themselves, commended his conduct much, and *Arrhibæus*, laying hold of this favourable opportunity, declared himself the friend of *Sparta*; upon which *Brasidas* removed from his frontiers: this so offended the king of *Macedon*, that whereas before he had furnished half the expences of the army, henceforward he would furnish but a third. This moderate behaviour of *Brasidas* wrought greater effects than an army twice as numerous as his could possibly have done, and many cities opened their gates to him; for where-ever he had an opportunity of treating, his words rendered his sword unnecessary. About this time died *Sytacles* king of the *Odryans*, and was succeeded in all his dominions by *Seuthes* the brother-in-law of *Perdiccas*.

IN the winter, *Brasidas* with the confederate army blocked up *Amphipolis*, a famous city; for the possession of which the *Athenians* and *Thracians* had struggled long, but was at present in the hands of the former, who had also an army not far from it under the command of *Thucydides*. *Brasidas* after some time determined to attempt surprising the place, having very good intelligence therein; and he marched with such expedition towards it, that he had well-nigh effected what he proposed; as it was, he put the inhabitants into such confusion,

fusion, that they sent to *Thucydides* the historian, who, as we said before, then commanded in *Thrace*, to intreat him to come to their relief. *Brasidas* having intelligence of this, offered the townsmen their liberty, either to reside in the city under their own government, or to remove in five days, if they thought fit; which proposition they accepted, notwithstanding all that *Euclides* the *Athenian* general, who commanded in the place, could say to prevent them. *The inhabitants submit to his terms.*

AFTER this success, *Perdiccas* joined him, and they together made many other conquests; after which they marched *Brasidas* to reduce the country about *Athos*, which in a great measure and *Per-* they effected, and then turned their arms against *Torone*, a diccas strong city in *Chalcidia*, which was still held by the *Athenians*, gain several and which *Brasidas* surprized in the night, without fighting. After this the campaign ended, and the *Athenians* procured a truce, designing to make use of the time afforded over the them thereby, to put their affairs in *Thrace* into better order, *Athenians* and to contrive the utter destruction of *Perdiccas*, whom they now held for their most bitter and implacable enemy. On the other hand, *Perdiccas*, having a just idea of the situation in which his affairs stood, neglected nothing which might restore them, or tend towards establishing the *Macedonian* power so effectually, as to leave him for the future without apprehensions, either of *Greeks* or barbarians<sup>d</sup>.

WITH this view he strongly solicited *Brasidas* to undertake now that expedition which he had so much pressed on his first coming into *Macedonia*, to wit, against king *Arrhibæus*; which, on account of that prince's not performing his promises, the *Lacedæmonian* general readily yielded to. This expedition once resolved upon, was immediately commenced; *Brasidas* leading *Both* his own army, and *Perdiccas* his; but with a promise to act for *march a-* each other's benefit, and to unite their forces, if there should *gainst* *Arrhibæus* be occasion. When they came into the country of the *king of the Lyncestheans*, they found *Arrhibæus* very strongly encamped *Lyncesthe-* on the brow of an hill, with a plain before him; whereupon *ans:* *Perdiccas* and *Brasidas* encamped on the descent of an opposite hill, having the same plain before them. In this situation the armies did not continue long before an engagement ensued. At first only the horse fought; but *Arrhibæus* sending some of his infantry to support his cavalry, *Perdiccas* and *Brasidas* did the same: upon which the battle became general, in which the *Lyncestheans* were defeated with very great slaughter, and constrained to betake themselves to their for-

<sup>c</sup> THUCYD. l. iii. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. <sup>d</sup> See TOUR-  
NEIL's preface to Demost. orations. THUCYD. ubi supra.



Whom  
they de-  
feat.

But are  
obliged to  
retire.

tresses. Thither the king of *Macedonia* would have pursued them; but *Brasidas* would not consent, because his heart was set on a speedy return to the sea-coasts, from an apprehension that the *Athenians* would attempt somewhat in his absence. During some days the army was in suspense, *Brasidas* consenting to march on, in case a body of *Illyrians*, whom *Perdiccas* had taken into his pay, joined them; but it was not long before they were constrained to think of a retreat, by reason that the *Illyrians*, fearing to aggrandize *Perdiccas*, deserted to the *Lyneestheans*, and thereby enabled them to take the field a second time; which they did with such vigour, that the *Macedonian* forces, not being well disciplined, and having with them, as auxiliaries, several thousands much worse disciplined than themselves, were struck with such a panic, that they fled in the night, carrying their king with them by force, without so much as suffering him to confer with *Brasidas*. The *Lacedæmonian*, however, made a retreat, tho' with some difficulty, and great loss; and from this time forward there was no right understanding between the king and that general, each conceiving himself to be ill treated: *Perdiccas* resenting his refusal to prosecute the war after their victory, when he conceived it to have been intirely in their power to have subdued *Arrhibæus*; and *Brasidas* having been greatly offended with the *Macedonians* quick retreat, which left him and his troops exposed to so much danger.

Perdiccas  
treats  
with the  
Athenians

THE state things were now in, gave the advantage to *Perdiccas*, because it inclined the *Athenians* to court him, notwithstanding all the injuries he had done them; and he, on the other hand, beginning now to dislike the *Greeks* in general, from an apprehension that they all sought their own interest, and to aggrandize themselves at the expence of others, determined to lay hold of this opportunity of closing with *Athens*, in hopes that it would enable him to rid himself both of it and of the other party\*. He accordingly began to treat with *Nicias*, and at last concluded a peace; but the *Athenian* general suggesting, that it would be proper for him to give some open proof of his sincerity, the king resolved to gratify him, and at the same time do himself a kindness; he therefore undertook to stop a body of *Spartan* troops under the command of *Ischagoras*, which was ordered to march through *Thessaly* to join *Brasidas*. This he effected by his great interest in *Thessaly*, and thereby prevented such an accession of strength to the *Lacedæmonian* army, as would in all probability have rendered them far superior to their enemies; whereas, a short time afterwards, the *Athenians* sending over

fresh troops, under the command of *Cleon*, *Brasidas* was forced to fight in defence of *Amphipolis*; and though he gained the victory, yet he was slain in fight; which determined the *Lacedæmonians* to make peace, and ridded *Perdiccas* of his apprehensions on that subject.

SOME time after the *Athenians* began to have new jealousies as to the intentions of *Perdiccas*. They charged him with treachery, or at least with coldness in their affairs, and especially with his not assisting *Nicias* so effectually as they thought he might have done; for which reason they posted troops in such a manner, that *Perdiccas* had no communication with the sea, which was exceedingly detrimental to his affairs. The next year they carried matters farther; for they ordered a body of horse to be transported to *Methone*, from whence they made inroads into *Macedonia*, and did much mischief. The *Lacedæmonians* had it not now in their power to assist *Perdiccas* much; however they did all they could, which was to send orders to the *Chalcidians*, their allies, to assist him; but the *Chalcidians*, being not a little afraid of the power of *Perdiccas*, did not think fit to act as they were directed\*. From this time we meet with very little concerning him in *Greek* historians; because, as we have more than once observed, there is not one of them who treats professedly of the affairs of *Macedon*; all therefore that we can add of this *Perdiccas* the second, is, that he died after a long reign, full of years and glory† (A).

IT

\* THUCYD. I. v.

† DIOD. SIC. I. xii.

(A) He ruled at a time when all *Greece* was in commotion, when the *Athenians* were most ambitious and most powerful, and when the *Lacedæmonians*, who had never attempted it before, began to think of establishing garrisons in *Thrace*. He had also long and sharp contests with his barbarous neighbours, equally fierce and perfidious, ever ready to make war when occasion offered, and seldom to be depended upon when they thought fit to make peace; yet, in spite of all these difficulties, and, which added not a little to them, the imbecility of the *Persian* government, which had been the

chief support of his predecessors, *Perdiccas* maintained himself in a state of independency, was formidable to all parties, and left his kingdom both in a better condition, and larger in extent, than he found it. It is true, that those authors, from whom we have collected our history, seem to charge him with art and falsehood; but, if we consider who these historians were, and what king *Perdiccas* was, we shall not think their authority of any great weight. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* sought to aggrandize themselves, by making conquests in or upon the borders of his dominions; and, in their turns,

**Archelaus** IT is certain that *Perdiccas* was succeeded by his son *Archelaus*, a prince of great parts and wonderful industry; but with respect to his title to the crown, his personal character, and the number of years that he reigned, authors speak so differently, and so obscurely, that it is next to an impossibility to deliver with tolerable clearness the story of his reign (B). He began his reign with fortifying some of his principal cities; that his neighbours, who were powerful in horse, and who could easily draw assistance from *Athens*, might not over-run *Macedonia* with the same facility they did in the days of his father, when *Sytacles* king of *Thrace* ravaged the richest provinces, without risking a battle, or running any great hazard in his retreat. He likewise took other measures for raising the courage of his people, and the reputation of the *Macedonian* monarchy, which did not a little disturb his neighbours. The city of *Pydna*, more apprehensive than the rest, after soliciting the aid of the *Athenians*, declared against him; upon which he raised a very puissant army, and laid siege thereto. The *Athenians*, according to their promise, sent a fleet and army, under the command of *Theramenes*, to relieve *Pydna*; but that general found king *Archelaus's* army in so good condition, and so advantageously encamped, that he was forced to retire without succouring the place, which, after a long siege, and a very brave defence, fell into the hands of the king, who obliged its inhabitants to remove twenty furlongs farther from the sea, that their friends the *Athenians* might not so easily visit them.

*Besieges  
Pydna;*

*And takes  
it.*

turns, they endeavoured to make use of him for that purpose. *Perdiccas*, as far as in him lay, eluded their designs, and, under colour of promoting them, used their forces to strengthen himself. Here was art and fallhood on both sides; but the king was true to the interest of *Macedon*; and therefore, as all authors acknowledge him to have been a great king, so, with respect to his own subjects, we must allow him to have been a good one (4).

(B) Some say, that he was not the legitimate son of king *Perdiccas*, but that he obtained

the kingdom by throwing his brother, who was its lawful heir, into a well, and passing it upon his mother that he tumbled in by chance, as he was following a goose. They allege likewise, that he invited *Alcetas* the son of *Alexander* the rich, with his young son *Alexander*, to return into *Macedonia*; and that when he got them into his power, he put them to death, for fear, lest at some time or other, they might set up a claim to the crown, and give him some disturbance (5).

(4) *Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Ctesibii antiq. Macedon. l. i. Sic. l. xii.*

(5) *Diod.*

ARCHELAUS was for nothing more distinguished than for *He loves* his love of learning and learned men. He had always many *learning* about his court, whom he not only maintained with a mag- and learn- nificence worthy of a prince, but conversed with them as fa- ed men. miliarly as if they had been his equals; insomuch, that many of his sayings at table are recorded: for it was the peculiar wisdom of the *Greeks* to preserve from oblivion such sentences as were either remarkable for the sprightly wit, or for the solid sense contained in them <sup>h</sup>. Amongst others *Socrates* was of the number of the learned, whose friendship was strongly solicited by *Archelaus*; but, on account of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, it is said that great philosopher declined corresponding with him <sup>i</sup>. *Euripides* the tragic poet was his guest, and lived with the greatest intimacy with this king, who is thought to have honoured his memory with a tomb, deservedly commended by antient authors <sup>k</sup>. It is clear from these passages, that *Archelaus* spent his days in peace and honour. It seems to us most probable, that he reigned fourteen years, and that he was succeeded in the throne by his son *Orestes*. As for the man- Is murder- ed. ner of his death, it was by treason, *Craterus* his favourite conspiring against him; but he also was murdered in four days, and so reaped little benefit from his treachery (C).

ORESTES being but a child, *Æropus*, one of the royal *Orestes* blood, governed as protector, and, by degrees, he increased this power of his so much, that he acted as absolutely as if he had been king. It was in his time that *Agésilæus* king of *Sparta* returned by land out of *Asia* into *Greece*. He sent to *Æropus*, as he had done to the rest of the princes, whose dominions lay in his way, to desire the liberty of passing. *Æropus* answered his messengers, That he would consider of it: which answer being reported to *Agésilæus*, Let him consider, said he, but let us march <sup>l</sup>; which accordingly he did through

<sup>h</sup> PLUTARCH. in apophthegm.

<sup>i</sup> Idem ibid

<sup>k</sup> DIOD.

SIC. ubi supra.

<sup>l</sup> PLUT. in vit. Agésil. in apophthegm.

Lacon. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

(C) Others affirm, that he reigned but seven years, and that he was succeeded by another *Archelaus*, who was the elder brother of *Orestes*; which *Archelaus* the second they will have to be the person murdered by *Craterus*. *Diodorus Siculus* in-

deed says, that *Archelaus* reigned but seven years, and that he was killed by *Craterus*, yet he does not mention two princes of that name; and he places the death of *Archelaus* where it ought to be placed, according to our table. (6).

(3) *Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Petav. in catal. reg. Macedon.*

the heart of *Macedonia*, without waiting for any farther permission; which so struck *Æropus*, that he gave orders for the treating him and his army with the utmost civility; by which he preserved his country from being pillaged: for in *Thessaly*, where the people were not so tractable, *Agesslaus* suffered his troops to live at discretion. The only reason assigned for transferring the regal authority from the family of *Perdiccas* to this *Æropus*, was, that the kingdom could not bear the want of a prince; or, which to the *Macedonians* seemed all one, that the sceptre should remain in the hands of an infant; however, it is very likely, that the family of *Perdiccas* had many friends; and that, after the death of *Orestes*, *Æropus* stood so much in fear of them as to act very cautiously; for we hear of nothing he did against any of his neighbours; but that, after a troublesome reign of six years, he was succeeded by his son.

**Pausanias.** PAUSANIAS held the sceptre of *Macedon* by no better title than his father had done; and therefore *Amyntas* the son of *Philip Tharaleus* conceiving, that neither possession nor succession could sanctify an usurpation, cut off *Pausanias* before he had reigned a year, and placed the crown on his own head <sup>a</sup>.

**Cut off.**  
**Amyntas.** *ÆROPUS* had several sons besides *Pausanias*; and of these one named *Argæus*, who was the most capable. He, on the murder of his brother, immediately began to intrigue, both with the *Macedonian* nobles, and with the neighbouring princes, by whose assistance he raised a numerous army; and having put himself at the head thereof, entered *Macedonia*, and asserted his right to the crown; which *Amyntas*, not being able to contest, he was forced to abandon it almost as soon as he had assumed it <sup>a</sup>.

**Driven out by**

**Argæus.** ARGÆUS remained in possession of *Macedon* about two years. We are not informed either how he governed, or what it was that induced his people to wish for *Amyntas* again; but, at the expiration of that term, the *Thessalians* furnishing that exiled prince with an army, he entered *Macedon* therewith, and forced his competitor to retire.

**Amyntas restored.**  
**Makes war on the Olynthians.**

AMYNTAS being restored to his kingdom, found himself quickly engaged in a quarrel with the *Olynthians*, on this account: at the time he quitted his kingdom, he made over to them part of his territories, which lay next to their city; being in doubt whether he should ever come into *Macedon* again; but now, when he was thoroughly re-established on the throne, he demanded the restitution of these lands, which

the *Olynthians* peremptorily refused, and prepared to defend their title by force. *Amyntas* saw clearly, that, as things stood, he should not be able alone to contend with so powerful a people; he therefore determined with himself to call in the *Lacedæmonians* to his assistance, which he accordingly did; and that republic, having long had a jealous eye on the power of the *Olynthians*, readily yielded to his request, and sent *Phæbidas* with ten thousand men to support the king in this war. Soon after, they appointed his brother *Eudamidas* general, and dispatched him with three thousand men into *Macedonia*. The *Olynthians*, not at all discouraged at these formidable armies, prepared to defend themselves; and, having assembled a very great body of troops, an engagement ensued, wherein *Amyntas* and his allies were defeated. The *Spartans*, as soon as they received the news, raised forces afresh, and a new army, under the command of *Tallutius* the brother of king *Agefilaus*, to join *Amyntas*.

*Is assisted by the Lacedæmonians.*

THIS general, being a man of great courage, immediately entered upon action; and, before the *Olynthians* were ready to take the field, wasted their country, and enriched the soldiers with the distribution of the booty; but, when the *Olynthians* had received the succours they expected, immediately they quitted their city, and offered *Amyntas* and *Tallutius* battle. The action was very long, and very obstinate; but, in the end, the *Olynthians* were victors, *Tallutius*, with 1200 *Spartans*, being killed upon the spot. This slaughter served only to exasperate the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom a third army was raised, and *Agefipolis* their king entrusted with the command thereof. The *Olynthians*, perceiving plainly that they should be at last besieged, raised strong fortifications, and laid up vast quantities of corn, and other provisions, in their magazines; and found means to protract the war for a year without coming to an engagement. About the end of this space, *Agefipolis* died, and *Polyudas* was sent from *Sparta* to command in his stead. This new general gained several victories, and at last shut up the *Olynthians* in their city, pressing them with so close a siege, that they were at length constrained to submit themselves to the *Macedonians*, and accept of such a peace as they were pleased to give them.

*Both defeated by the Olynthians.*

*Who in the end are obliged to submit to Amyntas.*

*AMYNTAS* was not only happy enough to engage *Lacedæmonians* thus heartily in his cause, but he was also successful in his negotiations with the *Athenians*, who had not hitherto shewn any great kindness to the kings of *Macedon*. He artfully insinuated, that, in his opinion, *Amphipolis* belonged to them;

*Amyntas dies, much respected by all the Grecian states.*

and promised to do all in his power to put it into their hands, whereby he procured their friendship, without any expence to himself<sup>r</sup>. In all other respects he behaved like a great politician, strengthening the interest of his family, raising the credit of the *Macedonian* monarchy, and binding most of his neighbours, particularly the *Thessalians*, to his interest, by good turns, till, after a reign of twenty-four years, he died, much respected by all the *Grecian* states, and greatly beloved by his own subjects. He left behind him three legitimate sons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*, under the tuition of *Eurydice* their mother; as also an illegitimate son called *Ptolemy*, surnamed *Alorites*, and several others.

*Alexander* ALEXANDER, being the eldest, succeeded his father, and proved a prince of great parts, though of little probity. The *Thessalians* were at that time oppressed by *Alexander* of *Phærea*, who sought to make himself absolute lord of the whole country; the nobility applied themselves to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who was not backward in promising them assistance.

*Assists the Thessalians against Alexander their tyrant.* *Alexander* the *Phærean*, having intelligence of these negotiations, immediately raised an army, and therewith entered *Macedon*. The king met him with another army; and a brisk engagement ensued, wherein the *Macedonian* gaining the victory, he marched streight on to *Larissa* the capital of *Thessaly*, the inhabitants of which opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by the most considerable places in that country, the king promising to restore them all to their liberty; which, however, he was so far from performing,

*But keeps them himself in subjection.* that he put garisons into every one of them; so that the *Thessalians* quickly found they had only exchanged one tyrant for another<sup>r</sup>. Upon this they applied to the *Thebans*, to deliver them from both. *Pelopidas* was chosen to command a body of troops sent for this purpose; and the reputation of so great a captain effected almost as much as could have been expected, had the whole power of *Thebes* been employed in this enterprize; for *Alexander* immediately began to execute the treaty he had formerly made with the *Thessalians*, and to quit *Larissa*, and other cities which had been put into his hands. *Alexander* of *Phærea* also began to act with greater moderation, and the presence of *Pelopidas* diffused a quiet hitherto unfelt in these parts<sup>r</sup>.

*Conspiracy against king Alexander:* IN this time *Ptolemy Alorites*, the base son of *Amyntas*, began to plot against king *Alexander*, and drew such a number of the *Macedonian* lords to his interest, as made the king's authority very precarious; he therefore applied to *Pelopidas*,

<sup>r</sup> ÆSCHIN. de fals. legat. p. 400.

<sup>r</sup> DIOD. SIC. I. xiv. JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 4. PLUT. in vit. Pelop. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. intreat-

intreating him, since he had quitted *Thessalia*, to act as umpire in the disputes between him and *Ptolemy in Macedonia*. *Pelopidas*, consenting to what he desired, marched immediately into *Macedonia*; and, having there settled all things to the satisfaction of both parties, it was agreed, that *Philip* the king's youngest brother should be put into his hands as an hostage, and, with some other young noblemen of *Macedon*, be carried to *Thebes*, to which city *Pelopidas* at that time departed; and, immediately after, king *Alexander* was slain, and *Who is slain.* the kingdom transferred to his brother \* (H).

*PERDICCAS* should have mounted the throne on the death of *Alexander*, and he did accordingly claim it; but was II. far from obtaining a peaceable possession. *Pausanias*, a prince *Pausanias* of the royal house, set up for the kingdom as well as he, and *sets up a-* was at first so grateful to the people, that the whole family of *gainst him.* *Amyntas* were in the utmost danger. It happened fortunately for them, that the *Athenians* about this time sent *Iphicrates* with a small fleet to prepare things for the siege of *Amphipolis*; to him therefore, on his arrival, *Eurydice* applied herself; and, on her intimation to him of the difficulties she was under, *Iphicrates* with great alacrity repaired to the place of her residence. After the first civilities were over, *Eurydice*, placing her two sons upon her knees, shewed them to *Iphicrates*, and then putting the eldest into his hands, and placing the other upon his knee, she spoke to him thus: "Generous *Athenian*, "you know perfectly well how tenderly *Amyntas* the father "of these orphans loved your country, and how sincere an "affection he had for yourself, whom he adopted for a son; "by this double tie, therefore, you are bound to succour my "distressed family. The friendship my husband had for the "Athenians his dear allies, and his peculiar tenderness for "you, must conspire to fill your breast with the sentiments "of a brother in respect to these orphans." *Iphicrates*, moved by the queen's tears and intreaties, espoused her cause, turned his arms against *Pausanias*, and compelled him to retire out of *Macedon* †.

*But is driven out by Iphicrates.*

\* *PLUT.* ubi supra.

† *ÆSCHIN.* de fals. legat. p. 400.

(H) What were the original sources of these disputes in *Macedon*, historians do not inform us; but it is most likely, that the factions formerly subsisting in this kingdom, and which *Amyntas* so hardly kept under, began to revive. However it was,

of this we are certain, that, on the death of *Alexander*, all things fell into great confusion, inasmuch that the queen-mother thought neither herself nor her children safe, even as to their lives and private fortunes.



A new  
pretender  
to the  
throne.

Both refer  
their differ-  
ences to  
Pelopidas.  
Who ad-  
judges the  
crown to  
Perdiccas.

PERDICCAS had but little more quiet from this friendly interposition of the *Athenians*; for scarce was *Pausanias* retired, before *Ptolemy Alorites* pretended to the throne, and, by degrees, wrought himself into such favour with the people, that he outed his brothers, assumed the ensigns, and discharged the functions of a king. *Perdiccas* did not however quit his title, though only a small part of the country owned it. He had always hopes, that either the *Athenians* or *Thebans* would support him; but they, being much embarrassed at home, neglected all his solicitations; till at last *Pelopidas*, moved with compassion towards the brother of a king with whom he had lived amicably, drew together a few mercenaries, and, with no authority than what he derived from the reputation of his virtue, marched towards *Macedonia*, in order to restore the deprived prince. *Ptolemy* raised an army to oppose him, and, when their forces drew near to each other, he made privately such offers to *Pelopidas's* mercenaries, that they immediately deserted him, and went over to him; yet this desertion did not quiet *Ptolemy's* fears, who looked upon this as an escape only for the present; and, fearing the resentment of *Pelopidas* much more than many armies, he of his own motion laid down his arms, and referred the difference between himself and his brother to that general's decision. He having declared, that the crown belonged to *Perdiccas*, the *Macedonians* so readily came into his sentiments, that *Ptolemy* was forced to submit.

PELOPIDAS fearing that, as soon as he was withdrawn, all things might fall again into confusion, took hostages on both sides; from *Perdiccas* his brother *Philip*, who was to have been sent to *Thebes* before; from *Ptolemy* his son *Philoxenus*, with several young men his companions; and thus an end was put to all disturbances for the present. *Eurydice*, doubtless, was not a little fearful of giving up her darling *Philip* into the hands of strangers; her concern however was somewhat abated, from the consideration of the worth of *Pelopidas*, whom she earnestly besought to take care of his education; which he not only promised, but very exactly fulfilled. On his return to *Thebes*, he placed the young prince in the hands of *Epaminondas* his friend, who had in his house a *Pythagorean* philosopher of great reputation. Under his care *Philip* learned the principles of philosophy, and under *Epaminondas* himself he acquired the art of war. Thus his exile became beneficial, not only to himself, but his country; and he acquired amongst foreigners those abilities, which enabled him afterwards to triumph over them. This

was especially owing to his making *Epaminondas* his model ; for, by studying that great man's temper and disposition, he joined qualities, which are seldom met with together ; that is, indefatigable activity, and a steady composure. As for his temperance, justice, disinterestedness and candor, those *Philip* meddled not with, as suiting little with his temper and circumstances <sup>w</sup>.

*PERDICCAS* in the mean time governed *Macedon* with a mediocrity of fortune, till he came to be engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, a very martial nation, the ancient hereditary enemies of his subjects. Against these *Perdicas*, at the head of a very considerable army, marched as soon as possible, that he might hinder them from plundering the country. A general engagement quickly ensued, wherein the *Macedonians* *Perdicas* were routed with great slaughter, and, which was still worse, *routed and slain by the* with the loss of their king, who left behind him a son named *Amyntas*, then in his infancy ; who, though the lawful heir *Illyrians.* of the kingdom, was unable to govern it ; so that now a field was opened to civil dissensions, while at the same time the kingdom groaned under the weight of a foreign war <sup>x</sup>.

## S E C T. IV.

*The reign of PHILIP.*

**I**T was the peculiar felicity of the prince, whose actions we are now to record, that his fame suffers no diminution, which ever part of his reign we consider, and whether we inquire from what condition he raised his kingdom, or to what height under his auspice it arrived. When he went suddenly and secretly from *Thebes* to *Macedon*, on the news of his brother's death, he found the people dejected, and the state in the utmost confusion, a king just slain, the whole strength of the kingdom routed, the *Illyrians* preparing for a new invasion, the *Peonians* on the point of making another ; a child, to wit, *Amyntas* the son of *Perdicas*, on the throne; and two powerful competitors contriving to dispossess him; that is, to say, *Pausanias* supported by the *Thracians*, and *Argæus*, to whose assistance the *Athenians* had sent their general *Mantias* with an army : yet was *Philip*, though but twenty-two years old, so far from sinking under this mighty load, that he not only kept up his own spirits, but invigorated and re-encouraged his despairing countrymen. He applied especially to the army, whom he caressed with the tenderest

*The miserable state of Macedon at Philip's accession.*  
Year of the flood  
1988.  
Bef. Chr.  
360.

<sup>w</sup> *PLUT.* ubi supra. *JUSTIN.* l. vii. c. 5.  
*SICUL.* l. xvi.

<sup>x</sup> *DIODOR.*

expressions, and the nobility, whom he bound to his interest by the strongest testimonies of confidence, and vast promises. Things thus quieted at home, he began immediately to provide for what was requisite to put his foreign affairs in a better situation. In order to give a check to the *Athenian* army, king *Philip* caused *Amphipolis* to be declared a free city, and left it to its inhabitants to govern it how they would. By this step, though it seemed a lessening to his kingdom, on account of the importance of the place, yet he was a great gainer; for chiefly for the sake of this city the *Athenians* undertook the war, and supported his competitors, and, by leaving it free, he took away all ground of quarrel with respect to himself; and yet added nothing to the power of the *Athenians* in these parts. To the chief men in *Peonia* he made considerable presents, and thereby avoided a dispute in the field, for which as yet he was unprovided. By the same arts he took off *Pausanias*, knowing well, that, to a feeble state, gaining time is gaining all \* (A).

THAT

\* DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 5.

(A) The discerning reader will easily perceive, that we have taken the liberty to discourse at large on the policy of *Philip*, which is indeed a liberty we ought to account for, this work being intended for an universal register of facts, not of lectures upon them. First then, let it be observed, that this was the most glorious reign which was ever seen in *Macedon*; for *Alexander* cannot be said to have reigned in *Macedon* after his conquests; on the contrary, he rather despised it; and of his successors, none in point of prudence, fortune, or true greatness, can be compared with *Philip*. It is requisite therefore, that this reign, which laid the foundation of the *Greek* empire, should be copiously treated of. Secondly, the reign of *Philip*, though crowded with wars, and adorned with many remarkable victories, was however a reign of policy, in which the judgment of the prince wrought more than the force of the people. The

*Macedonians* were a brave and generous nation before his time; but it was he who fixed fortune to their arms, and, by making a right use of their valour, procured them those advantages they had deserved, but had scarce tasted before. He found them a nation inured to war; yet he taught them a new discipline, incomparably better than any at that time in use, by which they were enabled to bear away the victory, not only from more numerous armies, but from the best troops in *Greece*, having also numbers on their side; such as the *Phocians*, who made war a trade; and the *Athenians*, in pitched battles, held, till then, the expertest among the *Greeks*. He found his subjects low, beaten, and alike without spirit, and without allies. He left them feared by their neighbours, dreaded equally by the great king, as the *Persian* monarch was called, and by the sovereigns of *Greece*; and all this by dint

THAT the best use might be made of this interval of *His* *pru-* quiet, *Philip*, who at first acted as guardian only to his ne- *dence in* phew *Amyntas* the son of *Perdiccas*, laying the child aside, *affairs ci-* stept into the throne, with the unanimous consent of the *vil and* *Macedonians*, who declared, that necessity ought to supersede *military.* loyalty; and that, since the public safety required a man, they ought not to pay allegiance to a child. He then proceeded to introduce a new and stricter discipline among the troops, which probably he had learned from the *Thebans*, at least in part. He particularly instituted, or rather modelled, the phalanx, and taught the soldiers how to become more formidable from order, and a just conception of the rules of

dint of genius. Thirdly, they who opposed *Philip* considered him rather as a *politician* than as an hero; unless we take that in the oriental sense, and conceive it to signify a person distinguishable alike for the excellence of his wisdom, and for his extraordinary valour. His enemies, we say, considered him in this light, and so ought we, otherwise we shall have but an imperfect idea of his character, as is ingeniously hinted by a great *French* writer, who says, *Philip is in esteem only with such as understand history* (1). Our political reflections are inserted for that very purpose. We have collected them from the best authors, not invented them ourselves; and we have inserted them in such places only, as with great difficulty would be intelligible without them. Thus much on this subject may suffice; let us close this note with a few words on the school wherein *Philip* learned this extraordinary wisdom: It was the house of *Polyarchus* the father of *Epaminon-*

*das*, the greatest man among the *Greeks*, if we will subscribe to the opinion of the most judicious of the *Romans* (2), frequented by the most learned and the most virtuous citizens of *Thebes*, where in *Lisidas* of *Tarentum* read his lectures (3). In all probability *Philip* rather studied *Epaminondas*, than any system of philosophy. That great man raised *Thebes* to a greater height of power than it had ever before attained to; *Philip* did the same by *Macedon*. *Epaminondas* looked on discipline as the main skill of a general, as well as the main strength of an army; *Philip* taught it his *Macedonians*, and took care they should not forget his lessons. *Epaminondas* was secret and sudden in all his enterprises; so was *Philip*. We might easily carry the parallel farther; but this is enough to shew, that what *Plutarch* (4) and others of the antients have advanced on this head, is well founded, and that we ought to regard this *Macedonian* statesman as a copy of the *Theban*.

(1) *Mr. Tournell, in his preface to Demosthenes.* (2) *Cicer. Tuscul.*  
l. i. (3) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. & xvi. Ælian, hist. var. l. iii. Pausan.*  
in *Bœotic.* *D. Ctesyph. orat. inscript. Recusatio magistratus.* (4) *In*  
*ant. Pelopid.*

war, than from mere force; and, by the help of frequent instructions, kind language, and, when it was necessary, some bold strokes of severity, he attained his end. Most authors attribute all things in the *Macedonian* discipline to *Philip*, which in one sense is certainly true, but in another not so. *Philip* fixed the rules of discipline amongst his troops; but it is not likely he invented them, which, though a new opinion, is yet probable, as we shall shew in a note <sup>b</sup> (B). *Argæus* with

<sup>b</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. ÆLIAN. I. xiv. OSOR. I. iii.

(B) It is certain, that, in a strict sense, *Philip* could not be the inventor of the *phalanx*, since we find the *purgas* or *tower*, which was a kind of *phalanx*, (and the very reverse of the *plinthion* or *tile*) mentioned by *Homer* (5). To say the truth, the *phalanx* was in use among the *Greeks* in general, as our present learned and venerable primate has fully demonstrated (6), though it is probable, that the *Macedonian* *phalanx* was better disposed, and those who composed it better disciplined, than any of the *Greek* armies had been before. Officers usually improve one on the other. The *Spartans* were famed in the earliest times of *Greece* for exact order; then the *Athenians* came into high reputation from the improvements made by *Iphicrates*; after these came *Epaminondas*, or rather *Pelopidas*, who taught war as an art to the *Thebans*, from whom *Philip* learned it, and quickly surpassed his masters. That he was not, however, the first who introduced the *phalanx* into *Macedon*, seems evident from the testimony of *Diodorus*, who tells us, the *Illyrians*, when first attacked by *Phi-*

*lip*, had their *plinthion* (7); and inasmuch as they lay farther from *Greece* than the *Macedonians*, it would be unreasonable to suppose them better skilled in the *Greek* discipline; we must therefore conceive, that the *phalanx* was known to his countrymen before the reign of *Philip*, though it was new-modelled, and received a fresh set of rules from him; which discipline became peculiar to them, rendering the *Macedonian* infantry invincible then, and admirable yet. Whoever reads *Ælian* (8), will discern, that the whole doctrine of drawing up armies conformable to the ground assigned for the line of battle, the methods of changing these forms, marching, counter-marching, charging, retreating and encamping, was thoroughly studied by the *Grecians*, and practised by the *Spartans*, *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, &c. with great facility and success. As this art of discipline was of great consequence, and public utility, it was taught by public professors, stiled *Tactici*, or masters in military exercise, from a verb signifying to exercise. That what we have advanced may be

(5) *Iliad*. μ. ver. 35. *Siculus*. I. xvi.

(6) *Potter's Archæol.* I. iii. c. 6.

(7) *Diodor.* (8) *Tactici*, cum *Binghami* notis.

with a body of mercenaries advancing as far as *Ægæ*, and, being constrained by the citizens to retire, *Philip* determined to try the mettle of his troops by pursuing them; which accordingly he did, and, coming up with them, engaged and defeated them with great slaughter; an action which greatly revived and encouraged the *Macedonian* army, taught them to confide in their prince, and to discern the singular advantages they received from regular discipline. The king, however, shewed on this occasion the moderation which distinguished his character from most of the chieftains of his age, by admitting a great body of troops, which had retired to an eminence, to a composition. By this method he secured a present victory, and established a reputation of clemency, which proved of infinite service to him <sup>c</sup>.

IMMEDIATELY after this victory, he dispatched ambassadors to *Athens*, and, having instructed them to give up all his right to *Amphipolis*, he easily procured a peace; for, though the *Athenians* drew great benefit from their colonies and conquests in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, yet the vast expence of sending and maintaining armies there, discouraged them much, and inclined them to make peace whenever it was offered them, especially on honourable terms, which, as they con-

*He makes peace with the Athenians, subdues the Peonians, and vanquishes the Illyrians.*

<sup>c</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

justified, as well by authority, as from probable conjecture, it will be necessary to remark, that *Ælian* before-mentioned expressly mentions the alterations introduced by *Philip* in the evolutions of the *Macedonian* phalanx; whence it is evident, he did not either invent or introduce the phalanx itself. The great change he made was in the mode of their altering their wings at the beginning of an engagement. According to the old method, the motion contrived to effect this purpose, had the air of a retreat; *Philip* had penetration enough to perceive, that this motion reversed would effect the same thing, and yet shew rather as an onset. As all things are of the utmost consequence, which have

a tendency to encourage the soldiery, *Philip* laid aside the old method, and brought in this which had been practised by the *Lacedæmonians* (9). To these remarks we may add one general one, that discipline, under the eye of an able general, renders troops invincible; but, under officers of small abilities, it is far from being of such high advantage. Men of inferior genius have no idea of those changes which the alterations induced by time require, and therefore, by adhering too scrupulously to old rules, ruin themselves, and those under their command; as we shall have occasion to shew, when we come to speak of the conquest of *Macedonia* by the *Romans*.

(9) C. xii.

sisted chiefly in words, *Philip* failed not in gratifying them <sup>d</sup>. Another thing which contributed to the speedy conclusion of this peace, was the mean opinion the *Athenians* had of *Philip's* power, which inclined them to believe all his ambassadors told them, and made them little apprehensive of his breaking the peace. Thus delivered from one potent enemy by his own address, death quickly freed him from another, by taking off *Agis* king of *Peonia*. This news no sooner reached the ears of *Philip*, than he determined to lay hold of this opportunity of revenging himself of the *Peonians*, and accordingly invaded their country, took their cities, and reduced them to such extremities, that they were constrained to submit to him, and become his subjects. This war thus happily concluded, he without delay marched against the *Illyrians* with an army of ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse. This was one of the boldest and most martial nations in those parts, and had within a few years often beaten the *Macedonians*. *Bradylis* however, who was their king, offered to treat with *Philip* of a peace, on this condition, that each should keep what he possessed. *Philip* answered, That he always preferred peace to war; but could not think of preserving it, by quitting his claim to those places in *Macedonia*, at present in the hands of the *Illyrians*. *Bradylis* upon this encouraged his troops, from the consideration of their former victories, to behave gallantly; and with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, offered *Philip* battle. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and, as *Diodorus Siculus* intimates, the *Illyrians* had their phalanx as well as the *Macedonians*. In the end, however, chiefly through the conduct of *Philip*, who brought a body of horse to charge the *Illyrians* in flank, whilst himself with the phalanx charged in front, the enemy was routed, and the *Macedonians* pursued, and slew in the whole no less than seven thousand men; which exceedingly broke and disordered the *Illyrians*, and constrained them to buy a peace at the expence of all their conquests <sup>e</sup>.

Takes Am-  
phipolis,  
Pydna,  
Potidæa,  
&c.

Year of  
the flood

1990.

Bef. Chr.

358.

By this time the affairs of *Macedon* were in a tolerable posture, and *Philip*, from the success which he already had obtained, was animated to greater things. It is not probable, that he already meditated the subjection of *Greece*, because as yet he was master of no force adequate to such an undertaking; but it is most likely he proposed even now, the tendering his kingdom not only independent, but raising it to a state of pre-eminence over its neighbours. Whatever his views were, he did not continue long at rest, but suddenly, and when it was least expected, attacked *Amphipolis*. This city, as we

<sup>d</sup> POLYÆN. stratag. l. iv.

<sup>e</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.  
have

have already seen, was always a sharp thorn in the sides of the *Macedonian* princes; and therefore, from the beginning of his reign, *Philip* had kept his eye continually upon it, watching for a fit time to reduce it. The *Amphipolitans*, sensible of their danger, sent *Hierax* and *Stratocles* to *Athens*, to offer themselves and their city to that commonwealth. *Demosthenes*, and those who, with him, foresaw how formidable *Philip* would one day become, seconded the deputies of *Amphipolis*; but the agents of *Philip* giving out, that the king intended to deliver it up to the *Athenians* when taken, they suffered themselves to be amused, and denied the *Amphipolitans* relief. *Philip* prosecuted the siege briskly, both by force without, and by negotiation within; and at last took it by storm, and treated it as he did other places, that is, he put to death or banished such as were not in his interest, and treated the rest of the inhabitants kindly. This blow once struck, he proceeded to reduce *Pydna* and *Potidea*; in the last of which was an *Athenian* garison, which he drew out, and dismissed with all the marks of honour. After this he delivered the city to the *Olynthians*, according to his maxim, *That those are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome*. These conquests made a great noise, and *Philip* now began to grow terrible to all his neighbours <sup>f</sup> (B).

WE have heretofore shewn, in our description of *Macedonia*, that the tract of country between the river *Strymon* and *Nessus* was extremely rich in gold. Indeed the fame of its mines had made it often change its masters. When the *Athenians* were first powerful at sea, it belonged to the *Thasians*, from whom they conquered it. This republic declining, it fell into other hands; and a few years before this time the *Thracians* possessed themselves of it, and fortified *Crenides* its capital city<sup>e</sup>. *Philip*, who looked upon gold as the best weapon, and the best servant in the world, resolved to seize upon this country, and to extract out of its bowels a treasure

*Subdues the country between the rivers Strymon and Nessus.*

*Year of the flood 1991. Bef. Chr. 357.*

<sup>f</sup> DEMOSTH. Olynth. i. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ISOCRAT. ad Phil. <sup>e</sup> See above, p. 366, and 396.

(B) If this terror had engaged them in a league, in all probability they had set very narrow bounds to the *Macedonian* king; but, as it produced a desire of obliging the conqueror, and turning his arms from themselves, the bordering nations concurred to ruin each other; and this they

did the more effectually, because *Philip* was so perfect a master in dissimulation, that he seemed to give implicit credit to whatever was told him, though at the same time he communicated his real sentiments to nobody, his success being known as soon as his design.



sufficient to buy that empire for which he so passionately longed. He executed this scheme before it was known that he had formed it; and, having taken *Grenides*, he not only altered its government, but changed its name into *Philippi*<sup>a</sup>. He likewise gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before; and, having by this means established a certain revenue of a thousand talents *per annum*, which was in itself a large sum, and so much the more beneficial, as it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his subjects, he began to turn his eyes towards other conquests.

*The birth of Alexander the Great.* IN the first year of the one hundredth and sixth *Olympiad*, *Philip*, being then in the field, received advice, that his wife *Olympias* the daughter of *Neoptolemus* king of *Epirus*, was brought to bed of a son at *Pella*. This son was the famous *Alexander*, justly surnamed *the Great*. At the same time *Philip* received advice, that his chariot had gained the prize at the *Olympic* games; and upon the heels of this a third courier came, with an account that *Parthenio* had beaten the *Illyrians*. This surprising run of good fortune is said to have affected *Philip* so much, that he wished it might be tempered by some slight mishap; not that he was insensible of felicity, but because he was afraid that his fortune might decline as swiftly as it had risen<sup>i</sup> (C).

AT

<sup>a</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. DION CASS. l. xlvii. <sup>i</sup> PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. l. xii. PLUT. apophthegm. USSER. annal. A. I. P. 4358.

(C) The birth of *Alexander* we have fixed to the one hundredth and sixth *Olympiad*. Ancient authors are much divided on this head, and therefore it is but reasonable to shew on what grounds we have adhered to some, and rejected the authority of others (10). *Arrian* from *Aristobulus* informs us, that *Alexander* died in the month of *Thargelion*, the last but one of the *Attic* year, in the close of the one hundredth and fourteenth *Olympiad*, being then 32 years and

eight months old (11). This plainly refers his birth to the year wherein we have fixed it. *Ælian* indeed says expressly, that he was born and died on the sixth day of the month *Thargelion* (12). *Plutarch* places his birth in the month *Hecatombeon*, which, he says, answered to the *Macedonian* month *Lous* (13); but in this he was mistaken; for it appears clearly from a letter of *Philip*, still preserved in the orations of *Demosthenes*, that at this time the *Macedonian* month *Lous* did not

(10) *Joseph. chronicon.*  
*ibid.* l. ii. c. 25.

(11) *Arrian, expedit. Alex.* l. ix.  
 (13) *In vit. Alex.*

(12) *Var.*

AT this time all Greece was in confusion; the Phœcian, or, *King Philip* as it was otherwise called, the *sacred war*, of the cause and consequences of which we have spoken elsewhere<sup>k</sup>, then raged with prodigious fury, which gave *Philip* an opportunity of securing and extending his frontiers without interruption. It also produced various applications from the contending parties, in order to procure his assistance; the effects of which we shall hereafter see. In the mean time let us follow the track of his conquests. The little city of *Methone* had given him some umbrage; he conceived that his conquests in *Thrace* might be in some danger, if it fell into the hands of his enemies; to prevent which he immediately invested it. The inhabitants made a very stout defence, and submitted at last, on condition that they might have free leave to quit the place; which was agreed to and executed; after which *Philip* caused the city to be rased, and divided its territories among his soldiers<sup>l</sup>. At this siege he had the misfortune to lose an eye, by a very extraordinary accident, if the circumstances transmitted to us may be believed (D). This evil was, however, in some

<sup>k</sup> See vol. vi. p. 511, & seq.  
DEMOSTH. Phil. i.

<sup>l</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

answer to the *Attic* month *Hecatombeon*, but to the month *Boedromion* (14). In after-times indeed the month *Lous* answered to *Hecatombeon*, which, without doubt, was the cause of *Plutarch's* mistake in this point. *Plutarch* hath fallen also into another mistake on this subject; he says, that *Philip* received this news immediately after he had taken *Potidea*; yet, without doubt, *Potidea* was taken two years before, viz. in the third year of the one hundred and third *Olympiad*, where we have placed it, on the authority of *Demosthenes*, who was *Philip's* contemporary (15), and of *Diodorus Siculus*, a more accurate writer in point of chronology than

*Plutarch* (16). There is one thing that may be urged against thus settling the birth of *Alexander* as we have done, and that is, his father's receiving the news of his victory in the *Olympic* games on that very day (17). But, admitting that this is improbable, had we not better allow, that *Philip* received this news a little before, than depart from a fact so clearly and so exactly settled by *Aristobulus*, who is acknowledged to have been the most authentic historian in whose works the actions of *Alexander* were found?

(D) There is something so fabulous in the story we are told of *Philip's* losing his eye before this place, that we could not judge

(14) In oratione de corona. (15) In oratione contra Leptinem. (16) Diod. Sicul. l. xvi. (17) Plut. ubi supra. Justin. l. xii.

some measure alleviated by the skill of his surgeon, who, tho' he could not save its sight, preserved the form of the king's eye from suffering any disfigurement<sup>m</sup>; yet the king was so much chagrined thereat, as never afterwards to hear the word *Cyclop*, or even an *eye*, mentioned with patience<sup>n</sup>; a strange weakness in so great a man!

*Marches* As soon as *Philip* was recovered, he began to think of  
*into Theffaly.* marching into *Theffaly*, where the petty princes of the country earnestly desired his presence to redress those mischiefs which

Year of the flood the ambition of a single family had brought upon all *Theffaly*.  
*Alexander of Phærea*, the original tyrant, had been murdered

1995.  
 Bef. Chr. <sup>m</sup> PLIN. hist. nat. l. vii. c. 37.  
 353. elocut. c. 3.

DEMET. PHALER. de

it fit to appear with those circumstances in the body of our history. The reader, when he has perused the relation as it is commonly told, will judge of the propriety of our conduct. It is said, that, \*when *Philip* invested *Methone*, one *Aster*, a most excellent archer, was recommended to him with this commendation, that he could strike the swiftest bird in its flight. *Very well*, replied *Philip*, *we will call for him when we make war with starlings*. This so stung the archer, that he immediately threw himself into the besieged city, from the walls of which, when *Philip* was one day viewing the place, he discharged an arrow, with this inscription, *For the right eye of Philip*; which it accordingly struck, and put out. The king shot back the same arrow, with this answer on the opposite side, *Philip, when the town is taken, will cause Aster to be hanged*; which he also performed (18). It was not here only that *Philip* felt in his own person the effects of war; his courage pushed him into all places of danger; and darts, stones, and javelins, make no distinction of persons,

*Demosthenes* therefore, who cannot be suspected of flattering *Philip*, could not forbear, when the subject afforded him a proper occasion, painting his personal bravery in such a light, as might have roused the *Athenians*: "I will shew you," said that glorious orator, "this same *Philip*, with whom we dispute for sovereignty and empire; I will shew him to you as he is covered with wounds, blind of an eye, his skull cracked, lame of an hand and of a leg, ready to throw himself into the midst of new dangers, and to put it into the power of fortune to deprive him of some other limb, in hopes, with the remainder of his body, to live with glory and honour; Such, *Athenians*, is *Philip*!" (19) It must be owned, that if, in the rest of his orations, *Demosthenes* hath shewn this monarch to be a very bad man, he has here acknowledged him to be the greatest prince of his time; which it is certain was a character so much his due, that, how much sbever they might seek to lessen him, even his enemies could not deny him.

(18) *Suidas in voce λαδών.*

(19) *Orat. pro Ctesiphon.*

his insupportable arrogance by his wife and his brethren, who thereupon grew into great reputation with the *Thessalians*; but *Lycophron*, the elder brother, assuming the government, and acting no better than *Alexander* had done, the *Athenians*, so the *Thessalian* chiefs were called, addressed themselves to *Philip*, and besought his protection. He, having settled his affairs in *Thrace*, and on the sea-coasts, marched into *Thessaly*, and made war on *Lycophron*; who finding himself too weak to contest with the *Macedonian* foot joined with the *Thessalian* cavalry, demanded aid of the *Phocians*, or rather of *Onomarchus* their general, who sent his brother *Phayllus* with seven thousand men, to preserve *Lycophron* in his dominions. The tyrant, after the junction of these troops, no longer declined battle; yet his success no way answered his expectation; for he was defeated by *Philip*, and the *Phocians* driven out of *Thessaly*. *Onomarchus* hearing this, marched with all his forces to support *Lycophron*, and in two general engagements vanquished *Philip*, and compelled him to retire out of *Thessaly* in great distress.

BUT though his army was beaten, his spirit remained unconquered still; so that perceiving the reduction of *Thessaly* was absolutely necessary to his proposed empire, he applied himself with all diligence to the recruiting his army; and as soon as it was in a tolerable condition, marched immediately against *Lycophron*. The tyrant did not wait his coming, but withdrawing his troops to a secure camp, sent again to invite the *Phocians* to his assistance. *Onomarchus* being determined to put an end to the war, marched with twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, to oppose the *Macedonian*. *Philip* in the mean time had prevailed on the *Thessalians* to make their utmost efforts in his favour; so that at length his forces consisted of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and then he no longer delayed a general battle. This action proved decisive, chiefly through the valour of the *Thessalian* horse; for the princes who commanded them, knowing that they were to expect nothing but destruction from *Lycophron*, if he prevailed, fought with desperate resolution; inasmuch that six thousand of the *Phocians* were slain upon the spot, and amongst them their general, and three thousand were taken prisoners. There had been still a greater slaughter, if the engagement had not happened on the sea-shore, when the *Athenian* fleet commanded by *Chares* passed by, and thereby afforded such of the *Phocians* as could swim a refuge. *Philip* caused the body of *Onomarchus* to be searched for; and when it was found he directed it to be hung up with ignominy, denying also funeral rites to all that were slain, looking on them as sacrilegious persons for having violated the temple at *Delphi*.

*Delphi.* *Lycophron* and his brother *Pitholaus* seeing now no hopes of retaining their principality, were content to resign it; and being dismissed on giving their oaths to be quiet, they delivered up the city of *Pheræa* into the hands of *Philip*, who, as he had promised the *Thessalians*, restored all the cities to liberty; and having thereby secured the friendship of so powerful a nation, he attempted to pass through the *Pylæ*, in order to make war upon the *Phocians*°. This was a very bold attempt; for since the defeat of the *Persians* at *Plataea*, no *Macedonian* prince had ever set foot in *Greece*. The *Athenians* therefore having notice of his design, marched with the utmost expedition, seized the passes, and obliged him for this time to abandon his purpose, and return into *Macedon*².

*Meditates* We may reasonably look on this retreat as the æra of *Philip's* hatred to the *Athenians*. He saw that they were the only people in *Greece* capable of defeating his projects, or of giving him uneasiness in his own kingdom; he therefore provided with much diligence a fleet composed of light ships, which continually disturbed their trade, and at the same time enriched his subjects by bringing in wealthy prizes. He also increased his army by new levies, and projected the destruction of the *Athenian* colonies in *Thrace*. Besides these preparations at home, he practised very successfully in *Athens* itself; and by large appointments, secured some eminent orators to charm the people with delusive hopes of peace, or to frighten them with very expensive estimates, while they pretended a zeal for carrying on the war. *Demosthenes* was the only man in *Athens*, who had a just idea of the danger his country was in from the growing power of *Philip*, and who had likewise capacity enough to point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatness³. He shewed the *Athenians*, that the measures they had hitherto pursued were unworthy of them, and would never answer their ends. He told them, that running hither and thither, according as they heard that *Philip* marched this way or that, looked more like following him as their general, than making war upon him as their enemy; he therefore advised transporting two thousand foot, and two hundred horse into *Macedonia*, assuring them, that if they had once an army, how small soever, there, the enemies of *Philip* would advance it to a formidable greatness⁴. The *Athenians* approved, but they did not follow his advice; all the effect it had was this, that *Philip* being informed of it, provided with greater vigour, and determined at all events to

o. DIOD. Sic. ubi supra.

l. vii.

³ PLUT. in vit. DEMOSTH. & PHOCION.

DEMOSTH. Philip. ii.

⁴ DEMOSTH. Philip. i. JUST.

DE-

have neither state nor prince independent of himself within the limits of *Macedon*, that the *Athenians* might be deprived of all hopes of treating him as they had done his ancestors, viz. compelling them, by the assistance given to their neighbours, either to put all to the hazard of an unequal war, or to become absolute dependents on their republic \*.

OLYNTHUS had now in a great measure recovered that power and authority, which it had when *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* called in the *Lacedæmonians* to assist him in making war against it. *Philip* himself had contributed to this recovery, by giving up thereto certain cities and territories, when he first began his conquests; but this was only to lull the *Olynthians* asleep, and to save himself the expence of garisons, when it suited not his circumstances to maintain them<sup>1</sup>; but now, when his affairs were altered, he began to think not only of resuming what he had restored, but of making himself master of *Olynthus*, and thereby subverting a republic, which had been heretofore an over-match for *Macedon*. The *Olynthians* were too discerning not to suspect *Philip's* design before he actually put it in execution; as soon therefore as they observed that he was advancing towards the *Chalcidian* region, they put themselves on their guard, and sent ambassadors to *Athenis* to intreat a considerable and speedy assistance. *Demosthenes* failed not to espouse the cause of the *Olynthians*. He began with putting the *Athenians* in mind, that till now they held the balance between the kings of *Macedon* and this state; and that, if they held it not still, they were as sure to be ruined as the *Olynthians* themselves. Hence he inferred, that a prompt and considerable succour should be sent, according to the request of the ambassadors; and that commissioners should be appointed for abrogating such laws as hindered the settling the necessary funds for carrying on a war of such importance with vigour<sup>2</sup>. *Demades*, and the rest of the orators who were corrupted by *Philip*, opposed this proposition with all their eloquence; but as they had not either truth on their sides, or a power of speaking equal to *Demosthenes*, the people inclined to follow his advice<sup>3</sup>, and accordingly decreed, that relief should be sent to the *Olynthians*.

PHILIP in the mean time took *Zeira*, a town in the *Chalcidian* region, and rased it to the ground. He soon after marched against *Mycaberna* and *Torone*, both of which he subdued. After this he openly attacked the *Olynthians*, defeated them twice in the field, and at last shut them up in their city.

\* DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.  
 † DEMOSTH. Olynth. ii.  
 ‡ VOCE Δυναμεις.

\* DEMOST. Philip. ii.  
 † DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. SUIDAS in

Olynthus  
taken.

Year of  
the flood  
2000.

Bef. Chr.

348.

city<sup>2</sup>. The *Athenian* succours consisted of mercenaries, which therefore did the *Olynthians* but little service, and were besides so much suspected, that they were little less dreaded than the *Macedonians* themselves; the citizens therefore sent ambassadors a second time to *Athens*, to intreat fresh assistance, and that it might be of *Athenian* troops. *Demosthenes* seconded this proposition with his usual vehemence; and on his motion *Charas* was sent a second time with seventeen galleys, and a land-army of two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all citizens of *Athens*; but, alas! the cordial came too late. It did indeed revive the fainting spirits of the *Olynthians* for a time; and the *Athenians* hearing of some slight successes of theirs, grew so elate, that they took no farther care of the war, as appears from an oration of *Demosthenes* yet remaining<sup>1</sup>; so that in the end *Olynthus* was taken; yet not so much by the bravery of the *Macedonian* troops, as by *Philip's* corrupting its principal magistrates, *Euthykrates* and *Lasthenes*, who basely betraying their country, after the city had made a glorious defence, secretly opened its gates, and let in *Philip* and his army. The king, on this occasion, proceeded with great severity; he gave up the houses of the citizens to be plundered, and exposed their persons to sale, acquiring thereby an immense treasure, at the same time as he rid himself of such as were his implacable enemies. After this he celebrated the *Olympic* games in honour of this conquest, which happened in the first year of the one hundredth and eighth *Olympiad*, causing splendid shews to be exhibited for the diversion of his army, making magnificent feasts, and giving great rewards to such as had signalized themselves during the siege, that his soldiers might be encouraged to serve him both gallantly and faithfully<sup>2</sup> (A).

THE

\* DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. <sup>1</sup> DEMOSTH. Olynth. iii. PLUT. in vit. Demosth. <sup>2</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

(A) Two incidents happened amidst these solemnities, which deserve to be recorded, because they shew the temper of *Philip* on both sides, and consequently must enable us to form a better idea of the motives on which he acted, than we could possibly have done without them; for without doubt, the reasons of actions are better found by know-

ing the mind of the actor, than by the most circumstantial accounts of the things acted. The first of these accidents was a complaint brought by *Euthykrates* and *Lasthenes* against the *Macedonian* soldiers for calling them traitors. To which *Philip* gave this answer, *You must never mind what such fellows say; they are a sort of clownish people, who will*

THE *Phocian* war was still unextinguished, and *Philip*, He over-though he affected a neutrality, placed all his hopes in putting reachesthe an end to this war, and thereby making himself the arbiter Athenians of *Greece*. His hopes were well founded. The *Thebans*, who were at the head of the league formed for reducing the *Phocians*, solicited him on one side; the states confederate with the *Phocians*, sought his friendship on the other. He answered neither, yet held in dependence both. In his heart he favoured the *Thebans*, or rather placed his hopes of favouring his own cause on that state; for he knew well enough, that the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, and other states allied with *Phocis*, would never suffer him to pass *Thermopylæ*, and lead an army into their territories<sup>c</sup>; yet he shewed so much respect to the ambassadors from these states, particularly to *Ctesiphon* and *Phrynon*, who were sent from *Athens*, that they believed the king was in their interest, and reported as much to their masters. The *Athenians*, who were now dissolved in ease and luxury, and consequently were afraid of being disturbed with wars, received this news with great satisfaction, and named immediately ten plenipotentiaries to go and treat of a full and lasting peace with *Philip*. Of the number of these plenipotentiaries were *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*, the most eminent orators in *Athens*. The king of *Macedon* gave di-

<sup>c</sup> DEMOSTH. *Philip*. ii.

will call a spade a spade (1). As to the other incident, *Satyrus* a player, whom *Philip* had admitted to a great familiarity with him, was the only person that wore a grave countenance, and reached not out his hand to receive any of the gifts which *Philip* bestowed upon his friends. The king observed it, and, with his usual complacency asked him, How he came to look so dull? and why he would not suffer himself to be obliged as well as other people? To which *Satyrus* answered, *I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any slight on your presents; on the contrary, I should be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls, pointing to two young women who*

were among the slaves; they are the daughters of a man in whose house I lodged. I ask them not out of avarice, but with an intent to give them such portions as may procure them honest husbands. *Philip* commended his generosity, granted his request, and loaded him with presents of great value (2). This affability, and particular care in rewarding every man who served him, gained *Philip* friends in every city, and made them ready to run any risque to obtain his favour. He was sensible of this, and was so far from being ashamed of it, that he was wont to say publicly, that he was no less indebted to his purse than to his sword.

(1) *Plut. in apophlegm.*

(2) *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*



rections, that these ambassadors should be treated with the utmost civility, naming, at the same time, three of his ministers to confer with them, viz. *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*. *Demosthenes* being obliged to return to *Athens*, recommended it to his colleagues not to carry on their negotiations with *Philip's* deputies, but to proceed with all diligence to court, there to confer with the king himself. On this, he told them, all things would depend, as on what they did depended the safety of their country. The ambassadors, however, were so far from following the instructions of *Demosthenes*, that they suffered themselves to be put off for three months by the arts of *Philip* and his ministers.

Takes several places from them.

Concludes a peace with them.

In the mean time the king took from the *Athenians* such places in *Thrace* as might best cover his frontiers, giving their plenipotentiaries in their stead abundance of fair promises, and the strongest assurances, that his good-will should be as beneficial to them, as ever their colonies had been. At last a peace was concluded; but then the ratification of it was deferred till *Philip* had possessed himself of *Pheræa* in *Thessaly*, and saw himself at the head of a numerous army; then he ratified the treaty, and dismissed the plenipotentiaries with assurances, that he would be ready at all times to give the *Athenians* proofs of his friendship. On their return to *Athens*, when this matter came to be debated before the people, *Demosthenes* plainly told them, That, in his opinion, the promises of *Philip* ought not to be relied on, because they appeared to be of little significance in themselves, and came from a prince of so much art, and so little fidelity, that they could derive no authority from their maker<sup>d</sup>. *Æschines*, on the other hand, gave it as his sentiment, that the king of *Macedon's* assurances ought to give them full satisfaction. He said, That, for his part, he was not politician enough to see any thing of disguise or dissimulation in the king's conduct; that there was great danger in distrusting princes, and that the surest method of putting men upon deceit, was to shew that we suspected them of it. The rest of the plenipotentiaries concurred with *Æschines*; and the people, desirous of quiet, and addicted to pleasure, easily gave credit to all that was said, and decreed, that the peace should be kept. All this was the easier brought about, because *Phocion*, the worthiest man in the republic, did not oppose *Philip*; which was owing to his having a just sense of the state his country was in. He conceived, that the *Athenians* of those times were nothing like their ancestors, and therefore, as he expressed himself on another occasion, he was desirous, since

<sup>d</sup> DEMOSTH. orat. de falsa legat.

they would not be at the head of *Greece* themselves, that they would at least be upon good terms with that power which would be so <sup>e</sup>.

PHILIP, who knew how to use as well as to procure opportunity, while the *Athenians* were in this good humour, *Phocis*, passed *Thermopylae*, without their knowing whether he would and puts fall on *Phocis* or *Thebes*; but he quickly undeceived them, an end to by commanding his soldiers to put on crowns of laurel, de- the sacred claring them thereby the troops of *Apollo*, and himself the war. lieutenant-general of that god. He then immediately entered *Phocis* with an air of triumph, as if thunder and lightning had been at his command; which so terrified the *Phocians*, whom he had caused to be proclaimed sacrilegious persons, that they immediately dismissed all thoughts of defence, and without more ado, submitted to his mercy. Thus the *Phocian* war, which had so long employed all *Greece*, was ended without a stroke, *Phalæcus*, with eight thousand mercenaries, being permitted to march off into *Peloponnesus*, and the judgment on the *Phocians* remitted to the *Amphictyons*, or grand council of *Greece*. By their decree the walls of three *Phocian* cities were demolished, the people were forbid to inhabit in any but villages, to pay a yearly tribute of sixty talents, and never to make use either of horses or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of *Apollo* the money they had sacrilegiously carried from thence. Their arms were taken from them, broken to pieces, and burnt; their double voice in the council was taken from them, and given to the *Macedonians*. Other orders were made for settling the affairs both of religion and state throughout *Greece*, all of which were executed by *Philip* with great exactness and moderation, paying the most profound respect to the council; and when he had performed its commands, retiring peaceably with his army back to *Macedon*, which gained him great reputation (B).

<sup>e</sup> PLUT. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. ubi supra.

<sup>f</sup> DIODOR. SICUL.

(B) This seems to have been one of the greatest achievements of his life, and that which laid the foundation of his empire. Hence one historian remarks, that the *Grecians* paid the next honours to a divinity, to a prince who had vindicated the honour of

the gods (1); and another tells us, that from this time forward *Philip* prospered in all things, which was thought to be the just reward of his piety, and of the care he had taken in restoring the worship of *Apollo*, and a general quiet in *Greece* (2).

(1) *Justin*, l. viii. c. 2.

(2) *Diod. Sic. ubi supra*.

Athenians At Athens alone the justice and piety of Philip was not ready to be understood. The people began to see, though a little too late, that they had been abused and deceived by those who had negotiated the late peace; they saw, that, through their acceptance of it, the Phocians were destroyed, that Philip was become master of Thermopylae, and might enter Greece when he pleased; that in abandoning their allies they had abandoned themselves; and that in all probability they might soon feel the weight of his power, whom they had so foolishly trusted: they therefore began to take new and hostile measures; they ordered, that the women should retire out of the villages into the city, their walls to be repaired; and their forts new strengthened. They seemed inclined to question Philip's election into the council of the Amphictyons, because it had been done without their consent, and even to proceed to an open war. In all likelihood they had carried things to extravagancy; if Demosthenes had not interposed, he was however for keeping it; and that he saw no manner of occasion for their entering into so unequal a contest as would needs ensue, if they took up arms, not only against Philip, but against all the states concurring with him in the late transactions. This seems to have cooled the rage of the Athenians, and to have brought them to think of ruining Philip by degrees, as by degrees they had raised him<sup>1</sup> (C).

THE

1 DEMOSTHEN. orat. de pac.

(C) Libanius and Photius have taken pains to prove, that the oration to which we refer above ought not to be ascribed to Demosthenes. We might well enough defend ourselves, by alleging, that it has been generally esteemed his; and, as such, has constantly maintained its place in his works. This would be sufficient for our purpose; but, in truth, the arguments on which the opposite sentiments are built, are so easily overturned; that we might be justly blamed for neglecting so favourable an occasion of setting this point in its true light. Demosthenians, say they who will not

allow this oration to be his, charged Aeschines with betraying his country, on account of his recommending warmly a peace with Philip; they cannot therefore think, that Demosthenes would run openly into those measures, which he had so lately and so warmly decried; or that he, who on every other occasion singly opposed Philip, and ran all hazards to bring him into odium with the people, should now be single on the other side, and attempt to cross the disposition of the Athenians in favour of peace and Philip (20). These objections forget, that Demosthenes was

THE same of his achievements without the bounds of *Macedon* having disposed the subjects of *Philip* to hope every thing from his conduct, and the several states of *Greece* to desire above all things his friendship; that prudent monarch laid hold of this favourable situation to fix his dominion on such a stable foundation as that a reverse of fortune should not immediately destroy it. To this end, while he carried on his negotiations through *Greece*, he likewise kept his army in exercise, by taking several places in *Thrace*, which terribly incommoded the *Athenians* <sup>k</sup>. *Diopithes*, who had the government of the *Athenian* colonies in those parts, perceiving well what end *Philip* had in view, did not stay for instructions from home; but having raised with much expedition a considerable body of troops, taking advantage of the king's being absent with his army, entered the adjacent territories of *Philip*, and wasted them with fire and sword.

THE king, who on account of the operations of the campaign in the *Chersonese*, was not at leisure to repel *Diopithes* by force, nor indeed could divide his army without imminent hazard, chose, like an able general, rather to abandon his provinces to insults, which might be afterwards revenged, than, by following the dictates of an ill-timed passion, to hazard the loss of his veteran army, whereon lay all his hopes. He contented himself, therefore, with complaining to the *Philip Athenians* of *Diopithes*'s conduct, who in a time of peace <sup>complains of his hostile conduct.</sup> had entered his dominions, and committed such devastations,

<sup>k</sup> DIOD. SICUL. ubi supra.

a patriot as well as an orator; that he did not pursue *Philip* with implacable hatred, because he was king of *Macedon*, but because he thought him both willing and able to obstruct the designs of *Athens*, and even to reduce her from that splendid pre-eminence which she now held in *Greece*, to the ordinary rank of a state in name free, but in truth dependent upon him; this was the motive of *Demosthenes*'s heat on other occasions; and the motive of his coolness now was the strict alliance between *Philip* and the other *Grecian* states, which ren-

dered it a thing impracticable for *Athens* to contend with him and them alone. Besides, as he rightly observes in the harangue, it would have been ridiculous for those, who refused to enter into an equal war for rich cities and fertile provinces, to have rushed suddenly into a most unequal contest about an empty title, or, as he emphatically expresses it, *To take away the shadow of Delphi from him who was master of Delphi itself* (21). We therefore ascribe this oration to *Demosthenes*, because he was worthy of it.

He is de-  
fended by  
Demo-  
sthenes.

as could scarce have been justified in a time of war. His partisans supported this application with all their eloquence; they told the *Athenians*, that unless they recalled *Diopithes*, and brought him to a tryal for this infringement of the peace; they ought not to hope either for the friendship of *Philip*, or of any other prince or state; neither could they justly complain, if, prompted by such a precedent, others should break faith with them, and fall without the least notice upon their dominions. *Demosthenes* defended *Diopithes*, and undertook to shew, that he deserved the praise, and not the censure of the *Athenians*. Those of the other party began to charge him then with crimes of a different nature; they alledged, that he oppressed the subjects, and mal-treated the allies of *Athens*. *Demosthenes* replied, that of these things there were as yet no proofs; that when such should appear, a single gally might be sent to bring over *Diopithes* to abide their judgment, but that *Philip* would not come if they sent a fleet; whence he inferred, that they ought to be cautious, and to weigh well the merits of this cause before they took any resolution. He said, that it was true, *Philip* had not as yet attacked *Attica*, or pretended to make a descent on their territories in *Greece*, or to force his way into their ports; when it came to that, he was of opinion they would be hardly able to defend themselves; wherefore he thought such men were to be esteemed as sought to protect their frontiers, in order to keep *Philip* as long as might be at a distance; whereupon he moved, that instead of disowning what *Diopithes* had done, or directing him to dismiss his army, they should send him over recruits, and shew the king of *Macedon*, they knew how to protect their territories, and to maintain the dignity of their state as well as their ancestors. These arguments had such an effect, that a decree was made conformable to his motion<sup>1</sup> (D).

WHILE

<sup>1</sup> DEMOSTH. orat. de Chersones. DIOGOR. SICUL. ubi supra.  
ARISTOT. de rhetor. l. i. orat. 8.

(D) The reader must certainly be somewhat at a loss as to the grounds on which these parties proceeded; nor is it easy to set them in a clear light. *Philip* is, generally speaking, represented not only as a politic, and over-reaching, but as a fraudulent and perfidious prince, one who had small regard to treaties,

and who set no bounds to his ambition. But then it must be considered, that we have all these reports from the sworn enemies of *Philip*; he had the misfortune to have been at variance all his reign with the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* were at that time the most eloquent, as their authors are yet esteemed the most excellent,

WHILE affairs stood thus, the *Illyrians* recovering courage, His expedition in Macedonia, and seeing *Philip* at such a distance, harassed the frontiers of, threatened a formidable invasion; but this attempt of theirs prejudiced none so much as themselves; for the *Illyrian*, by quick marches, arrived on the borders of *Illyria*, and struck this barbarous people with such a panic, that they were glad to compound for their former robberies at the price his negotiations in Greece.

excellent, among the *Greeks*. The orations of *Demosthenes* many of them remain, but for any answers that were made to them, time has swallowed them up; and we have scarce any apologies for *Philip*; yet in spite of these cross accidents, it may be discerned, that *Philip's* character ought not to be considered in altogether so bad a light as the orator has placed it. For, first, all speakers in popular assemblies are wont to exaggerate the subjects on which they declaim; like the painters of domes and cupolas, who make large allowances for the distances between their pictures, and those who are to look up to them. Secondly, The *Athenians* naturally hated kings, and conceived all nations to be barbarians who were governed by them. Thirdly, they held their territories in *Thrace* by a very dubious title, which we shall take this occasion to explain. When the republic was in the zenith of its glory, they had possessed themselves of the *Chersonese* by force. When *Lysander* destroyed *Athens*, the inhabitants of the before-mentioned country put themselves under the protection of the *Lacedæmonians* (1). *Conon* afterwards reduced them to the obedience of their antient masters (2), and *Cotys* king of

*Thrace* conquered them once more from *Athens*. *Chersobleptes* his son, finding himself unable to oppose *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave up this place again to the *Athenians*, reserving only the city of *Cardia* which stood on the isthmus (3). *Philip* having now dispossessed *Chersobleptes* of his kingdom, the citizens of *Cardia*, unwilling to fall under the *Athenian* yoke, submitted themselves voluntarily to *Philip*; whereupon *Diopithes* began the war, on a supposition, that so enterprising a prince would not stop here, but would make use of the advantages he had already gained, utterly to dispossess the *Athenians* of their colonies in these parts (4). Such were the sources of those differences, which so long embroiled the *Athenians* and *Philip*; sources which, lying as they did in the constitutions of *Macedon* and *Athens*, could never be dried up; for the foresight of *Philip* giving him to understand, that till he was master of *Greece*, he would never be able to keep the *Athenians* under; and till that was done, knowing himself to be unsafe at home, and scarce to be called a king; he chose to run all hazards in order to be the former, chiefly because of the ill situation he dreaded to be in, in the latter.

(1) *Plutarch*, in vit. *Lysand.* *Diodor. Sicul.* l. ii.

*Conon.* (2) *Corn. Nepos*, vit.

(3) *Demosthen.* orat. adv. *Aristoc.* *Diodor. Sicul.* ubi supra.

(4) *Demosthen.* orat. de *Chersonese*.

he was pleased to set \*. Most of the Greek cities in *Thrace*, now sought the friendship of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence. As it cannot be supposed, that each of these free cities had a power equal to that of *Philip*, we may therefore look upon him as their protector (E). About this time *Philip's* negotiations in *Peloponnesus* began to come to light; the *Argives* and *Messenians*, growing weary of that tyrannical authority which the *Spartans* exercised over them, applied to *Thebes* for assistance; and the *Thebans*, out of their natural aversion to *Sparta*, sought to open a passage for *Philip* into *Peloponnesus*, that, in conjunction with them, he might humble the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip* readily accepted the offer, and resolved to procure a decree from the *Amphictyons*, directing the *Lacedæmonians* to leave *Argos* and *Messene* free; which if they complied not with, he, as the lieutenant of the *Amphictyons*, might, with great appearance of justice, march with a body of troops to enforce their order. When *Sparta* had intelligence of this, she immediately applied to *Athens*, earnestly intreating assistance, as in the common cause of *Greece*. The *Argives* and *Messenians*, on the other hand, laboured assiduously to gain the *Athenians* to their side, alleging, that, if they were friends to liberty, they ought to assist those, whose only aim was to be free. *Demosthenes*, at this juncture, outwrestled *Philip*, if we may borrow that king's expression; for, by a vehement harangue, he not only determined his own citizens to become the avowed enemies of the king, but also made the *Argives* and *Messenians* not over-fond of him for an ally \*; which when *Philip* perceived, he laid aside all thoughts of this enterprize for the present, and began to practise in *Eubœa*.

The causes  
of the war  
in Eubœa.

Year of *Philip* call it, *The fetters of Greece*, which he therefore sought to have in his own hands. There had been for some 2044. years great disturbances in that country; under colour of  
Bef. Chr.

304.

\* Drop. Sic. ubi sup.

\* DEMOSTHEN. *Philip*. ii.

(E) This is exactly conformable to the account which *Diodorus* gives us of this matter; but *Demosthenes* represents this transaction as downright robbery; of so many cities, and an injury insinuating, that to have *Philip* for a protector, was to own him for a master; and that consequently \*his proceeding in this manner was making a conquest to all *Greece* (5).

(5) *Demosthen. orat. Philip. iii. iv.*

which,

which, *Philip* sent forces thither, and demolished *Perthmos*, the strongest city in those parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom *Demosthenes* roundly calls tyrants, established by *Philip* †. Shortly after the *Macedonians* took *Oreus*, which was left under the government of five magistrates, killed also tyrants at *Athens*. Thither *Plusarch* of *Eretria*, one of the most eminent persons in *Eubœa*, went to represent the distresses of his country, and to implore the *Athenians* to set it free. This suit *Demosthenes* recommended warmly to the people, who sent thither their famous leader *Phocion*, supported by formidable votes, but a very slender army; yet so well did he manage the affairs of the commonwealth, and her allies, that *Philip* quickly found he must for a time abandon that project, which however he did not till he had formed another no less beneficial to himself, or less dangerous to *Athens* ‡. It was, the prosecution of his conquests in *Thrace*, which he thought of pushing much farther than he had hitherto done, or could be reasonably suspected to have any intention of doing (F).

THE

† PLUT. in vit. Phocion. DEMOSTHEN. Philip. iii. DIO-  
DOR. SICUL. ubi supra. DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra.

(F) We have shewn above of what importance *Eubœa* was both to *Philip* and to the rest of *Greece*; we shall here take occasion to speak of the form of government which *Philip* would have established there. We nowhere find that he had any idea of annexing it to his dominions, or of obliging the people to live under new laws, or new modes of rule. *Eubœa* was full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic, and together with the benefits of freedom and independence, were sometimes disturbed by that spirit of dissension which frequently enters where liberty is adored. In these disputes both parties were wont to have recourse to foreign assistance; the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Lacedæmonians*, all in their turn, had sent auxiliaries to support

their friends in this island; and now it seems the king of *Macedon* thought fit to do the like; without doubt on a principle of interest; to which *Philip* was ever attentive. We have very imperfect accounts of this war, which ended at last to the disadvantage of the *Athenians*; instead therefore of drawing together all the jejune passages in ancient authors, wherein the *Eubœan* war is mentioned; we will from *Demosthenes* himself give a succinct detail of the tyranny which *Philip* set up in *Oreus*, one of the principal cities of *Eubœa*. *Philistides*, *Manippus*, *Socrates*, *Agapeus*, and *Thoas*, were at the head of affairs, and were professed friends to *Philip* of *Macedon*; *Euphrens*, who had formerly dwelt at *Athens*, began to treat these magistrates as traitors;



Philip in- THE preparations he made for the campaign were extraor-  
wades the dinary, his army larger than he was wont to make use of;  
cities of and the precautions he took for the safety of his dominions in  
Negro- his absence, by appointing his son *Alexander* regent, such as  
pont. shewed he had vast designs in his mind. At length, when the  
season of the year permitted, he marched with thirty thousand

Lays siege  
to Perin-  
thus.

men, and invested *Perinthus* \*. This city was one of the  
most considerable in *Propontis*, always firm to the *Athenians*,  
and consequently both dreadful and dangerous to *Philip*. The  
siege was hardly formed, before the king received advice,  
that his restless neighbours had taken arms, supposing that  
they could easily deal with the forces commanded by a child ;  
for *Alexander* was not above fifteen : but, before he had leisure  
to reflect on this danger, he was farther informed, that *Alex-  
ander* had marched against them with such secrecy and expe-  
dition, as to fall upon them before they were aware, and  
thereby struck them with such consternation, that, making  
a precipitate retreat, they covered themselves with shame,  
and crowned the youth they despised with laurels : *Philip*,  
however, sent for his son immediately to the camp, fearing  
that this success might make him adventurous, and that for-  
tune might not be always so favourable, as upon this occasion  
she had been. The *Perinthians*, however, made a gallant

\* DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. viii. DEMOSTHEN. pro  
Ctesiph.

tors ; he alleged, that they were  
entirely devoted to the *Macedo-  
nian*, and would betray the city  
into his hand ; *Philistides* and his  
colleagues immediately threw this  
man into prison ; the people, it  
seems, concurred with their ma-  
gistrates, and looked upon him  
as a disturber of the public peace.  
When the disorders in the rest  
of *Eubœa* had occasioned *Mace-  
donian* troops to be sent thither,  
the magistrates of *Oreus* owned  
them for their protectors, banished  
such as had confederated a-  
gainst them, and assumed the  
direction of public affairs to  
themselves, which had such an  
effect on the patriot they had

imprisoned, that he laid violent  
hands upon himself. *Philistides*  
and his colleagues are qualified  
by the *Athenian* orator with the  
name of tyrants ; and *Philip*,  
who was their protector, is made  
the tyrant of tyrants (26). This  
was the true style of *Athens*,  
where all power underived from,  
or unexercised for them, was  
held tyrannical. It is very pos-  
sible, the *Eubœans* might speak  
another language ; and without  
question the partisans of *Philip*  
protested loudly, that he inter-  
ested himself in the affairs of  
*Eubœa* in order to preserve the  
people from being oppressed by  
foreign states.

(26) *Demosthen. orat. Philip. iii.*

defence, their city being well fortified, as well as remarkably strong from its situation. *Philip* on his side pressed it closely, both by his battering engines, and by sap; he caused also moveable towers to be erected, and, bringing them near the walls, his soldiers from thence threw all sorts of missive weapons into the city <sup>1</sup>.

ATHENS, for whose sake *Perinthus* thus suffered, heard the complaints of her ambassadors, supported by the pathetic orations of *Demosthenes*, with compassion. Succours were immediately decreed, in spite of all the arts which the friends of *Philip* could make use of; however, *Chares* was made choice of to command them, and, if *Philip* had been to have appointed a general, he would probably have been the man. He was vain, luxurious, haughty, insolent, and unjust; was very indifferently skilled in military matters, yet so full of promises of what he would perform, that the promise of *Chares* became a proverb, to signify an undertaking which would never be fulfilled. This commander in chief set sail with a small squadron of galleys, a considerable body of land-forces, and an excellent band of music, which he chose with great care, and paid at an extravagant rate. His character was so well known, that the *Perinthians*, in as bad a state as they were, refused to admit him into their port, so that he was forced to return home without doing any thing more than plundering the allies, and thereby bringing disgrace on the Athenian name <sup>2</sup>.

As *Philip* was perfectly well acquainted with the state of Athens at that time, and knew that the engaging it in a war would in all probability revive that spirit of ambition, and that appetite of glory, which had in former times rendered it so powerful; he had recourse to those mighty talents which distinguished him in that age, and which may be said to have distinguished him from all kings. He wrote the Athenians a letter, which is still extant, and which it would be injurious to his memory to abridge, or to publish in any other than his own words. It was intended as a manifesto to the commons, the Athenians, and to his enemies, in Athens, and as a scheme of instruction to his friends; how well it answered both purposes, the reader will discern, and form from thence a just idea of a prince, who was his own secretary, as well as his own general, his own minister, and his own treasurer; not that he was opinionated of his own parts, but because he was a perfect judge of those of other men, as appears from a saying of his relating to these Athenians. He was told they elected annually ten

*Chares sent by the Athenians to the relief of the place. His character.*

*Philip writes a letter to the Athenians.*

<sup>1</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.  
DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> PLUTARCH. in vit. Phocion.

generals : *They are a happy people, said he, who every year can find ten generals, since I in my whole life have found but one, which was Parmenio* \*. But to the letter, thus it ran ;

*Philip to the senate and people of Athens, greeting ;*

“ AFTER applying to you often, though always in vain,  
 “ by my ambassadors, in order to engage your paying the  
 “ same regard to your oaths and treaties that I do to mine ;  
 “ I am determin’d to explain to you myself the mischiefs I  
 “ sustain by your persisting in a contrary conduct. Do not  
 “ be surpris’d at the length of my letter : to enter into a  
 “ detail of your infractions, and my patience, requires no  
 “ small room.

“ I BEGIN with *Nicias* my herald, taken out of my do-  
 “ minions. Instead of punishing such as were concern’d in  
 “ this fact, you were pleas’d to detain him in prison for no  
 “ less a time than ten months before you sent him back ;  
 “ neither did you make any difficulty of taking from him,  
 “ and reading in the public assemblies, the letters with which  
 “ he was intrusted by me. After this the ports of the isle  
 “ of *Thasus* were opened to the *Byzantine* gallies, or rather  
 “ to all sorts of corsairs, which you saw with the same in-  
 “ difference, as if this practice did not involve you in the  
 “ guilt of evident perjury. Then your general *Diopithes*  
 “ enter’d my territories in an hostile manner, carrying into  
 “ slavery the inhabitants of *Grolus* and *Tiristafas*, pillaging  
 “ and sacking all the villages in that part of *Thrace*. When  
 “ *Amphilobus* my ambassador went to treat for the ransom  
 “ of the prisoners, *Diopithes*, to crown his worthy exploits,  
 “ imprison’d him, and forced him, to rescue himself from ill  
 “ usage, to pay down nine talents ; and all this he did with  
 “ your participation and countenance. Ought the violating  
 “ the respect due to an herald at arms, or an ambassador, to  
 “ be borne rather from you than from other people ? What  
 “ think you of the business at *Megara* ? As soon as its in-  
 “ habitants had injur’d *Anthemocrites*, cloath’d by you with  
 “ a public character, you thought yourselves oblig’d to take  
 “ a public and proportionate revenge ; you excluded such as  
 “ were guilty from any commerce with you ; and you erected  
 “ a pyramid before your gates to perpetuate the memory of  
 “ your justice, and their crime. Well then ! an outrage  
 “ held so intolerable, when done to yourselves, doth it pass  
 “ for nothing when you yourselves do it ?

\* PLUTARCH. apophthegm.

" CALLIAS, one of your generals, made not the least  
 " scruple of reducing, under your obedience, all the towns  
 " seated on the *Pagasan* gulph, though they were expressly  
 " comprehended in our treaty under the name of my allies.  
 " This done, he attacked all the vessels bound to *Macedonia* ;  
 " passengers, merchants, all were held good prize, and sold  
 " for slaves. These piracies you have applauded and justified  
 " by your decrees ; for my part, I don't see what you could  
 " have done worse, if you had declared open war against  
 " me. Nay, heretofore, when the sword was drawn, you  
 " contented yourselves with carrying on hostilities in an  
 " open manner ; you made reprisals on my subjects ; you  
 " did all you could to injure their trade ; you supported my  
 " enemies, and endeavoured to make descents on my terri-  
 " tories ; but now, while we are at peace, you stop not at  
 " these things, your rancour and your injustice have pushed  
 " you on to stir up a barbarian to become my enemy ; and  
 " your embassadors have solicited the king of *Persia* to over-  
 " whelm *Macedonia*. What strange conduct is this ! to  
 " beseech that monarch to ally himself with you against me,  
 " without remembering, that, before he had subdued *Egypt*  
 " and *Phœnicia*, you resolved to invite me and the rest of the  
 " *Greeks* into a confederacy against him, as the common enemy.  
 " Very consistent ! The other day you were for going with me  
 " against him, now you desire him to go with you against me.  
 " Your ancestors, as I have been informed, objected it as an  
 " unpardonable crime to the children of *Pisistratus*, that they  
 " invited the great king into *Greece* ; yet the same thing is  
 " done by your modern politicians. \*You are not thus, it  
 " seems, ashamed to injure me by methods you condemned  
 " even in your tyrants, so that all things become lawful and  
 " laudable, as soon as it is discerned, that they will disgust *Philip*.  
 " You have given me a signal mark of this in your decrees,  
 " injoining me to put *Teres* and *Chersobleptes*, as citizens of  
 " *Athens*, into quiet possession of their estates. I shall not  
 " inquire whether they were comprised in our treaty of peace,  
 " whether their names are to be found in your list of citi-  
 " zens, or whether they are natives or descendants of *Athens* ;  
 " this I know very well, that I have seen *Teres* serving in  
 " my armies against you, and *Chersobleptes*, being on the very  
 " point of swearing to a treaty concluded with my embas-  
 " sadors, declined it, terrified by the menaces of your ge-  
 " neral, who threatened to proclaim him an enemy to your  
 " republic. What justice ! what equity ! what consistency  
 " is here ! when he was about to become my friend, you  
 " threatened to declare him your enemy ; after doing me all  
 " the mischief he could, now truly he is your citizen. You

“ who heretofore received and protected a murderer, while  
 “ yet red with the blood of *Sytacles* ! *Sytacles* king of *Thrace* !  
 “ *Sytacles*, whom you called your citizen ! yet in regard to  
 “ this title, you are now for taking *Chersobleptes* under your  
 “ protection, and for making war on me on his account ;  
 “ however, upon other occasions, you have more than once  
 “ regarded in another light these adopted citizens, your laws  
 “ and your decrees. But to cut short this dispute, you cannot  
 “ deny that you have seen dethroned, and ignominiously  
 “ banished, *Evagoras* of *Cyprus*, and *Dionysus* of *Syracuse*,  
 “ two kings, who, for themselves and their descendents,  
 “ were honoured with the high titles of citizens of *Athens*.  
 “ If your eloquence can be so effectually employed, as to  
 “ persuade those, who have driven these tyrants from their  
 “ thrones, to replace them again, you may be assured, that  
 “ you will find me no less tractable in resettling *Teres* and  
 “ *Chersobleptes* in all and several their dominions in *Thrace*.  
 “ If you look upon that to be a crime in me, with which  
 “ you will not so much as upbraid others, can you wonder  
 “ that I pay little regard to your censure ? I could say many  
 “ things more upon this head, but I choose rather to suppress  
 “ them.

“ WITH respect to other things, be it known to you,  
 “ that, if you attack the *Cardians*, they shall be succoured ;  
 “ I will and I ought to do it, not only in respect to the strict  
 “ alliance there has been between us, long before I concluded  
 “ the treaty with you, but on account also of your obstinacy  
 “ in refusing to submit the differences between you and them  
 “ to arbitration, as they and I have often desired you to do.  
 “ Would you not take me for the meanest creature in the  
 “ world, if, upon this occasion, I should desert my old and  
 “ constant friends, for the sake of people who thwart me in  
 “ every thing I do ? I can no longer be silent, your insolence  
 “ is come to a height not to be borne ; your late proceedings  
 “ are of such a cast, that moderation is no longer a virtue.  
 “ The *Peparethians* did but tell you they were oppressed by  
 “ me ; and, without further inquiry, you direct your generals  
 “ to avenge these islanders, whom I had chastised more  
 “ mildly than they deserved. These faithless people had in  
 “ full peace surprised *Halonneseus*, nor would they part either  
 “ with the island or the garrison, though I often solicited them  
 “ by my ambassadors. When I was thus insulted, you said  
 “ not a word ; but, when I came to do myself justice, what  
 “ a clamour have you set up ? You know very well, that  
 “ I took this *Halonneseus* neither from them nor you, but  
 “ from *Sofrates* the pirate. If you say that he held it under  
 “ your protection, you declare yourselves his accomplices :

“ if

“ if you disown him, and his robberies, why should you  
 “ think of depriving me of my just reward for clearing the  
 “ seas, and protecting trade? I believe I can guess the reason.  
 “ All things I do, offend you, kindnesses not excepted. I  
 “ offered you this *Halonnesus* merely out of the great respect  
 “ I had to your friendship; this did not please your dema-  
 “ gogues, they talked you into a refusal of my offer, and,  
 “ which was somewhat singular, they talked you into re-  
 “ claiming what they made you refuse to accept. Would  
 “ you know the reason? Come, I’ll tell it you: Either I  
 “ must have restored the island, which you know would have  
 “ been a full proof of my taking it unjustly; or I must have  
 “ refused to restore it, and thereby have opened a way to  
 “ those violent motions which they long to make in your  
 “ assemblies. Well, I penetrated all this, and, to be even  
 “ with them, offered to submit our disputes to arbitration,  
 “ resolving to make you a present of the island, if it were  
 “ adjudged to me, and to have yielded it up, if judgment  
 “ had gone against me. Many a time did I offer this, and  
 “ as often did you reject it. The *Peparethians* in the mean  
 “ time seized the island. Well, what was I to do then?  
 “ Was I bound not to punish those violators of their oaths?  
 “ Was I patiently to submit to injuries of such a nature,  
 “ offered in such a manner? Consider a little, if *Halonnesus*  
 “ belonged to these people, how came the *Athenians* to de-  
 “ mand it? If it belonged to you, why did not you attack  
 “ the usurpers? Things came at last to such a pass, that,  
 “ to secure the passage of *Macedonian* vessels from the pri-  
 “ vateers, fitted out from your colonies by order of *Poly-*  
 “ *crates*, authorized so to do by your decrees, I was con-  
 “ strained to come in person before the ports of these cor-  
 “ sairs, in order to keep them in awe. I had little reason to  
 “ act with all this caution, when that general at the same  
 “ time sent to the *Byzantines* to join with him, and declared  
 “ publicly, that, when occasion should offer, he would make  
 “ war upon me. All this did not engage me to act with a  
 “ violence proportioned to yours. I attempted nothing against  
 “ you; I seized not either your galleys, or your dominions,  
 “ though it was in my power to have taken a part, if not  
 “ the whole, of both; and all this time I continued to so-  
 “ licit you, that our differences might be put to arbitration.  
 “ Judge for yourselves, whether equity is best awarded by  
 “ reason or the sword, and whether it be fit that you or  
 “ I should be judges in our own causes: consider too with  
 “ yourselves, how unreasonable it will appear, that the *Athe-*  
 “ *nians*, who forced the *Thasians* and the *Maronites* to be  
 “ content with an arbitration made on their respective claims

“ to the city of *Stryma*, should refuse to submit to the deci-  
 “ sion of their own differences with me in the same way.  
 “ Your obstinacy must appear still more unreasonable, when  
 “ it is remembred, that the arbitration I offered would not  
 “ have left you exposed to the uncertainties which usually  
 “ attend such judgments. If it went against you, you were  
 “ to lose nothing ; a decree in your favour would have given  
 “ you my conquests.  
 “ To crown all your absurdities, you refuse to hear my em-  
 “ bassadors, who are impowered in the name of me, and  
 “ my allies, to assure you, that we are willing to compro-  
 “ mise, upon reasonable terms, whatever differences subsist  
 “ between us and other *Greeks*. Could you take any better  
 “ method than complying with this proposition ? At all  
 “ events, it must have been beneficial to you ; for I must  
 “ either have acted conformably to my offers, or not : in the  
 “ first case, you would have had the honour of protecting all  
 “ the *Greeks*, who, you say, have taken umbrage at my  
 “ power : in the second, you would have had the greatest  
 “ advantage over me ; my want of faith could not have been  
 “ concealed ; I must have passed for a traitor convict through-  
 “ out *Greece*. To say the truth, my propositions were per-  
 “ fectly suited to your people ; but, alas ! your demagogues  
 “ could not find their accounts in them. Those who are best  
 “ acquainted with your government say, that these sort of  
 “ people know no kind of war so cruel as a peace, and never  
 “ taste so much of peace as in the midst of war. When the  
 “ sword is drawn, every *Athenian* general is tied down to  
 “ compound with them ; and must either pay for their crying  
 “ him up, or for their not crying him down. Your dealers  
 “ in words carry it still farther : in order to have reputation,  
 “ a man’s character must be publicly given by them. This  
 “ is a general business ; nor is it of any great consequence  
 “ what country he is of, who desires to be commended ; the  
 “ noble citizen, the illustrious stranger, a whole string of  
 “ these sort of epithets are at their command ; and, once be-  
 “ stowed in the assembly, those who are honoured with them  
 “ become most excellent commonwealth’s-men in the opi-  
 “ nion of the vulgar. I could upon very reasonable terms  
 “ have silenced their invectives hereupon, or have converted  
 “ them into eulogies ; but I scorn to acquire your friendship  
 “ in so scandalous a manner. I should be ashamed to have  
 “ any thing to do with these mercenaries, who, because they  
 “ did not sell me *Amphipolis*, have the impudence to say, I  
 “ usurp it. I am positive, my title to that city is built on  
 “ reasons too strong for them, with all their eloquence, to  
 “ overthrow. For, if *Amphipolis* ought to belong to its most  
 “ antient

“antient possessors, how do I hold it unjustly? *Alexander*,  
 “one of my ancestors, held it first; witness the riches taken  
 “by him thence from the *Persians*, the first-fruits of which he  
 “consecrated in a statue of gold, set up in the temple at *Del-*  
 “*phi*. Well, if you don’t like this reason, shall *Amphipolis*  
 “belong to its last master? I am content; for by this title  
 “also it is mine: I took it from the *Lacedæmonians*, who,  
 “after they had driven you out, settled in it a colony of their  
 “own. As I take it, all cities are held either by a right of  
 “succession, or a right of conquest: now both these rights  
 “have I; you have not either the one or the other; and  
 “yet, because you held the city some time, you are pleased to  
 “set up a claim to it; though you have confessed my right  
 “in the most authentic manner in the world. For, in your  
 “answers to my letters on this subject, you have over and  
 “over acknowledged me for the lawful sovereign of *Amphi-*  
 “*polis*; besides, you have recognized me for its master by  
 “your last treaty of peace. Is it possible to have the pos-  
 “session of a place better guaranteed than I have this? My  
 “ancestors held it formerly; I have conquered it; you have  
 “acknowledged my right; you, who never parted with any  
 “thing, to which you had so much as the colour of a title.  
 “You see, then, the grounds of my complaints. Because  
 “you are, without contradiction, the aggressors, because I  
 “have spared no pains to prevent your having any reason for  
 “a rupture, you load me with reproaches, and make it your  
 “business to blacken me all you can. I take the gods to wit-  
 “ness to the goodness of my cause, and to the necessity I am  
 “under of doing myself that justice which you have refused  
 “me b (G).”

IN

Vide apud DEMOSTHEN. hanc literam, & refutat.

(G) Of *Evagoras* mentioned in this letter, we have spoken elsewhere (27), and likewise of *Dionysius* the younger (28); there is however a passage relating to him, which deserves to be mentioned here. It is said, that *Philip*, having an interview with this prince, could not help asking him, how in so short a

time he had lost the flourishing kingdom left him by his father? *Dionysius* answered frankly, *Because, Sir, my father did not leave me his fortune with his kingdom* (29). When the king of *Macedon* wrote in an high strain to the *Lacedæmonians* to leave the *Argives* and the *Messenians* free, he received this La-

(27) See above, p. 249.  
 var. *biß*, l. xlii. c. 60.

(28) *Ibid.* p. 39, & c.

(29) *Ælian*.



Measures  
taken by  
the Athe-  
nians.

IN all probability, this epistle had wrought its desired effect, if *Demosthenes*, the constant adversary of *Philip*, had not undertaken to open the people's eyes, and to convince them, that the king's design was only to suspend their judgments, and to hinder their taking any vigorous resolution, till he had subdued such places in the country where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehensions from that quarter<sup>c</sup>. It happened that, about this time, the news arrived at *Athens* of *Chares*'s being excluded the ports of the allies<sup>d</sup>; this occasioned great heats in the assembly, the partisans of *Philip* insisting warmly on the contempt shewn towards the republic, by first soliciting supplies, and then refusing to admit them. *Phocion* cleared up this; he told them in few words, that the allies had not insulted the people of *Athens*, by endeavouring to secure themselves from a rapacious *Athenian*; and that, if they would retrieve their reputation, they ought to send back their succours under the command of some man of honour<sup>e</sup>. According to the wonted flexibility of popular councils, this motion was approved, and *Phocion* himself named admiral, and captain general. In this flow of their good humour, the *Athenians* did every thing that could be expected from them; as, on the other hand, *Phocion* shewed himself a true patriot,

<sup>c</sup> DEMOST. ubi sup. <sup>d</sup> See vol. vi. p. 515. <sup>e</sup> PLUT. in vit. Phoc.

conic answer: *Dionysius* at *Corinth*; by which they intimated, that he was no less a tyrant than *Dionysius*, and no more out of fortune's power than *he* (29). The islands of *Peparethus*, *Halonnesus*, and *Sciathus*, lie in the *Ægean* sea, where they form a triangle. *Philip*, as he tells us in the letter, would have given up *Halonnesus* to the *Athenians* as a present: but *Demosthenes* engaged them to refuse it in that light, alleging, that their acceptance would be injurious to them as a republic (30). *Æschines* however told them plainly, that it was foolish to refuse an island, and dispute about words; that these sort of proceedings would do service to *Philip*, and afford him an opportunity of charging them with haughtiness

and insincerity as often as they upbraided him with breach of faith (31). The judicious reader will not be displeased at the extraordinary length of this letter, when he considers, that it is an accurate and authentic history of many curious events, and at the same time an artful apology written by the most potent prince, and most consummate politician of his time. Happy would it have been for posterity, if more such letters as these had been preserved; but time has swallowed them up, and we have only a few short epistles, which serve barely to demonstrate, that this is truly *Philip*'s, from the conformity of its stile; as it must be allowed worthy of him from the consideration of its matter.

(29) *Demet. Phaler. de eloc. c. 3. de fals. legat.*

(30) *Orat. adv. Ctesiph.*

(31) *Æschin.*

by accepting readily this command, when he found it in his power to execute it with honour to himself, and to the state; though, upon other occasions, he had opposed their declaring against *Philip*, when he judged those declarations would only serve to irritate him, and do themselves no good. Such were the enemies of *Philip* on this side. The *Persian* kings, as we have already frequently noted, were wont to regard the *Macedonian* princes, not only as their tributaries, but as their faithful allies. The fortune of *Philip*, the continual clamour of the *Athenians* against him, and his dethroning at his pleasure the petty princes of *Thrace*, concurred to make the *Persian* view him in another light. When therefore he led his troops against *Perinthus*, the great king, as he was stiled by the *Greeks*, sent his letters mandatory to the governors of the maritime provinces, directing them to supply the place with all things in their power; in consequence of which, they filled it with troops, granted subsidies in ready money, and sent besides great convoys of provision and ammunition. The *Byzantines* also, conceiving their own turn would be next, exerted their utmost force for the preservation of *Perinthus*, sending thither the flower of their youth, with all other necessaries for an obstinate defence \*. Thus *Philip* found all this part of the world either open enemies, or suspicious friends.

THESE difficulties, which would certainly have made a strong impression on a prince of less firmness, or more moderate abilities, served only to stimulate the ambition of the *Macedonian*. As soon therefore as he saw a small breach made in the wall, he proceeded to the attack, and stormed *Perinthus* with a vast effusion of blood on both sides. It is not likely, that, with all these advantages, the *Perinthians* would have been able to have sustained many such efforts, if the situation of the city had not proved of greater use to them, than either themselves or *Philip* foresaw: for, standing as it did, on the side of an hill, and their houses being built with great regularity, every street, with the help of a few works, was converted into a new wall, which, while the besiegers battered, they were exposed to all the shot of the besieged; which, as the houses rose gradually one above another, did prodigious execution. *Philip* seeing this, and being informed by his engineer named *Polindus*, that nothing but time could overcome these difficulties, instantly bethought himself of a method, whereby he hoped to indemnify his army for their long and great fatigue, though for the present he increased it; for, marching suddenly with a great corps of troops, he

Philip  
compelled  
to raise  
the sieges  
of Perin-  
thus and  
Byzan-  
tium.

Year of  
the flood  
2009.  
Def. Chr.

339.

Makes  
war on the  
Scythians,  
and de-  
feats the  
Triballi.

blocked up *Byzantium*, which, as it was in a manner exhausted by the succours sent to *Perinthus*, had well-nigh fallen into his hands immediately, and could never have endured a siege of a moderate length. But, while *Philip* dreamt of gaining two cities at a time, he was compelled to leave them both; for *Phocion*, arriving with his fleet, quite changed the face of affairs. The inhabitants of the *Chersonese* declared immediately for the *Athenians*, and *Philip*, seeing all hopes of succeeding taken away, raised both his sieges, and marched off with an army excessively harassed, and not a little dispirited<sup>f</sup>. *Phocion* made the best use of his absence, he retook such places as the *Macedonian* had garisoned, took many of his ships, and, by frequent descents, raised contributions throughout the maritime provinces of *Macedonia*<sup>g</sup>.

THIS reverse of fortune served only to aggrandize the character of *Philip*; he sent immediately to treat of a peace, and, that the reputation of his arms might not suffer from his late disappointment, he turned them instantly on a *Scythian* prince, who sought to take advantage of his misfortune; and, *Scythians*, having totally defeated his forces, made the *Macedonians* rich with their plunder. The *Triballi*, a fierce and barbarous nation, refused him passage through their country, unless he would share with them the spoil he had taken. *Philip*, considering rather the wound his reputation would have received by complying with such a proposition, than the worth of what they required, absolutely rejected their demand, and marched to give them battle. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and had well-nigh been fatal to the king; for, after receiving a wound in his thigh, his horse was killed under him, and himself trampled to the ground. This being perceived by the young *Alexander*, he flew immediately to his assistance, and, having covered his father's body with his shield, slew, or put to flight, such of the barbarians as were got about him. *Philip*, being remounted, gained a signal victory, and returned into *Macedon*, as he was wont, covered with laurels, and received with loud acclamations, though in himself he was much dissatisfied, and began to form new projects for depressing the *Athenians*, who, kept continually warm by the orations of *Demosthenes*, were far from being so ready, as they had formerly been, to clap up a peace<sup>h</sup>.

THE effects of the *Athenian* war became daily more and more insupportable to the subjects of *Philip*; for, as the *Macedonians* were never very powerful at sea, the *Athenians*

<sup>f</sup> PLUTARCH. in vit. Phocion. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup. & vol. vi. p. 515, & seq.

<sup>g</sup> DEMOSTH. pro Ctesiph. PLUT. ubi sup.

DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.

<sup>h</sup> JUSTIN. l. ix. c. 3.

now deprived them of all their trade, by keeping continually such squadrons on their coasts, that their vessels durst not stir out of port. If *Philip's* design had succeeded in *Thrace*, and on the *Hellepont*, he would have starved *Athens*, her provisions, as well as her revenues, being chiefly drawn from those countries; the *Athenians* were now even with them in the same wars with this unlucky circumstance, that the king knew not how to relieve himself<sup>1</sup>. Yet he did not despair; he formed, on the contrary, a project of invading *Attica*, tho' he had no fleet to transport his troops, and notwithstanding he knew well enough the *Thessalians* were not to be depended on, if he attempted to march through the *Pylæ*, and that the *Thebans* would even then be ready to oppose his march. To obviate all these difficulties, he had recourse to *Athens* itself, where, by means of his partisans, he procured *Æschines* his old friend to be sent their deputy to the *Amphictyons*; this seemed a small matter, and yet this was the hinge on which his whole project turned. By that time *Æschines* had taken his seat, a question was stirred in the council, whether the *Lecrians* of *Amphissa* had not been guilty of sacrilege in plowing the fields of *Cyrrha*, in the neighbourhood of the temple at *Delphi*. Sentiments being divided, *Æschines* proposed a view, which was accordingly decreed. But, when the *Amphictyons* came, in order to see how things stood, the *Lecrians*, either jealous of their property, or spurred thereto by the suggestions of some who saw farther than themselves, fell upon these venerable persons so rudely, that they compelled them to secure themselves by flight. The *Amphictyons*, considering this matter in council, decreed, that an army should be raised under the command of one of their own number to chastise the delinquents; but, as this army was to be composed of troops sent from all the states of *Greece*, the appearance at the rendezvous was so inconsiderable, that the *Amphictyon* sent to command them durst undertake nothing. The whole matter being reported to the council, *Æschines*, in a long and eloquent harangue, shewed how much the welfare and even the safety of *Greece* depended on the reverence paid to their decrees; and, after inveighing against the want of public spirit in such as had not sent their quotas at the time appointed by the council, he moved, that they should elect *Philip* for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. The deputies from the other states, conceiving that, by this expedient, their respective constituents would be freed from any farther trouble or expence, came into it at once; whereupon a decree was

*Philip succeeds in his project of entering Greece.*

Year of the flood 2010.  
Bef. Chr. 338.

<sup>1</sup> DEMOSTHEN. pro Ctesiph. PLUTARCH. in Phocion.

immediately drawn up, purporting that ambassadors should be sent to *Philip* of *Macedon* in the name of *Apollo*, and the *Amphictyons* once more to require his assistance, and to notify to him, that the states of *Greece* had unanimously chosen him their general, with full power to act as he thought fit against such as had opposed the authority of the *Amphictyons* <sup>k</sup>. Thus of a sudden, and before any body foresaw it, *Philip*, by this round-about method, acquired all that he sought; and, having an army ready in expectation of this event, he immediately marched to execute the commands of the *Amphictyons* in all appearance, but in truth to fulfil his own designs; for, having passed into *Greece* with his army, he meddled not with the *Locrians*, but seized immediately *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis* on the river *Cephisus* <sup>l</sup>. This amazed all *Greece*, nor was there any body who could pretend to say what step he would take next (H).

THE

<sup>k</sup> PLUTARCH. in Demosthen. & DEMOSTHEN. in orat. supra citat.

<sup>l</sup> DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. PLUT. in Phocion. & Demosthen.

(H) This was *Philip's* masterpiece; upon this occasion he shewed that he was able to overreach all the statesmen in *Greece*; for it is morally certain, that if any, of the *Grecian* states had suspected his design, they would never have consented to the decree which gave him a passage into the heart of their country. By seizing *Elatea* he provided himself the fittest place in the world for his head-quarter, since it awed *Boeotia*, and opened him a passage into *Attica*. It is true, the *Thebans* barred his passage, but that was what he could not foresee; for inasmuch as he had done them very considerable services, particularly in the *Phocian* war, he might have better reckoned upon them than upon any of the *Grecians*. These were not the only people who were not over-grateful to the king of

*Macedon*; the *Peloponnesians*, for whom he had done much, openly hissed his chariot at the *Olympic* games, offering him thereby the highest affront in the sight of all *Greece*. When it was reported at the court of *Philip*, there wanted not some to declare, that such insolence ought to be chastised; but *Philip*, who was practised in the art of swallowing injuries (32), answered very mildly, *If the Peloponnesians hiss us for doing good turns, what will they not say, if we should do them ill ones* (33)? This calmness of his had the desired effect. His enemies, while they indulged their tongues, never thought of acting to his prejudice: when therefore he seized *Elatea*, they stood amazed instead of running to arms; and, as if they had been fascinated by the charms of *Philip*, stood gazing on his army,

(32) *Longin. de sublim. c. 35.*

(33) *Plutarch. in apophthegm.*

THE *Athenians* were in the utmost confusion on the news *The Athenians* of *Philip's* march ; an extraordinary assembly was called, in which the people demanded advice of *Demosthenes* by name. That great orator, with much presence of mind, exhorted them to send ambassadors throughout all *Greece*, but especially to the *Thebans*, to engage them to rise at once, and oppose the *Macedonian* torrent before it bore down all. The people instantly assented, and *Demosthenes* went to *Thebes* at the head of the embassy <sup>m</sup>. *Philip* had sent to the same city *Pytho* as his ambassador ; he was a man of great abilities, by birth a *Byzantine*, by his merit a citizen of *Athens*, by choice the minister of *Philip* <sup>n</sup>. This orator easily overcame the colleagues of *Demosthenes* ; but *Demosthenes* himself who could overcome ? His speeches had such an effect on the *Thebans*, that, forgetting all the obligations they owed to *Philip*, they considered him no longer as their benefactor, but as one who sought to obtain the sovereignty of *Greece*. Fired therefore with resentment, they concurred unanimously with the *Athenians*, and concerted with *Demosthenes* the measures proper to be taken in so critical a conjuncture. *Philip*, on the other hand, did not sit still, he sent his ambassadors to *Athens* to treat of peace, and he is said to have engaged the priests at *Delphi* to prophesy nothing but destruction to those who should make war against him. *Demosthenes* defeated both designs, he engaged the *Athenians* not to listen in any degree to his propositions, and encouraged them also to pay no regard to the oracle, by telling them that *Pythia* philippized. An army was immediately raised, which marched with incredible diligence to *Eleusis*, where they were joined by the *Thebans*, who shewed a laudable zeal for the liberty of *Greece*. The confederates made the greatest appearance that had ever been seen in *Greece*, and the troops were without doubt exceedingly good, but, unfortunately, generals were wanting. *Chares*, that scandal to his country, and *Lysicles*, a man without conduct, commanded the *Athenians* ;

<sup>m</sup> DEMOSTHEN. pro Ctesiph. DIOD. SIC. ubi sup.      <sup>n</sup> DEMOSTHEN. orat. pro coron.

expecting where it would march next. This fight was doubtless as pleasing to *Philip* as his subsequent victory at *Cheronæa*, since it was the avowed maxim of this sagacious monarch, that an advantage gained by policy was more glorious than a conquest by arms, because in the glory of the latter his whole army had a right to share ; whereas in respect to the former, the same result therefrom belonged to himself alone (34).

the *Thebans* were without any general of note ; however, they prepared for a battle, which, all circumstances considered, could not but be decisive °.

And are  
defeated  
at Chero-  
nea.

PHILIP, when he found his arts defeated, and that all his negotiations could not hinder this extraordinary junction, resolved, as his last resource, to have recourse to an engagement. Thus determined, he advanced to *Cheronea*, in the neighbourhood of which city the confederates were encamped. The next day, by that time the sun was up, both armies were in array, and soon after a battle ensued, in which the confederates were totally overthrown, and the authority of *Philip* effectually established †. *Demosthenes*, who had been so instrumental in bringing the *Athenians* and *Thebans* into the field, was there in person ; but behaved very unbecomingly, as we have related elsewhere . However, on his return to *Athens*, he was well received, though *Lyficles* was put to death. As to *Philip*, in the first transport of his joy, he behaved very indecently ; he caused the decree of *Demosthenes* to be sung in his presence, spoke contemptibly of the powers of *Greece*, and insulted his prisoners, till *Demades* brought him to his senses † (I). It was the peculiar felicity of this prince,

° DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. THEOPOMP. apud Plut. in *Demosthen.*  
DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra. et vol. vi. p. 516. P DIOD. SICUL.  
ubi supra. OROS. lib. iii. et vol. vi. p. 517. † PLUTARCH.  
in vit. dec. orat. et vol. vi. ubi supra. † DIODOR. SICUL.  
ubi supra. See vol. vi. ubi supra.

(I) We need not wonder at *Philip's* intemperate joy on account of his victory. Heroes and kings are the greatest of men, but they are still men. *Demosthenes*, who alone preserved his courage, when *Thebes* and *Athens* were struck with terror, lost it when he came to engage those *Macedonians*, against whom he made it the business of his life to excite enemies, and raise armies. *Philip*, so wise in his designs, so cool in the execution of them, could not behold this success without transport. When the news of *Philip's* death reached *Athens*,

*Demosthenes* put on a garland, and appeared publicly in pomp, though his daughter was but just dead. He did that for the death of *Philip*, which *Philip* had done for the political death of *Athens* ; both were mad from the same motive, and both, if either, were excusable alike (35). It is, indeed alleged in favour of *Philip*, that he was overpowered with wine ; but methinks the joy of his victory might intoxicate him sufficiently. He had good sense enough to foresee that he should fight no more battles against *Greeks* ; that this victory

(35) *Plutarch. in vit. Demosthen. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

prince, that he would hear advice, and receive those things kindly, which, to monarchs of a weaker brain, would have founded like treason. He instantly ordered *Demades* to be released, esteemed him as his friend, and loaded him with benefits ever after. His conversation, *Diodorus* tells us, gave *Philip* so high a relish of the *Athenian* civility, that he dismissed all his prisoners, and, at their request, even returned them their baggage <sup>†</sup>. The reflection of *Polybius* on this act of clemency ought ever to accompany its recital, since it is no less honourable to its author, than the act itself was to *Philip*. *By this*, says that polite *Grecian*, *he gained a second victory more glorious than his former; for, whereas at Cheronæa he triumphed only over such Athenians as opposed him, he now vanquished the whole city* <sup>‡</sup>. He carried his moderation still farther; for he concluded a peace with *Athens* on their own terms, and, leaving a good garison in *Thebes*, did the rest of the *Bæotians* no manner of hurt.

THUS *Philip* of *Macedon*, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, effected what *Xerxes* with his millions attempted in vain. He obtained by one victory the sovereignty of *Greece*, though it cost the *Greeks* many to establish its liberty. He did not indeed disturb his countrymen with the rattling of their chains; but, when there was a necessity, he did not spare to shew them that he was, and would be, their master. The *Athenians* in the mean time acted as they were wont, that is, violently, and beyond all

<sup>†</sup> PLUT. in apophthegm. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. See vol. vi. ubi supra. <sup>‡</sup> POLYB. l. v.

would establish the pre-eminence of *Macedon*, and leave him at liberty to pursue those vast designs he had formed. But if all that has been said will not wipe off the stain of his intemperance on this occasion, his future conduct ought to obliterate it; he buried the *Athenians* who fell in the battle honourably, and on all occasions afterwards acknowledged them to be the bravest and politest people in *Greece*. Nay, he was wont to do justice to the merit of *Demosthenes*, at whom

when some of his courtiers were railing, *Let the man speak freely*, said *Philip*, *since he is not in our pay, though we would gladly give him a larger appointment than to any of our household* (36). At another time, speaking of the different kinds of eloquence, *Isocrates*, said he, *fences with a foil, but Demosthenes with a sword* (37). 'Tis plain, that if *Philip* had vices and follies, he had also many good qualities, and much good sense.

(36) *Lucian*, in laud. *Demosthen.*  
in *Demosthen.*

(37) *Dionys.* *Malicarn.* in *Isæo.* *Liban.*



bounds of reason. They cried up the virtue of *Demosthenes*, to the stars, they inveighed loudly against such as had any share in betraying *Greece*, they interred those who were slain at *Cheronæa* at the public expence. *Demosthenes* published their virtues in a funeral oration, and, if we may be allowed to express our sentiments in a metaphor, they shewed, by the solemnity of its interment, what a high value they set upon their liberty <sup>w</sup>. The rest of the *Greeks* did not either so readily perceive, or did not think it prudent so publicly to lament the change which this expedition had made in their affairs; instead of deploring their servitude, they rejoiced in the lenity of their sovereign, and seemed rather to regard the greatness of *Philip* as due to his merit, than acquired by his arts and arms.

*Philip chosen generalissimo of the Greeks, against the Persians.*

WE are now to behold the king of *Macedon* in a new light; hitherto we have seen him struggling with his neighbours, courting the *Athenians*, and practising as the times required with the other states of *Greece*. He was now lord of all, and the use he made of his power was to convoke a general assembly of the *Greeks*, wherein he was recognized generalissimo, and with full power appointed their leader against the *Persians*. Having by virtue of his authority settled a general peace amongst them, and appointed the quota which each of the states should furnish for the war, he dismissed them, and, returning into *Macedon*, began to make great preparations for this new expedition; an expedition which, beside the ancient hatred of the *Greeks* toward the barbarians, occasioned by the injuries received from them, he coloured with a new pretence relating particularly to himself, viz. the assistance given by the *Persian* to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* <sup>x</sup>.

*The motives which encouraged Philip to invade Asia.*

FROM the very time that *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, its inhabitants had projected a return of his visit, not in a piratical way, by making descents on his sea-coasts, for that they did immediately after they had driven him back into *Asia* <sup>y</sup>; but with a view of making an absolute conquest of his dominions, or at least so much of them as might suit them best; of this one of the *Spartan* kings had some thoughts, and actually gave ear to a plan laid before him for that purpose <sup>z</sup>. One of his successors, *Agésilas*, carried it still farther; and with an inconsiderable army gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, *Agésilas* did not openly profess a design of

<sup>w</sup> PLUTARCH. in *Demosthen.* DEMOSTHEN. pro Ctesiphonte.

<sup>x</sup> ALEXAND. ad Dar. ap. ARRIAN. l. ii. c. 14. <sup>y</sup> PLUT. in vit. Aristid. CORNEL. NEPOS, in vit. Paulan. THUCYD. lib. i.

DIOD. SIC. l. xi. <sup>z</sup> HERODOT. l. vi. c. 55.

conquering

conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no less may be gathered from his affecting to sacrifice in the same manner with *Agamemnon*, when he went upon his expedition <sup>a</sup>, and his reply to one who called the *Persian* emperor, as the *Greeks* were wont, *the great king*. *In what, said Agesilaus, is he greater than I, if he be not braver or better*. His sacrificing shewed, that he meant to emulate *Agamemnon*, who did not harass, but subvert *Troy*; and his apophthegm, that he desired to make himself equal to him who was called *the great king* <sup>b</sup>. *Jason of Thessaly* is thought to have been meditating the same thing when his thread of life was abruptly cut off through a domestic conspiracy <sup>c</sup>. *Philip* seemed to have entered upon this momentous conquest with more probable and auspicious hopes; he was by common consent elected general of *Greece*; and he had so effectually humbled the *Grecians*, that he had reason to expect they would obey him; he had besides a numerous, well-disciplined, and victorious army; and, which might be justly reckoned his peculiar felicity, able and faithful ministers, brave and experienced officers: at the head of the former stood *Antipater*, whose character might have taken up a page, if his master had not summed it up in a line; having risen later than usual one morning, he said, rubbing his eyes at his levee, *I have slept soundly to day, for I knew Antipater was waking* <sup>d</sup>. This was an eulogium worthy of the prince, and of his minister; yet *Alexander* described him better, when it was observed to him, that all his lieutenants, except *Antipater*, wore purple; *True*, said he, *but Antipater is all purple within* <sup>e</sup>. In short, he was a man of prodigious abilities, but made no display of them. And, as his master rightly painted him, was alike aspiring in his thoughts, and humble in his manners. *Parmenio* was of another cast; *Philip*, the best judge in *Greece*, had pronounced him *the only general he ever met with* <sup>f</sup>. *Parmenio* returned his master's compliment upon another occasion in a manner which shewed the penetration of a statesman, and the frankness of a soldier. The ambassadors of the *Grecian* states expressed some uneasiness, that *Philip* came not out earlier in the morning. *Be quiet, gentlemen, said Parmenio, for while you slept he was waking*. *Antipater* would have thought this, but only *Parmenio* would have said it, who as he conceived justly, is remarkably famous for speaking freely, which under *Philip* procured him the highest honours, under *Alexander* a violent death: such was the state of things in *Greece*, and in the

<sup>a</sup> Vol. vii. 99.

DOR. SICUL. l. xv.

DOR. SICUL. l. xvii.

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. in vit. Agesil. & in apophth.<sup>d</sup> PLUTARCH. apophthegm.<sup>f</sup> PLUT. apophthegm.<sup>c</sup> DIO-<sup>e</sup> DIO-

court of *Philip*, when he projected the conquest of *Asia* (K).

How great soever he appeared there, how happy soever he might be here; in his family, he was not only uneasy, but miser-

§ DION. SIC. I. xvi.

(K) We have in the text attempted to make some discovery of those motives which induced *Philip* to undertake the conquest of the *Persian* empire. It may not however be amiss to put the reader in mind, that the *Persians* by their foolish attempt to conquer *Greece* had first inspired the *Greeks* with a thirst of conquering them; and by their subsequent proceedings, cherished and kept up that desire, either through want of foresight, or from a fatal necessity. We do not mean by this any inevitable destiny, but such a necessity as is the constant attendant on imprudence and luxury. When governors, either through want of thought, or, which is often the case, from a wrong turn of thought, suffer those on whom they have the care, to sink into all the excesses of debauchery, they must not expect from these weak and effeminate men either generous thoughts, or gallant actions. When a people become slaves to their lusts, they are in the fairest train imaginable of becoming slaves to their neighbours. Politicians may, for a time, indeed ward off the blow; but how? why, by making use of mercenary troops. Thus the cowardly spendthrift pays a bully to fight his quarrels, and when he pays him no longer, is beaten by him himself. This was the fate of the *Persians*; they hired *Greek* troops, maintained them

in the exercise of their discipline, made them perfectly acquainted with their country and manners, suffered them to see and to consider those errors in their government, which made it in spite of its grandeur appear contemptible; and then these very *Greeks* on their return home were continually prompting their countrymen to go and pull down that empire whose weight scarce permitted it to stand. If the *Persian* emperors had always encouraged feuds in *Greece*, the *Greeks* could never have turned their arms upon them; for we see, that till one state subdued the rest, an expedition into *Asia* might be talked of, but could not be executed. Instead of this, the necessity we before mentioned compelled the *Persian* to compose the quarrels of the *Grecians*, that they might furnish him with troops. Peace enervated the *Greeks*, the facility of recruiting their mercenaries made the *Persians* neglect all martial discipline. In the mean time *Philip*, blessed with an excellent education, exercised with early troubles, indued with invincible fortitude, and full of as restless ambition, raised the nation he governed from an indigent and dependent state to be first the terror of its neighbours, then the mistress of *Greece*, last of all a match for *Persia*. On this foundation stands the fame of *Philip*; these were the causes of his being

miserable. His wife *Olympias* was the daughter of *Neoptole- Diffenſion\**  
*mus*, brother of *Arymbas*, king of *Epirus*, whom *Philip* raised in *Philip<sup>v</sup>*  
 to a participation in the kingdom: his son *Alexander* by the family.  
 favour of the same monarch was raised to the sole possession Year of  
 of the throne, to the prejudice of *Æacidas* the son of *Arymbas*; the flood  
 all which testifies how great a share *Olympias* once had in the 2088.  
 affection of her husband. She was a woman of an high spirit, Bef. Chr.  
 great abilities, fine address, much cunning, and has been 360.  
 greatly wronged, if she had not more intrigues than that with  
*Jupiter*, to which *Alexander* sought to ascribe his birth &.  
 The reader must remember, that, in *Philip's* letter to the *Athe-  
 nians*, he speaks with great heat of their seizing his herald,  
 taking from him his letters, and reading them in a public as-  
 sembly; in which if they shewed their disrespect to *Philip*,  
 they manifested at the same time a high regard to *Olympias*,  
 to whom they sent a packet of letters taken at the same  
 time, without presuming to open them<sup>h</sup>. It might have  
 been difficult, even in those days, to have accounted for  
 the occasion of the misunderstanding between *Philip* and  
*Olympias*: and cannot therefore now be expected from us:  
 but whatever was the cause, the king was so extremely of-*Repu-  
 diates*  
 fended with her, that he proceeded to a repudiation, and  
 married *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus*<sup>i</sup>. This conduct of his, *Olympias*.  
 added to some other slights, either real, or apprehended to be so,  
 inspired *Alexander* with a warm dislike of his father; and, as  
 young princes have seldom prudence enough to conceal their  
 sentiments, he gave evident tokens of it; insomuch that the  
 whole court knew and observed it. An accident happened,  
 which put all things into a flame. At the nuptial feast, *At-  
 talus*, the young queen's uncle, was so unpolite, as to tell the  
 king, in the hearing of his son, that his *Macedonians* hoped  
 he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. *Alexan-  
 der*, in the heat of his resentment, cried out, *What then,  
 rascal, do you take me for a bastard?* And, while he spoke,  
 threw a flagon at his head. *Attalus* returned the compliment  
 in the same way; and the king, extremely provoked at this *Quarrels  
 with his*  
 disturbance, drew his sword, and, forgetting that he was a son *Alex-  
 cripple*, hastily made towards his son; but in his passage fell ander.

<sup>g</sup> JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 6.<sup>h</sup> PLUTARCH. in vit. Demet.<sup>i</sup> DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. ARRIAN. in præfat. expedit. Alex.

ing in a condition to pass into resist, which afterwards appeared  
*Asia*; and these the sources of in the *Persian* administration  
 that weakness and inability to (37).

(37) *Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. in expedit. Alex. Remarques de M. Tour-  
 reil sur les Philippiques.*

Who re-  
moves into  
Epirus.

down, which gave the courtiers time to get between them. *Alexander* rising up, and forgetting that he, to whom he spake was both his father and his prince, had the assurance to say, on quitting the room, *The Macedonians are likely to conquer Asia, when led out of Europe by a prince who cannot go from one table to another without hazarding his neck.* He rightly conjectured, that it would not, after this, be proper for him to remain in *Macedon*, where his father *Philip* was both revered and beloved; he therefore retired with his mother into *Epirus* (L).

PLUTARCH. in vit. Alex. ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 6.

(L) *Philip's* greatest fault was his love of feasting and flattery. If we may believe a certain author, he made one of his flatterers, whose name was *Thrasidæus*, king in *Theffaly*, merely because he had an happy way of making his compliments. *Neoptolemus*, the *Athenian* poet, was at once his favourite, and the chief manager of his affairs in that city. At this time of day a poet would be thought a very indifferent agent in politics; but it was quite otherwise at *Athens*. That writer knew how to manage the people so well, that he gave umbrage to *Demosthenes*, who failed not to raise a spirit of persecution against him, which constrained the poet to retire to *Macedon*, where he was well received by *Philip*, and became the darling of the whole court (38). When his affairs required it, the king was patient, abstemious, and attentive to every thing; when they allowed of relaxation, he made great entertainments, drank hard, and talked very freely with his friends. It would have been well, if nothing worse

than freedom had mingled in his feasts; but, it is said, they were polluted with every kind of vice, and all the various debaucheries, which the most sensual wits could devise (39); yet it must be allowed, that, in his graver moments, *Philip* saw the folly of this, and reflected severely enough on the inequality of his own conduct. He would often say, *That he was obliged to Messieurs the speech makers of Athens for pointing out his faults, and thereby giving him an opportunity to amend them* (40). Indeed he always heard reproofs, not only with patience, but with pleasure; and shewed, upon every occasion, a strong inclination to reward such as put him upon doing right. Once at a public sale of captives, a poor man, approaching the tribunal, whispered in his ear, *Sir, it would be more decent if you let your robe fall lower. Here, cried Philip, let me this man at liberty; I did not know he was my friend* (41). The regard we owe to truth obliges to record these things.

(38) *Orat. pro pac. Joseph. antiq. l. xi. c. 7.*  
*de ant. deprecibus l. vi.* (40) *Plut. in apoph.*

(39) *The pomp. apud*  
 (41) *Plut. ubi sup.*

A LITTLE after these disturbances at court, *Damaratus Philip* re- the *Corinthian*, who had been *Philip's* host, and who lived *call: his* with him, not only in the strictest friendship, but with the *son.* greatest familiarity, came to make him a visit. When the first compliments were over, *Philip* asked him, If all things were quiet in *Greece*. *You have reason, Sir,* returned he, *to trouble yourself about the peace of Greece; you, who have filled your own family with noise and dissension* <sup>1</sup>. The king, who, though he liked flattery, loved truth, received this reproof as kindly as it was meant, immediately made up the breach between himself and his son, and recalled *Alexander* to court. It is not clear whether the king of *Epirus* engaged heartily in his sister's quarrel or not. In all probability he temporized with *Philip*, who, in a short time after, gave him his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, with an intent, it is likely, to preserve all things in quiet during his absence. It is now time to return to public affairs.

As *Philip* piqued himself on hearing the character of a *Prepares* religious prince, he sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Del-* for the *phi* as to the success of the *Persian* war. *Pythia* returned for *war in Persia.* answer a single line in verse, in *English* thus;

*The ox's destin'd head now wreaths thyral,  
To slaughter doom'd, and quickly shall he fall.*

The king, when he received this response, immediately conjectured, that it portended his leading the *Persian* king as a victim to be offered to the *Grecian* gods <sup>m</sup>. But, when the event shewed that he was mistaken, others held that to be clearly pointed out, which had been utterly unsuspected before (M). *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, who with an excellent corps

<sup>1</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.

<sup>m</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

(M) There is no subject that hath been oftener treated, and remains yet less clear, than this of oracles, and their responses. Some, struck with particular instances of the correspondence between their answers and the events which followed them, have been led to confess, that there were in them undeniable marks of supernatural assistance (42).

Others, fixing their eyes on the many instances of doubtful, and even false, responses which are recorded in history, have attributed the whole to priestcraft, and have excluded the devil's having any further share in the answers of the oracles, than he may claim as the patron of fraud, and the father of lyes (43). We do not pretend to unravel, in a

(42) *Delrio, More, Beauchamp, &c.*  
*note, &c.*

(43) *Van Dale, Fontenelle, &c.*

corps of troops were detached to begin the war, had orders given them to set the *Grecian* cities at liberty ; for, how much soever *Philip* might be esteemed a tyrant at *Athens*, he affected to pass for a lover of liberty at home, requiring that as a just respect from others, which the *Athenians* called a slavish submission (N). Amongst the rest of his cares, that of making

note, a hint twisted by so many volumes ; on the contrary, we shall confine ourselves to the response mentioned in the text, and shall propose to the learned some difficulties which have occurred to us, and which, we cannot think, can be resolved by either of these opinions. *Philip* had been, in a particular manner, the protector of the temple at *Delphi* : if, therefore, any demon delighted in the worship offered to him there, why did he not give this royal friend of his a surer caution ? Or, if the oracle was a mere engine of priestcraft, and, as *Demosthenes* alleged, had by this time learned to *philippize*, how came it to give such a response, as particularly enough pointed out not only *Philip's* sudden death, but the very manner of it ? It should seem, that a vorie might easily have been contrived to have spoken the future success of *Philip*, without wearing that cloudy aspect, which was evident in the verse delivered. We shall enter no farther into this matter here ; but, when we come to speak expressly of the methods in use among the *Greeks* for penetrating into the mysteries of providence, we shall shew, that chance was chiefly relied on in these cases ; and that the clearness in some instances, the doubtfulness in others, and the falshood in many, resulted intirely from hence, and from nothing else.

(N) Without question the *Greek* cities, whose inhabitants had so readily libelled him, when *Phocion* forced him to raise the sieges of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*, were now as ready to load him with panegyrics, since they were intirely at his mercy, the *Athenians* having it neither in their power nor will, to afford them now any kind of assistance ; on the contrary, *Athens* herself at this time sought to soothe the victor, and began, with the rest of *Greece*, to *philippize*, as *Demosthenes* emphatically called it. Indeed *Philip* had been very kind to them, giving up the places they so much desired in *Euboea*, and removing, as far as was consistent with his own safety, whatever might be grievous to them, or afford them apprehensions. They seemed also to be highly pleased with the expedition he was about to take, and sent their deputies to compliment him upon that occasion. The rest of the *Grecian* states did the same thing ; so that *Philip* had now need of a second monitor. He had already appointed one of his pages to salute him every morning with this sober compliment, *Philip, remember thou art a mortal* ; a caution, which, as we shall see, he forgot long before night, being in himself, as we have already observed, much addicted to pleasure ; tho', when it was necessary, no one was more indefatigable in business.

his family easy, gave him a good deal of concern. He had *Strives to* not only a young wife, whom he had lately married, but *make his* several concubines also, by whom he had children. *Alexander's family* was very jealous of these, and *Philip* no less uneasy at his *easy* jealousy; he sought however to sooth him; and, when the prince would sometimes break out into harsh expressions, *Philip* would say, *Be patient, my son; and let my having other children engage you to act in such a manner, as that the preference I give you may appear the effect of your own merit, rather than of my choice* (N). To quiet also the relations and friends of *Olympias*, the king of *Macedon* thought it necessary to celebrate, in a public and splendid manner, the marriage

(N) It may be justly said, that *Philip* was a better father than *Alexander* proved a son. As soon as the young man was capable of instruction in the sciences, *Philip* put him under the care of *Aristotle*, from whom, such was that monarch's modesty, he was contented to receive lessons in government himself. The king formed the design of educating his son thus on his very birth. Here is his letter to *Aristotle* on the occasion, alike concise and inimitable: "You are to know  
" I have a son; I thank the  
" gods for it; not so much for  
" that they have given me one,  
" as that he is born cotemporary  
" with *Aristotle*. I promise my-  
" self, from your care, he will  
" become worthy of succeeding  
" us, and of ruling *Macedon*  
" (44)." We have given some instances of his care of that young prince's person, of his concern for his reputation at the battle of *Cheronæa*, and of his desire to infuse into him noble and heroic principles. To these let us add, that though *Philip*, as a politician, had a great opinion of the force of gold; and was wont to say, that no city was impregnable,

through the gates of which an ass laden with that metal could pass; though he was addicted to the retaining pensioners in every state, and also lavish of his money to domestic flatterers; yet he checked this humour, as soon as he perceived it in his son. He wrote him a letter on the subject, full of excellent philosophy: "How came you, young man,  
" said he, to reason so wretchedly with yourself, as to fancy those will serve you faithfully, whom daily you corrupt with money? Do you this, that the *Macedonians* may hereafter take you not for their king, but for their steward or paymaster? If you discharge these offices well, you must make but a pitiful prince. They are spoiled who take gifts, by being taught thereby an habit of taking (45)." Thus, as a father, he endeavoured to eradicate those vices, which he practised and boasted of as a prince. Perhaps he thought them lawful, or at least more excusable, when done from political motives, than when springing from an idle inclination of wasting and throwing away.

(44) *Aul. Gel. l. ix. c.*(45) *Cicero de offic. l. ii.*



*Is flattered  
by the  
states of  
Greece.*

between her brother *Alexander* and his daughter *Cleopatra*. He accordingly appointed *Ægæ* for the place where this solemnity should be performed, and also signified, that there, for the last time, he would regale the *Greek* ambassadors, before he marched into *Asia*. The concourse on this occasion was prodigious, not only the *Macedonians*, but all the *Grecian* state, striving to outvie each other in expressions of zeal and friendship towards *Philip*, and his government. Amongst the rest the *Athenians*, always ingenious in flattery, sent him a gold crown, which when presented by their minister, he also declared, that if any plotter of treason against *Philip*, should, for the future, endeavour to shelter himself in *Athens*, he should immediately be delivered up. The king was mightily pleased with this, and no less delighted with a dramatic entertainment composed by *Neoptolemus* the *Athenian*, a famous tragic poet, and highly in *Philip's* favour. The title of this piece was *Ginyras*; and it was intended to represent the king as having already triumphed over the *Persian*, and made himself lord of *Asia* (O). The correspondence between the response of the oracle, and this prediction of the poet, gave *Philip* an unusual confidence, and spread an air of joy and satisfaction through the greatest part of his court. Some, it is said, there were, who suffered themselves to doubt of these omens; they thought the answer of the oracle equivocal; they held the compliment of the *Athenian* ambassador portentive of some secret conspiracy; they conceived those lines, which so greatly moved the king, descriptive not so much of the *Persian* state, as of his own. Whether these conjectures were made before the king's death is a little uncertain; if they were, certain it is, that they were well grounded; for a plot there was against the king's life, a plot as dark in its

(O) The following lines, representing the pride of those ancient enemies of Greece, particularly affected *Philip*, inasmuch that he caused them to be more than once repeated:

*Your tow'ring hopes above heav'n's concave stray,  
O'er all the globe of earth you seek to sway;  
Palace to palace join, and, mudly vain,  
Think that no bounds should life or lands restrain.  
Alas! that lot, which ye would far remove,  
With hasty step, your constancy shall prove.  
Secure in thought, a stroke doth now impend,  
Which to extended views shall give an end;  
Sudden and sure it falls, nor shall your pow'r defend.* } (9).

(9) *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*

circumstances as in its nature. Posterity is indebted to *Diodorus* for the fullest account of it; and from him therefore we shall take it.

THERE were in the court of *Macedon* two young men of *Pausanias* quality of the same name, viz *Pausanias* (P). One of these was *conspires* in great favour with the king, who treated him with such *against* indulgence and familiarity, that it began to be suspected, that the *him* king's inclination for him transgressed both the bounds of reason and of nature. This had reached the ear of the other *Pausanias*, who, having frequent quarrels with the favourite, was wont, by way of reproach, to call him *either* *sex*. The lad, stung with this reflection, addressed himself to *Attalus* one of the king's friends, and whose niece *Cleopatra* he afterwards married, shewing him how he had been insulted, and wishing for some opportunity to wipe off the stain. Some time after this, in a general engagement against the *Illyrians*, this *Pausanias* fighting near the king, and perceiving that the enemy directed against him a shower of arrows, threw him-

(P) We have different accounts of the manner in which *Pausanias* was injured. Some say, that *Attalus* himself abused him at a feast, and afterwards prostituted him to the rest of the guests (46). However it was, *Attalus* without question was much to blame, and so also was *Philip*, in not doing justice upon the complaint of *Pausanias*. On another occasion he shewed himself remiss in the same way, and was recalled to his duty by the quick answer of a poor woman. She had offered him a petition several times, and as often had been told, that he had not leisure to hear her. At last, stung with this ill usage, she could not forbear replying, *If you have not leisure to do justice, be no longer a king*. The propriety of this reproof was at that time so visible to *Philip*, that he immediately heard her complaint, and redressed it. Happy had it been for this monarch, if the good

woman's logic had made a deeper impression on his heart. Certain it is, that a politician could not have made a nicer distinction than this, *that a denial of justice is an abdication of magistracy*. At other times *Philip* was more strict, and would not sacrifice his duty to his passions. His courtiers once pressed him vehemently to interpose in favour of a man who was on the point of being condemned; and they gave this reason for it, *Because, if judgment went against him, all the world would decry him*. Very well, said *Philip*: *I had rather the world should decry him than me* (47). *Attalus*, it seems, had a better interest than this man; but his interest cost *Philip* dear. His death, however, ought to be a lesson to princes, and teach them, that injustice begets injustice; which therefore they should be afraid to commit, because it is the only means by which themselves can suffer.

(46) *Plut. in apophthegm.*(47) *Plut. ubi supra.*

*What first  
put him  
upon this  
design.*

self before his master, and received them into his own body, falling immediately afterwards dead upon the spot. The extraordinary courage of the youth, his fidelity, and the manner of his death, made him much spoken of. *Attalus* thought fit to inform the king of the cause from whence the young man grew desperate; he also took it into his head to revenge him upon the other *Pausanias*; which he did in a manner alike cruel and detestable. He invited him to an entertainment, and, having taken care to drink him down, he exposed him, when void of sense, to the lust of his grooms, who abused him according to their basely appetites. *Pausanias*, who was an *Orestian* by birth, and had all the haughtiness natural to his countrymen, frequently applied himself to the king, passionately demanding justice against *Attalus*. That monarch, always partial to his friends, and especially to the uncle of his young wife, put him off with good words; and, in order to make him forget his disgrace, made him captain of his guards. Herein he greatly mistook the temper of *Pausanias*, who was not to be wrought upon by such methods. Instead of growing easier, he became more impatient; and, from hating *Attalus*, began more grievously to hate the king.

*Resolves  
to kill the  
king.*

It happened, while he was in this sullen disposition, that, conversing one day with *Hermocrates* the sophist, he put to him this question, *What must he do who would be famous?* He must, replied *Hermocrates*, kill him who has done the greatest things; for, when the fame of him whom he slew shall make him often remembered, that remembrance will of course lead to the mention of him who put him. *Pausanias*, after meditating some time longer on his own wrongs, and the sophist's advice, came at last to a resolution of killing the king, in hopes thereby of restoring that reputation which *Attalus* had taken away from him: a strange resolution this! and a strong testimony of the weakness of human reason both in the sage, and in his disciple! A bad resolution is always easier executed than amended. *Pausanias*, having directed horses to be placed for him at the gates of the city, contrived within himself how to dispatch *Philip*, and afterwards how to preserve himself. These things busied his mind, while the king was taken up with the solemnities, of which we have before given an account. We come now to the accomplishment of *Pausanias's* plot, and the last scene of the king's life <sup>n</sup>.

THE next day after the public audience of the ambassadors of Greece, *Philip* went in state to the theatre, where certain

<sup>n</sup> Dion. Sic. ubi supra.

shews were to be exhibited in honour of his daughter's marriage. All the seats were early taken up, and the shews began with a splendid procession, wherein the images of the twelve superior deities of Greece were carried, as also the image of *Philip*, habited in like manner, as if he now made up the thirteenth. At this the people, who, as their humour takes them, readily make a man either a god or a devil, shouted aloud. Then came *Philip* alone, in a white robe, crowned, his guards at a considerable distance, that the *Greeks* might see he placed his safety not in them, but in the loyalty of the people. *Pausanias* had fixed himself by the door of the theatre, and, observing that all things fell out as he had foreseen they would, took his opportunity, when the king drew near him, to draw his sword from under his garment, and, plunging it into his left side, laid him dead at his feet. He then fled, as fast as his feet could carry him, to the place where his horses were; and had escaped, if the twig of a vine had not caught his shoe, and thrown him down. This gave *Atalus*, *Perdiccas*, and *Leonatus*, who pursued him, time to come up with him. *Perdiccas* threw himself on the assassin first, and wounded him with his sword; and then the rest quickly put an end to his life<sup>o</sup>. Thus fell this great prince by the hand of his own subject (not without strong suspicions, that *Olympias* and *Alexander* were not altogether ignorant of his death) being about forty-seven years of age, and having reigned twenty-four (P).

Philip murdered.  
Year of the flood  
2012.  
Bef. Chr.  
336.

W E

<sup>o</sup> ARIST. polit. l. v. c. 10. DION. SIC. l. xvi. ZONAR. anal. tom. x. JOSEPH. l. xi. c. 7. JUSTIN. l. ix. OROS. l. iiii.

(P) The deaths of kings, especially when violent, are usually attended with mysterious circumstances. From the account given above, it seems as if *Pausanias* had, out of a mad pique, murdered his sovereign, without consulting any but his passions, and, indirectly, the sophist *Hermocrates*; yet, as we have hinted above, suspicions have not been wanting, that, though the arm of *Pausanias* dispatched *Philip*, yet it received its direction from other minds than his own. If this had been only a flying rumour, or the suggestion of a single or suspicious historian, it would not

have deserved a place here; but the fact is otherwise, and we shall shew from indubitable authorities, that *Philip* lost his life by a conspiracy, and not merely from the revenge of *Pausanias*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* (who was judged to be in truth the son of *Philip*), who was the bosom-confidant of *Alexander*, and afterwards king of *Egypt*, wrote the history of *Alexander's* reign. From this history *Arrian* chiefly took his; and in his history we have a letter from *Alexander* to *Darius*, wherein the former, setting forth the causes of the war, hath these remarkable words:

His character.

WE ought now, according to the established method of historians, to enter into the character of this monarch, whose actions and whose death we have recorded; but we have already taken so many opportunities of illustrating the same, in the recital of events during his reign, that we have little to add here, and shall content ourselves with a faint

words; *My father was slain by traitors, whom you had hired for that purpose, as you have publicly boasted in your letters* (48). The fact is now clearly established, that a conspiracy there was, which wrought the death of *Philip*. We can also name some of the conspirators, viz. the sons of *Æropus* the *Lyncæsthean*, *Alexander*, *Amyntas*, *Heromenes*, and *Arrabæus* (49). Of these *Amyntas* fled to *Darius*, and actually fought against *Alexander* at the battle of *Issus*. As to the suspicion which fell on *Alexander*, it seems to have taken rise from two causes; the first, his embroiling himself with his father on account of his mother *Olympias*, which we have before mentioned. This quarrel it seems, went so far, that several persons of distinction, who were deep in *Alexander's* interest, were forced to quit *Macedon*, and durst not return till after the death of *Philip*; particularly *Harpalus*, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, *Nearchus*, and *Erigyus* and *Laomedon* brothers (50); all of whom were in high favour with *Alexander* afterwards. The second cause of suspicion resulted from *Alexander's* behaviour after his father's death; for, notwithstanding *Amyntas* the son of *Æropus* fled into *Asia*, and it was

known, that himself and his brethren were in the conspiracy against the king, yet he not only pardoned *Alexander* one of the brothers, on the slight pretence that he was the first who saluted him king, but made him afterwards general of his horse, which had well-nigh proved fatal to him; for, as we shall see hereafter, *Alexander* conspired against him too; and sought to deprive him at once both of life and kingdom. There is one circumstance more that deserves mention on this subject; and it is this. *Alexander*, when he visited the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, inquired of the oracle, If all his father's murderers had been punished (51). To which the oracle answered in the affirmative; but, as every-body knows there was no credit to what passed at this interview, this question recoils upon him who put it; the rather, because, if the oracle really made that answer, it was certainly false, *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*, who was a confederate in that business, being at that time alive. There is this, however, to be said for the oracle, that *Alexander* alone consulted it, and, in justification of his own character, might report what answers he pleased (52).

(48) *Arrian*, l. ii. c. 14.

(51) *Idem* *ibid.*  
*Alexand.*

(49) *Ibid.*, l. i. c. 25.

(52) *Arrian*, l. iii. c. 3. *Curt.* l. iv. *Plut.* in *vit.*

portrait of this glorious prince, of whom it may be reckoned his peculiar felicity, that he has been always most admired by the most knowing. *Philip of Macedon* then was in the cabinet by very much the most sagacious prince of his time. He had a perfect idea of the state of his own country, the condition of *Greece*, and the weakness of the *Persian* empire. He was secret, without affecting reserve; eloquent, without either being ready to speak, or vain of speaking; obliging in his deportment as a king, and yet never departing from the king in any act of complaisance. In the field he was all things; to wit, a complete general, an expert engineer, an indefatigable foldier. He studied war as an art, and acted as coolly in an engagement, as if he had been only attending to a praxis on the lessons he had given his foldiers. His discipline was strict, but not severe; for he chose to convince those who served under him, by reason, rather than by severity, of the necessity of order; and that he exacted it, not more for his own service than for their safety. He was not so much the commander in the camp, as the father of those who were in it, the meanest of whom he treated, upon all occasions, with the endearing titles of comrade and fellow-foldier. If a private man distinguished himself, *Philip* personally praised and rewarded him; when he grew old, and infirm, he provided for him; if he fell in the field, he was interred with honour, and his family taken care of. In private life there was no man more affable, chearful, or kinder to his friends, than *Philip*. He was himself learned, and a great patron and lover of learning. He esteemed wit in an enemy, and rewarded it amply in those who professed their respect for him. With these shining qualities he had some very dark ones. His ambition had no bounds; his treaties always gave way to his interest. He was the most finished dissembler of his time. He treated such as opposed his designs with great severity, when they fell into his hands. He was greatly addicted to women; and yet was suspected of a lust too foul to name. He drank immoderately, took delight in flattery, was surrounded with pimps, panders, buffoons, pantomimes, &c. To sum up all, he was a great man, but had great vices (Q).

BEFORE

(Q) Throughout the whole of this life and reign of *Philip*, we have followed no direct guide, though such an one we might have had in those fragments of *Theopompus*, which have been preferred by such authors as were happy enough to have perused

his accurate work: for this historian wrote no less than fifty books on this subject; all of which have been swallowed up by time. It may seem strange, that *Plutarch*, who was so industrious in preserving the stories, and vindicating the characters,

His progeny.

BEFORE we conclude this chapter, it will be necessary to speak of the offspring of *Philip*. By *Olympias* he had *Alexander* his successor, and *Cleopatra*, who married her uncle *Alexander* king of *Epirus*. By an *Illyrian*, whose name was *Audaca*, he had a daughter named *Cyna*, who was married to *Amyntas* the lawful heir of the *Macedonian* crown, being the son of *Perdiccas* *Philip's* elder brother. By *Nicasipolis*, a

casters, of the *Grecian* heroes, should altogether neglect *Philip's*; but, for this, an excellent *French* critic has thus accounted: "I doubt whether *Alexander* can be compared to *Cæsar*, notwithstanding that comparison has been generally received, or universally maintained. Neither the unanimous agreement of the antients and moderns upon this subject, nor my unwillingness to be singular in an opinion, can hinder me from thinking, that this comparison is built upon a wrong principle. I believe there will appear a greater resemblance between *Philip* and *Cæsar*, at least if we ground it upon their manners and characters, rather than their successes. *Philip*, perhaps, had no place in the lives of *Plutarch*, because that historian, prepossessioned in favour of his own nation, wanted the conqueror of *Asia* to oppose to him of *Rome*; and foresaw very well, that, in the eyes of the multitude, the most illustrious of the *Romans*, master of an empire that laboured under its own weight, would be too great a match for a *Macedonian*, who acted in a narrow sphere, and whose conquests had no other theatre than the adjacent parts of a petty kingdom. At first glance, in-

deed, there seems a resemblance in every thing between *Cæsar* and *Alexander*; the extent of their conquests, their valour, activity, vigilance, and that sublimity of soul, which made them sensible, that they deserved to command the rest of mankind, together with an imperious passion, that would let them endure no superior, but made them look on the world as their inheritance. But, when we come to examine them at leisure, trace them from their cradles, study their inclinations, observe their proceedings and their progresses, we shall find this resemblance to diminish, or fall to nothing (52)." However, *Plutarch*, in other treatises, *Dionysius Siculus*, in his most learned, comprehensive and excellent work, *Pausanias*, in his survey of *Greece*, *Polyænus*, in his stratagems, with many other *Greek* writers, and not a few of the *Latins*, have recorded enough to shew, that *Philip* was indeed the greatest man of his age. And with respect to his son, *Cicero* has given such a judgment, as, we believe, none of the critics will reverse: *Philip* of *Macedon*, says he, in deeds and glory was surpassed by his son; but, in point of disposition and humanity, he seems to me to have surpassed him (53).

*Theſſalian*, he had *Nicæa*, who became afterwards the wife of *Caffander*. By *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus*, he had a fon named *Caranus*, and a daughter *Europa*, both flain by *Olympias*, the laſt in her mother's arms. *Arſinoe*, one of his miſtreſſes, he gave in marriage to *Lagus*, when ſhe was big with child; which child proved a fon, and was the famous *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. By *Philena* of *Lariſſa*, a dancer, he had *Aridæus*, who, for a while, was titular king of *Macedon*; but afterwards put to death by the cruel *Olympias* <sup>P</sup> (R). If *Philip* had not fallen ſo ſuddenly, he would certainly have provided for the ſafety of theſe unhappy branches of his family; whereas, by his unforeſeen death, they fell under the power of their greateſt enemies; yet did they not immediately periſh, the veneration the *Macedonians* had for *Philip* defending them. But, by degrees, when the glory of *Alexander* had, in ſome meaſure, ſwallowed up that of his father; and again the miſeries, which the *Macedonians* endured, had with-

<sup>P</sup> REINUC. geneal. Alex. Mag.

(R) *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus* is by *Arrian* called *Eurydice* (54). There are alſo ſome variations, in reſpect to the reſt of the proper names, to be met with in antient authors; but theſe, as they occur in the ſubſequent part of our work, we ſhall take notice of, without troubling the reader with a long critical detail here. However, it may not be amiſs to take notice of ſome other princes of the blood of *Macedon*. *Amyntas* was the ſon of *Perdiccas*, the ſon of *Amyntas*, *Philip's* father. *Archælaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, were the natural ſons of the ſame *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, by his concubine *Cygnæa*. There were, beſides, ſeveral ſons of *Eropus*, brethren of *Pauſinias*, from whom *Amyntas* the father of *Philip*, took the kingdom (55). We do not find, that *Philip*, in his life-time, either was uneaſy, or had any occaſion to be uneaſy,

about theſe princes; but we ſhall ſee, that it ſared otherwiſe with his ſucceſſor. The truth is, *Philip* was ſo kind to his people, and put them into ſo different a ſtate from that in which he found them, that they could not avoid loving and admiring him. Whoever would ſee this placed in the ſtrongeſt light, need only turn his eyes on a ſpeech of *Alexander's* recorded by *Arrian*. It was otherwiſe with this ſon of his, who, great and glorious as he was, found it enough to do to keep the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* in obedience. In the very dawn of his reign he was vexed with conſpiracies, and was never out of the fear of them during his life, tho' he did not ſpare very rigorous and cruel executions; a fault with which none can charge his father; whoſe conduct was ſo full of clemency, that he was accountable for no man's death, except his own.



drawn their affection from the royal house, they fell apace, as will be seen in the subsequent part of this history; whence the propriety of treating so fully of the life and actions of *Philip*, as we have done, will clearly appear.

## S E C T. V.

*The reign of Alexander the Great.*

THE new-erected empire of *Macedon*, so formidable to the *Greeks*, and so dreadful to the *Persians*, did not change its fortune with its prince; on the contrary, it seemed to reap new advantages therefrom, and to derive, from the vigour of *Alexander*, that exalted grandeur, of which it was rendered capable through the policy of *Philip*. How this came to pass, how so violent a shock went off without disordering the government; how a prince of twenty years old became truly the father of his country; how he so readily took up, and so happily conducted the thread of his father's design, without weakening or breaking it; and all this in spite of violent and obstinate opposition, leads us to the view of *Alexander's* character at this time, on which the understanding these passages intirely depends. This we shall draw from sober and authentic historians, leaving whatever favours of the *wonderful* to those rhetorical declaimers, who love to amaze their readers, and to illustrate, with a pomp of words, stories altogether incredible<sup>a</sup>.

*The character of Alexander in his youth. His natural capacity.*

THE natural capacity of the *Macedonian* prince was every way suited to sustain the mighty fabric which his father intended to raise on it. It was lively, but not flight; solid, without being intractable, and, though capable of judging by its own lights, inquisitive, and fond of conversation. When the *Persian* embassadors were at the court of *Philip*, *Alexander*, then a perfect boy, entertained them with much civility and politeness; but, instead of asking questions about the hanging gardens, the splendid palaces, the vast retinue of the king, or other marks of grandeur, for which the *Persian* court was famous, he inquired about the road leading into the *Upper Asia*, the forces which the great king could raise, their discipline, and the place in which the king took post where his army drew into the line of battle<sup>b</sup>. His admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education. *Philip* was a lover of letters, as some think, to a fault; but this hindered

*His education.*

<sup>a</sup> PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIOD. SIC. l. xvii. ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i.

<sup>b</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.

not his regarding other things as necessary as learning, to the forming of a prince. *Alexander* had therefore all sorts of masters, according as his years and improvements required them. *Leonidas*, who was his mother's relation, a man of severe morals, and of a very exact behaviour, was his governor; *Lyfimachus* the *Acarnanian*, a man of great moderation, his preceptor; and *Aristotle*, when he was grown old enough to receive his instructions, became not only his tutor in respect of literature, but his master also in respect of politics, which gave that wonderful perfection to his acquirements, which remain as unequalled as his conquests. In his exercises he distinguished the useful from the fanciful, in his diversions he declined whatever was unmanly, and in his studies despised alike whatever was trifling or pedantic. He diligently cultivated what may be stiled the art of speaking with dignity, or the rhetoric of kings, in which none ever exceeded him. He applied himself to metaphysics and natural philosophy; but morality especially pleased him, and the knowledge of the duties which are essential to social life.

IN order to understand these he studied *Homer*, *Aristotle* <sup>*Applies himself to the study of Homer.*</sup> having corrected an edition of that poet's works for his use. This study made him the man he was; nor can any thing more truly speak his character than this short sentence, *Alexander was an hero formed on the principles Homer hath laid down*. Taking this as a key, we may easily decypher the actions of this prince, or rather trace them to their source; but we must have a care of thinking, that the sublimity of the verse, the beauty of the composition, the surprising majesty of the poet's thoughts, were what intirely captivated the mind of *Alexander*, and inclined him to doat upon this poem: it is rather certain, that his extraordinary regard for it was owing to the pains which *Aristotle* took, to instruct him in the true merit of the piece. *Homer's* poems, in such hands, were a complete body of divinity, morality and politics, delivered, not in dry discourses, but set forth in strong, moving, and most natural characters; and so they were afterwards considered by the learned, particularly by *Horace*, who prefers them to the labours of all the philosophers<sup>c</sup>. Such were the foundations of *Alexander's* magnanimity and prudence. They were continually strengthened by the conversation of the ablest men in *Philip's* court, and the superstructure carefully and quickly raised by an happy mixture of theory and practice. The turbulent transactions in the middle of *Philip's* reign served as a school of war to *Alexander*, as the last years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy, and the interests

<sup>c</sup> Epist. lib. i. epist. ii.

His advantages from his father's capacity and care of his education.

of *Greece*. Above all, he was happy in the lessons of a father, the greatest statesman, and the greatest captain, of his age. He it was who cast his eyes on *Aristotle* for the tutor of *Alexander*; he it was who taught the youth to execute what the philosopher laid down; and he it was who excited the *Macedonians* to turn their eyes on this rising sun, whom, in *Philip's* life-time, they began to stile their king, allowing his father only the title of their general. *Philip* himself carried the compliment still higher; for, embracing *Alexander*, who shewed more skill than all the grooms in *Greece* in breaking *Bucephalus*, O! my son, said he, look thee out some kingdom as extensive as thy abilities; Macedonia will be too narrow for them. From a person thus accomplished all things were to be hoped. We may now therefore proceed to shew how he accomplished all things, and gave laws to *Greece*, at a time of life when modern princes are scarce held of age to govern themselves <sup>d</sup> (A).

Punishes his father's murderers.

THE first act of *Alexander*, as a king, was doing justice on his father's murderers, it may be from a double motive, of shewing affection to *Philip's* memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe away the imputation of being concerned in it; which was not easily done, if we credit *Plutarch*. Next he turned his attention to matters of state, which in a mo-

<sup>d</sup> PLUT. ubi supra.

(A) If we were to record minutely every incident relating to the childhood and infancy of *Alexander*, it would undoubtedly swell our work excessively; we have therefore chosen, as the more useful and at the same time the concise method, to throw together such circumstances, as may serve to elucidate his character, and to refer the curious and inquisitive reader for further information to the life of *Alexander* written by *Plutarch*, and to the two orations of the same author, which treat of the virtue and fortune of *Alexander the Great*. As to the rest of the writers, who have transmitted to us the history of *Alexander*, they are such as either have written expressly of his actions, as *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, and *Cur-*

*lius*; or they speak accidentally of particular actions of his, as *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Pausanias*, and many others. We shall make use of them all, preferring however *Arrian*, not only on account of his great impartiality, but also because his history is collected from those of *Aristobolus* and *Ptolemy*, which, of the many accounts of *Alexander's* expeditions, once extant, were always preferred to the rest. But, inasmuch as *Arrian* is sometimes very concise, and many circumstances relating to the facts he speaks of, are preserved in other authors, we shall make use of their writings to supply what he has omitted, without pretending to set their authority on the same level with his.

ment

ment were all in confusion. As soon as the neighbouring nations heard of the death of *Philip*, they conceived themselves intitled to liberty, and began to think of disclaiming the authority of *Macedon*. In *Greece* its respective states longed to throw off the yoke; and at *Athens* *Demosthenes*, by his example, drew the people into open testimonies of excessive joy, and into immediate negotiations against *Alexander*, whom he stiled a giddy boy, unfit for, and unbecoming empire. As for the *Persians*, before the death of *Philip*, they were contriving to transfer the war to *Macedon*; but now, as *The dis-* if all danger had died with that monarch, they thought no-tracted thing of his successor, till his fame grew so loud, that they were *state of* unable to think of any thing else. *Attalus*, who, with *Par-* *affairs at* *menio*, had the joint command of the *Macedonian* army on *his acces-* the frontiers of *Asia*, aspired to the crown, and sought to *son*. debauch the soldiers. Thus was the morning of *Alexander's* reign disturbed with the noise of foreign wars, and at the same time overcast with the gloom of domestic treasons \*.

In the councils held on this distracted state of things, it was judged advisable, by *Alexander's* best friends, that dissimulation should take place of force, and that he should cajole those whom he could not subdue. *Alexander* disliked this; he thought vigorous measures at first would check some present, and prevent many future inconveniencies; wherefore he betook himself to arms, and boldly looked every danger in the face. First he marched southwards into *Thessaly*, with a numerous army, yet without committing any act of hostility. The princes assembling, he made a long and eloquent *Is declared* oration, wherein alleging their common descent from *Her-* *general of* *acles*, the kindness between their ancestors, and the victories *Greece*. they had won together, he so strongly charmed them to his interests, that, as the son and successor of *Philip*, they declared him general of *Greece*. The neighbouring states he drew over in the same manner, partly by awing them with his army, partly by the force of his eloquence; for, being perfectly versed in their interests, he spoke home and warmly to their passions. Having restored tranquillity on this side, and procured the title of generalissimo of *Greece* to be conferred on him, he returned to *Macedon*. *Heccateus*, a person in whom he confided, was dispatched with recruits for the *Asian* army, with orders to seize *Attalus*, if it was practicable, or, if not, to dispatch him. Mean time that ambitious general *Causes* perceiving that the presence of *Parmenio*, and the fame of *Alex-* *Attalus to* *ander*, with-held the soldiery from following his purposes, he *be put to* *death*.

\* *ARRIAN. l. i. c. l. PLUT. ubi supra. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.*  
*PLUT. ubi sup.*

suddenly changed them, and sent to *Alexander* an epistle of *Demosthenes*, and professed himself wonderfully loyal; which professions, whether true or false, had no weight with the king, whose instructions *Heccateus* followed in putting *Attalus* to death <sup>8</sup>. Thus the dawn of his government began to clear, and the first rays of his glory to display a pleasant prospect, which afterwards appeared brighter and brighter, till it overspread the noblest countries on the globe.

Alexander invades the Triballians and Illyrians.

At the approach of the spring *Alexander* marched with his forces towards *Thrace*, intending to penetrate into the country of the *Triballians* and *Illyrians*, now called *Bulgaria* and *Sclavonia*. In this expedition he followed rather his own sentiments than the counsels of others, acting regularly on the principle he had laid down, that the power of *Macedon* was to be supported by the same vigorous measures by which it had been attained. In consequence of this resolution he ordered his army to assemble at *Amphipolis*, from whence he marched towards the river *Nessus*, and, leaving the city of *Philippi* and mount *Orbelus* on the left, he in ten days reached mount *Hæmus* <sup>h</sup>. This post the barbarous nations, against whom he made war, had seized, and fortified in the best manner they were able. On the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every passage, they placed their carriages and waggons, so as to form a sort of parapet, with their shafts inwards, that, when the *Macedonians* should have half ascended the rock, they might be able to push the heaviest of these wains upon them. They reckoned the more upon this contrivance, because of the close order of the phalanx, which, they conceived, would be terribly exposed, by the soldiers wanting room to stir, and thereby avoid the falling waggons. But *Alexander*, who had studied the art of war under the ablest masters, defeated their design; for, having directed his heavy armed troops to march, he gave orders, that, where the openness of the way would permit it, they should open to the right and left, and suffer the falling carriages to go through; but that, in the narrow passes, they should throw themselves on their faces, with their shields behind them, that the carts might run over them. His contrivance had the desired effect, and the *Macedonians* reached the enemy's works without the loss of a man. Then the light-armed troops began the attack. The barbarians made an obstinate resistance for some time, till *Alexander* himself charged at the head of the targeteers. Then they began to break, and, on

And defeats them.

<sup>8</sup> DION. SIC. ubi supra.  
& seq. DION. SIC. ubi supra.

<sup>h</sup> ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i. c. 1.

the approach of the phalanx, fled out-right, leaving their camp, full of women, children, and cattle, behind them.

THREE days after the king reached the river *Ister*, in an island of which called *Peuce*, the *Triballians*, *Thracians*, and other barbarous nations, had conveyed their wealth and women, resolving to defend them with all their force. Some few ships there were, which, through the *Euxine* sea, had come to *Byzantium*; on board of these *Alexander* embarked as many of his troops as he could, and endeavoured to make a descent with them on the island before-mentioned; but the river being rapid, the shore steep, and the enemy pressing thither in great multitudes, he relinquished this design, and landed his forces at their old camp. *Alexander* observing, that the *Getae*, who inhabited on the other side the river, were inclined to give him all the trouble they could, and had, for that purpose, raised an army of four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, determined to be before-hand with them, and, by subduing them, strike a terror into all their neighbours; the same night therefore he caused a considerable number of boats to be got together, and, having ranged them from one side of the river to the other, he re-embarked his forces on board his small fleet, which made a line a little higher. He then caused the tents, which, as they were made of skins, floated in the water, and yet afforded firm footing, to be thrown into the middle space; whereby he passed over fifteen hundred horse, and four thousand foot. He then marched through the standing corn, the spears of the phalanx being reversed, and the horse behind them, till they arrived in the open country; and then gave the command of the left wing, consisting of the foot, to *Nicanor*, drawing up his horse on the right, under his own command, with an intent to give the *Getae* battle. These, though a brave and bold people, were so astonished at his passing the river, without either a bridge or a fleet, that they did not sustain even the first shock; but fled immediately to the next town, which they intended to defend; but, when they saw that *Alexander* did not follow them impetuously, but drew his foot slowly along the side of the river, to prevent his falling into an ambuscade, they conceived that no place would protect them against such a general; and therefore, abandoning the town, they placed all hopes of safety in the distance of their flight. *Alexander* entered the city, and, having collected the spoil, delivered it to *Meleager* and *Philip*, officers of great rank in his army, that it might be conveyed to the sea, and then rased the place. Here he sacrificed to *Jupiter Soter*, i. e. the Saviour,

to *Hercules*, and to the *Ister*, for affording him a safe passage<sup>1</sup>.

*He makes a general peace with the barbarous nations.* THE next day he brought all his forces into his camp on the other side of the river, whither immediately ambassadors came from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him; amongst the rest from *Syrmus* king of the *Triballi*, who saw, that it was to no purpose to resist him; as also from the *Celtes*, a robust and high-spirited people. The king treated them all with great civility; but, as he was always inclined to indulge his vanity, he could not help asking the deputies from the last mentioned nation, *What, of all things, they feared most?* supposing they would have answered, his arms; but they very roundly told him, *That, except the falling of the clouds upon their heads, they feared nothing*; which so pleased the king, that, after saying the *Celtes* were a haughty people, he granted them his friendship, and ranked them in the number of his allies. Soon after he adjusted his differences with the rest of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into *Macedonia*<sup>2</sup>.

*He defeats the Taulantii, and Clytus king of Illyria.* As he passed through the countries of the *Agrians* and the *Peonians*, he was informed, that *Clytus*, the son of *Bradilis*, had revolted from him. This *Bradilis* had been king of *Illyria*; and his son, it seems, had a mind to remain no longer a dependent on the king of *Macedon*: he therefore entered into a league with *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, and into a treaty with the *Autariatae*, to defend themselves against *Alexander*, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately resolved to attack these enemies, and began to inquire of the force and situation of the last mentioned people. *Langarus* king of the *Agrians* being near him, said aloud, *Sir, trouble not yourself about these people; I, with my own subjects, will make an inroad into their country, and find them so much employment, that they shall be able to give no interruption to your march.* This accordingly he performed to so good purpose, that he put it absolutely out of the power of this nation to proceed in their defection. *Alexander*, on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promised him his sister *Cyna* for a wife; but that promise did not take place, king *Langarus* dying soon after. The king being come into the neighbourhood of *Pellicon*, a strong city, into which *Clytus* had thrown himself with a great body of troops, resolved to besiege him therein; and accordingly caused the place to be invested. But *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii* coming with a great army to the relief of *Clytus*, the king was obliged to raise his siege, and to give them battle, wherein,

<sup>1</sup> ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Idem. ibid.

after a stout resistance, he was victorious. Three days after *Alexander* surprized *Glaucias* and *Clytus* in their camp, and, after making a great slaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for shelter to the mountains <sup>1</sup>.

In the midst of these victories, *Alexander* received advice, *All* that all *Greece* was in commotion. This was occasioned *Greece* in chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of *Demosthenes*, the in-<sup>commotion</sup> veterate enemy of *Macedon*; and the several disaffected states <sup>on the re-</sup> were encouraged to shew their inclinations more openly, by <sup>port of his</sup> a report confidently spread about, that *Alexander* was dead in <sup>death.</sup> *Illyria*. The *Thebans*, laying violent hands on *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, eminent officers in the *Macedonian* garison which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of process, put them to death. They then disposed all things for the siege of the citadel, and openly excited the rest of *Greece* to throw off the yoke. The king,

as soon as he had intelligence of this, immediately bent his march towards them, with such diligence, that in seven days *He makes* he arrived at *Pellene* in *Thessaly*, and in six more entered *a very* *Bæotia*, before the *Thebans* had any intelligence of his passing *quick* *Thermopylæ*. When they were informed of this, they said it *march into* must be *Antipater*, with a body of *Macedonian* militia; nay, *Greece.* when repeated advices acquainted them, that the army was commanded by *Alexander*, they would still have him dead, persuading themselves, that this was *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*. The king, however, did not leave them long in their mistake, advancing briskly to the temple of *Iclus*, where he made an halt, that the *Thebans* might have time to return to their senses, and thereby prevent his having recourse to extremities; for it was no way his inclination, as indeed it was no way his interest, to embroil himself with the *Greeks*; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his presence, having with him thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to compel his enemies to lay aside their malice, rather than to gratify his own <sup>m</sup>. This sudden march had, in part, the success he wished; for it prevented the rest of the *Grecian* states from aiding the *Thebans*, though they were actually assembling forces for that purpose; and so affrighted the *Athenians*, that, repairing their walls, and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, answering exactly what *Alexander* had said when he entered *Bæotia*, that to this *Demosthenes*, who called him a child when he was in *Illyria*, and a youth when he came into *Thessaly*, he should certainly appear a man when he approached the walls of *Athens* <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4.*

<sup>m</sup> *DION. SIC. ubi*

*supra.* <sup>a</sup> *PLUT. in vit. Alex.*



*Is attacked by the Thebans.* THE *Thebans*, far from profiting by *Alexander's* moderation, attacked his out-guards; and, though their troops were repulsed with great disadvantage, yet they determined to hazard all, rather than purchase peace by their submission. The king, seeing this, encamped over-against the gate leading to *Attica*, that he might be near the citadel, which he had surrounded with a double wall, in order to prevent their cutting his garrison to pieces before his face. He did not however, invest the city, or pretend to besiege it; but caused open proclamation to be made, that he was ready to receive any *Thebans* who would join with him in defence of the common liberties of Greece. Whereupon the *Thebans* made proclamation, that they were ready to receive any who would join themselves to the great king and them, to fight against the tyrant of Greece. This exceedingly provoked *Alexander*; however, if we may believe *Ptolemy*, he gave no orders for an attack: but *Perdiccas*, who lay nearest the walls, perceiving some advantage, suddenly attempted them, and, being seconded by *Amyntas*, broke into the city. *Alexander*, seeing his friends engaged, was constrained to support them; and thus the *Thebans* were driven to the temple of *Hercules*. There the citizens recovered their consternation, and, having desperately wounded *Perdiccas*, fell upon the *Macedonians* with such resolution, that they drove them with great slaughter out of the city; which *Alexander* perceiving, he, with a fresh body of troops, attacked the *Thebans* in flank, routed them, entered the city pell-mell with the flying garrison, and, after a prodigious slaughter, took the place by storm.

*Alexander takes the place by storm.* THE *Macedonian* garrison, issuing from the citadel, contributed not a little to this event; which, however glorious to the king, was extremely fatal to the *Thebans*, who, for several hours, were slain and destroyed, without regard either to sex or age. Afterwards the city was rased, excepting only the house of *Pindar*, a famous poet, out of respect to the merit of its owner, and for that he had celebrated *Alexander* the first king of *Macedon*; a circumstance which might well weigh with his successor. The lands, except such as were destined to religious uses, were shared among the soldiers, and the prisoners sold for slaves; whereby four hundred and forty talents were brought into the king's treasury (B). This behaviour

*The city rased, and the inhabitants sold for slaves.*

° ARRIAN. l. i. c. 7. DIO. CHRYSOST. Orat.

(B) The king, however, took care to colour this extraordinary severity, by procuring a decree of the *Amphyctions*, injoining him to do what he was already inclined to, under pretence, that the *Thebans*, in allying themselves with the great king, were become enemies

viour of *Alexander* struck all the *Greek* states with terror ; All the the *Eleans* restored their exiles because they were his friends ; *Greek* the cities of *Ætolia* deprecated his wrath by a most sub-states missive embassy ; as for the *Athenians*, they were terrified to struck such a degree, that they made themselves ridiculous ; for with ter- they sent to compliment the king on his safe return from his ror. expedition against the barbarians, and also to assure him of their great satisfaction in his chastising the rebellious *Thebans* &. *Alexander* took all in good part ; only he demanded by letter, that *Demosthenes*, *Lycægus*, *Hyperdes*, *Polyæustus*, *Charætes*, *Charidemus*, *Ephialtes*, *Diotemus*, and *Mirocles*, should be delivered up to him ; alleging, that they had been the authors of all the mischiefs which had happened in *Greece*, since his father *Philip* had been elected general. The *Athenians*, however, did not comply with his request, though *Phocion* advised them to do it. This was owing to the art of *Demades* the orator ; who, having first procured a vote in favour of the persons demanded, drew up afterwards such a decree, as might pacify *Alexander* ; the purport of which was, that the orators should submit themselves to the laws of their country, and that the *Athenians* undertook to punish them, if they appeared to be guilty. *Demades* himself went at the head of the deputies, who presented this decree to *Alexander*, and who were charged also with other requests, viz. that notwithstanding the decree, they might be permitted to receive the *Theban* fugitives ; and that the king would, for the future, regard them as his faithful allies. *Alexander*, affecting His ob- to shew an extraordinary esteem for the *Athenians*, granted ligging con- all their requests, excepting that he commanded the orator duct to- *Charidemus* to banish himself ; upon which he instantly fled towards the to *Darius*. He used *Demades* with the utmost civility, and Athenians

▷ *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.* ▷ *Plut. ubi supra.*

enemies to the *Greeks* ; wherefore the decree was closed with an express prohibition to any *Greek*, either to conceal or protect a *Theban* : yet it must be owned, that these generous *Thebans* fought solely for liberty, refusing quarter, and provoking the *Macedonians*, during the sack of the place, to take away their lives, esteeming them not only worthless, but burdensome, when

held at the will of a master. To carry on the same shew of zeal for the freedom of *Greece*, *Alexander* ordered the cities of *Orchomenus* and *Platæa* to be rebuilt, giving special directions for adorning the latter, out of regard to the generous conduct of its inhabitants, when *Pausanias* fought in its neighbourhood that decisive battle, which destroyed the *Persian* hopes.

commanded him to assure his citizens, that they had nothing to fear <sup>9</sup> (B).

As

<sup>9</sup> ARRIAN. l. i. c. 10. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(B) Several ominous appearances are recorded by the ancients, as predicting the fall of *Thebes*: *Diodorus* tells us,<sup>1</sup> that in the temple of *Ceres*, a slender spider's web was observed to spread itself as broad as a cloak,

and to represent the rainbow in an arched circumference; upon this deputies were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, to know what it imported. The answer was,

*This web stands as a sign from heav'n confess  
To thee, Ecceotia, first, then to the rest.*

The oracle in their own country, explained it thus :

*One party's loss, the other's gain, this shews.*

This happened about three months before *Alexander's* march. About the time of his arrival, the statues in the forum sweated, so that great drops stood upon them. In the lake of *Onchestus* the roaring and bellowing of oxen was heard. The waters in *Dirce* seemed of a sanguine hue; and advice came from the temple at *Delphi*, that the roof built by the *Thebans*, out of the spoils of the *Phocians*, was besmeared all over with blood. Such, continues our author, as studied the explanation of these things, gave it as their opinion, that the web portended the retreat of the gods from their city; its having the colour of the rainbow, various troubles and dissections; the appearance of sweat signified extreme miseries; and the smeared roof of the temple, that the city would be stained with slaughter and bloodshed: they therefore

concluded, that the *Thebans* ought to have sought an agreement, and not to have urged all things to extremity (1). But they, it seems, were not to be moved; for when *Alexander* demanded only *Phaenias* and *Prothytes*, who had occasioned the murder of his officers, to be delivered up, they sent him word, he should send them *Antipater* and *Philotas* (2). Thus they, in a manner, sought their own destruction. The circumstances attending the sack of this city, are most exactly recorded by *Arrian*, who, though in the general, a very succinct writer, expatiates on this subject, and shews, that it was the most terrible destruction that any state ever sustained to that time; concluding his description thus: "They are reported to have been forewarned of this great and tremendous subversion of their city, by sundry prodigies

(1) *Diod. Sic. bibliothec. l. xvii. Olymp. cxi. 2.*

(2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

As soon as he had settled *Greece* in tranquility, he went to *Continued Corinth*, where, in a general assembly of the states of *Greece*, generalis- every thing relating to his dignity, as generalissimo, was ex *fimo* at actly settled. Here he received the compliments, not only of *Corinth*. the several states, but also of the most eminent persons among the *Greeks*, either for valour or wisdom, many of whom thought it not below them to travel a considerable space for this purpose<sup>t</sup>; but *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, who was then in *Cranium*, a suburb of *Corinth*, did not so much as wait upon the king; which, when it was remarked to *Alexander*, he *Visits* went himself to visit the philosopher. He found him, as his *Diogenes*. manner was, lying on the ground, basking himself in the sun. When those who attended the king surrounded him, the sage raised himself a little, and looked upon *Alexander*. The king, with his usual civility, asked him, If he wanted any thing? *Yes*; answered *Diogenes*, *I would have you stand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the sun-shine*. Those who were about *Alexander*, laughed at this saying, as the effect of a haughty and morose disposition; but the king himself said gravely, *If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes*. The sense of which, as it is interpreted by *Plutarch*, was, that if he had not been capable of philosophizing actively, he would have preferred speculative wisdom to the ordinary employments of life<sup>u</sup>.

At *Egæ* he held a grand council of state and of war, in *His prepara-* order to advise about his expedition into *Asia*. The gravest of *rations* for his counsellors, among whom were *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, *invading* gave it as their opinion, that he should first marry, and have *Asia*. heirs to the crown, before he thought of any foreign expedition. *Alexander* disliked this, as indeed he did every motion of delay; but, however, he did not reject it without offering

<sup>t</sup> Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

<sup>u</sup> Plut. de virtut. Alex.

“ from heaven, which they all  
“ along disregarded, till after-  
“ wards the events recalling  
“ them to their remembrance,  
“ they were forced to own them  
“ fulfilled (3).” This author is  
frequently cited as a person dis-  
regarding omens, and having a  
flender opinion of all sorts of mi-  
racles; yet this notion of him  
seems to be rashly taken up. He  
does indeed mention them more

sparingly than *Diodorus* or *Plu-*  
*tarch*; and the reason is clear,  
because he was a closer writer,  
and extremely careful of straying  
from his subject; yet, on partic-  
ular occasions, he records both  
omens and prodigies, without  
any tokens, that we can perceive,  
of disbelief or disrespect; but  
rather the contrary, as the rea-  
der may perceive from the pas-  
sage just cited.

a reason. He said, that after Greece had elected him her general, and he had drawn together that veteran army, which, under his father, had made so many conquests, he should not sit down idle at home, marry and beget children. He therefore sacrificed to *Jupiter Olympus*, and revived the games which had been instituted by his predecessor *Archelaus*. He sacrificed likewise to the muses, consecrating a day to each muse; then he appointed mighty feasts, entertaining no less than an hundred of his friends at his own table; after which he distributed all the crown-lands amongst them, and even the rest of his revenues, giving one a farm, another a village, a third the customs of a port. *Perdiccas* observing this waste of the royal revenue, in which he refused to participate, asked the king, What he reserved for himself? *My hopes*, answered *Alexander*. *Very well, Sir*, replied *Perdiccas*, *you will not then take it amiss, that among those who are to share your dangers, there are some who desire to share your hopes also* \*.

An account  
of his  
troops.

THESE feasts once over, the army had orders to assemble, in order to their passing immediately over into *Asia*; but what their numbers were, historians by no means agree (B). As to his fund for the payment of the army, *Aristobulus* says, it was but seventy talents; and *Onesicritus*, who was also in this expedition, not only takes away the seventy talents, but

\* DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.  
ARRIAN. l. i. c. 11.

\* Idem ibid. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(B) *Arrian* says, that there were thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. *Diodorus Siculus* is more particular; for he tells us, there were thirteen thousand Macedonian foot, seven thousand of the confederate states, and five thousand mercenaries. These were under the command of *Parmenio*. Of the *Odrisians*, *Triballians*, and *Illyrians* there were five thousand; and of the *Agrianes*, who were armed only with dart, a thousand. It is generally thought, that our author is mistaken in his first number, and that, instead of thirteen, there were but twelve thousand Macedonians; because, in the whole, *Diodorus*

says, there were thirty thousand foot. It may be the *Agrianes* are omitted in this total. As for the horse, he tells us, there were eighteen hundred, commanded by *Philotas*; as many *Thessalians* under the command of *Callas*; out of the several states of Greece, six hundred, led by *Eurygius*; and nine hundred *Thracians* and *Peonians*, who led the van, under *Cassander*. *Plutarch* says, that, according to a low computation, he had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; and, according to the largest reckoning, he had thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

affirms,

affirms, that the king was two hundred in debt. As for provisions, there was sufficient for a month, and no more. *Antipater* was left behind in *Macedon*, with twelve thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse<sup>y</sup>. *Justin* tells us, that, to prevent any disturbances in his absence, *Alexander* caused such of the blood royal as he suspected, to be put to death<sup>z</sup>; in which, however, he deserves no credit, since neither *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, nor any other Greek or Latin historian, mentions any such thing; on the contrary, he is said to have checked his mother *Olympias* for having treated *Cleopatra* ill in his absence<sup>a</sup>.

THE army having assembled at *Amphipolis*, he marched from thence to the mouths of the *Strymon*; then crossing the Helle-  
mount *Pangæus*, he took the road to *Abdera*. Crossing the pont.  
river *Ebrus*, he proceeded through the country of *Pædis*, and after twenty days reached *Sestos*; thence he came to *Eleus*, where he sacrificed on the tomb of *Protesilaus*, because he was the first among the *Greeks*, who, at the siege of *Troy*, set foot on the *Asiatic* shore; he did this, that his landing might be more propitious than that of the hero to whom he sacrificed, who was slain soon after. The greatest part of the army under the command of *Parmenio* embarked at *Sestos*, on board a fleet of an hundred and sixty galleys, of three benches of oars, besides small craft. *Alexander* himself sailed from *Eleus*, and, when he was in the middle of the *Hellepont*, offered a bull to *Neptune*, and the *Nereids*, pouring forth at the same time a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near the shore, he launched a javelin, which stuck in the earth; then, in complete armour, he leaped himself upon the strand, and having erected altars to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*, he sacrificed to them, and then proceeded to *Ilium*<sup>b</sup>.

STRABO informs us, that at the time *Alexander* came thither, *Ilium* was little better than a village, distinguished only by a small temple dedicated to *Pallas*; here the king sacrificed  
Sacrifices at Ilium.  
to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to *Achilles*, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having *Patroclus* for a friend, and *Homer* to record his actions. *Hephestion*, as a mark of his friendship to *Alexander*, crowned the tomb of *Patroclus* with flowers; after this the king sacrificed to *Minerva*; and, taking down some arms which had hung there from the time of the *Trojan* war, consecrated his own in their stead. He sacrificed likewise to the ghost of

<sup>y</sup> DIOD. PLUT. ARRIAN. ubi supra.<sup>z</sup> Hist. l. xi. c. 5.<sup>a</sup> PLUT. de virtut. Alex.<sup>b</sup> DIOD. ARRIAN. PLUT.

*Priam*, to avert his wrath, on account of his own descent from *Achilles* (C).

ALEX-

(C) We have thought fit to mark particularly these steps, because they greatly contribute to shew the genius and temper of this young hero. It is clear from them, that he was a zealous observer of the religious rites of his age, and that he had the greatest regard to decency and order in every thing he did. Indeed, he took his rules of war from *Homer*, and scrupulously adhered not only to the maxims, but to the customs mentioned by him; thus instead of *Calchas*, who was the augur of the *Greeks*, he had *Aristander* the *Telmessian* for his soothsayer, without consulting of whom he suffered nothing of moment to be done. Neither did he neglect the usual application to oracles on the undertaking his expedition. After the destruction of *Thebes*, he went in person to *Delphi*; but, arriving at the time that was held unlucky, the priests refused to do her office. *Alexander* thereupon drew her by force into the temple, and she at last offering to sit down on the tripod, said, by way of excuse for breaking through the ancient custom of the temple, *My son, thou art invincible*. At these words *Alexander* cried out, *I accept the answer* (4), and staid for no other. This with some may pass for an act of irreligion, whereas it was far from being so; sudden answers were always held oraculous by the *Greeks*, if they were applicable to the thing inquired of, as we shall

elsewhere shew at large. While the *Olympic* games were celebrating at *Ægæ*, *Arrian* tells us, there came advice, that the statue of *Orpheus* on mount *Pieria* sweated, concerning the import of which, the *augurs* and *soothsayers* were much divided; but *Aristander* of *Telmessus*, who, as we observed in the text, was the *Calchas* of *Alexander*, settled the king's mind by the following interpretation: *Let it not disturb you, Sir, said he; the sweating of the image portends, that all sorts of poets shall labour and sweat in describing your great actions* (5). When *Alexander* was at *Troy*, the priest of *Minerva* having observed the statue of *Ariobazarnes*, the king of *Persia*'s lieutenant, to have fallen down in the temple, with other portentous signals, told the king, that if he fought in *Pbrygia*, he would gain a great victory, kill some officer of distinction with his own hand, and be himself slightly wounded; and on this account it was that *Alexander* took down the consecrated armour in the temple of *Pallas*, and left there his own (6). Long before this, if we may believe some authors, the destruction of the *Persian* empire by this very prince had been predicted. The priests of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*, when the temple of the goddess there was burnt down, are reported to have given it as their sentiment, that the conqueror of *Asia* was that day born (7), which

(4) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*  
(6) *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*

(5) *Arrians lib. i. c. 11. Plut. ubi supra.*  
(7) *Plut. ubi supra.*

ALEXANDER continued his march towards the river *Gra-* *He spares*  
*nicus*, without meeting with any considerable accident, if we Lamp-  
 except only the preservation of the city of *Lampfacus*, which, facus  
 on account of its adhering to the *Persians*, he had determined *through*  
 to destroy. *Anaximenes*, an eminent historian, well known *the art of*  
 in the court of *Philip*, and for whom *Alexander* himself had *Anaxi-*  
 a great esteem, met him on the road, in order to intercede *menes*.  
 for the place of his birth. The king's indignation ran so high,  
 that, as soon as he came into his presence, he cried out, *Anaxi-*  
*menes, I swear solemnly, that I will not do what you desire me.*  
*My request then, Sir, (said the old man smiling) is, that you*  
*would burn Lampfacus.* *Alexander*, charmed with his ad-  
 dress, and considering at the same time the oath that he had  
 made, ordered the city to be spared<sup>d</sup>. In the interim, the  
*Persians* had assembled a great army in *Phrygia*, amongst  
 whom was *Memnon* the *Rhodian*; he was indeed the very  
 hopes of *Persia*, and the best officer *Darius* had. When it  
 was known that the *Macedonians* were marching directly to-  
 wards them, this *Memnon* gave it as his opinion, that they  
 should burn and destroy all the country, and transport a mo-  
 derate army over into *Macedon*. But the *Persians*, depending  
 on their horse, refused to comply with his advice; and there-  
 fore, posting themselves along the river, they determined there  
 to wait the arrival of *Alexander* (D).

As soon as *Alexander* was informed of the posture the *Per-* *The battle*  
*fians* were in, he ordered his forces to be drawn up in batta- *at the*  
 lia, the foot in two lines, the horse on the right and left, and *Granicus*.  
 the baggage in the rear, and then moved directly towards the *Year of*  
 river. Of this battle we have given elsewhere a particular *the flood*  
 2014.

<sup>d</sup> VALER. MAX. lib. vii. c. 3.

Bef. Chr.

334.

was true of *Alexander*, who came  
 thereof into the world. It may be,  
 these interpretations, and even  
 the facts themselves, were forged  
 long after the *Macedonian* con-  
 quest; but, inasmuch as they  
 serve to enlighten various passa-  
 ges in the best *Greek* and *Latin*  
 authors, they ought to be re-  
 corded somewhere; and there-  
 fore, to avoid perplexing the  
 text, we have thrown them into  
 notes.

(D) *Justin* would have us be-

lieve, that the *Persian* army con-  
 sisted of six hundred thousand  
 foot (1). *Arrian* says, there were  
 but twenty thousand, and the like  
 number of horse, which is most  
 probable; *Diodorus Siculus* makes  
 them ten thousand horse, and an  
 hundred thousand foot. All agree  
 that the horse were drawn up in  
 one line, fronting the river, and  
 the foot behind them (2). The  
 river itself was rapid, and the  
 bank steep.

(1) *Hist. ubi supra.*

(2) *Arrian. ubi supra. Diod. ubi supra.*



account<sup>c</sup>; and therefore shall here only take notice of the different accounts we have of it (E).

*The consequences of this victory.* THIS battle put the king in possession of all the adjacent country, of which he began immediately to take care, as if it had been part of his hereditary dominions. *Calas* was constituted lieutenant of the province, from which the same tribute was exacted, as heretofore had been paid to *Darius*. He himself marched toward *Sardis*; and, when he was about seventy stadia distant from that city, he was met by *Mythrenes*, governor of the garison in the castle, accompanied by the

<sup>c</sup> See vol. v. p. 296, 297.

(E) *Plutarch* says, that the *Persians* lost twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse in this battle, and the *Macedonians* only thirty-four; to eternize whose memory, *Alexander* caused so many statues of brass to be set up (10). This is certainly a little incredible, but *Arrian's* account inserted in our text is very clear (11); he speaks not of thirty-four, but of twenty-five statues, which were made not to represent all who fell in the battle, but those only who fell in the king's guards, who were all persons of distinction. To say the truth, this is wonderful enough; for it is not easy to comprehend how in the space of ten years, which includes the whole reign of *Alexander* after this battle, *Lyfippus* could make all these statues; but that they were made and set up at *Dium* is certain, since we know, that *Q. Metellus* sent them from thence to *Rome*. It seems somewhat strange, that *Plutarch*, who, at other times speaks so favourably of *Alexander's* conduct, charges him upon this occasion with rage and madness, in offering to pass a river in the fight and in defiance

of a superior enemy. *Arrian's* account shews, that *Alexander* offered some reasons for what he did; and though it may be alleged, that the harangues in *Greek* authors are usually composed by themselves, and therefore cannot be acknowledged as authentic evidence, we apprehend that two answers may be in the present case given to this objection. The first, that, supposing the fact true, the harangue contains the sentiment of the author, which amounts to this, that *Alexander's* conduct was defensible in the opinion of *Arrian*: the second, that, as *Arrian* transcribed his history from the memoirs of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, who were eye and ear witnesses of what they wrote, it may be well presumed, that he had at least the substance of the speeches he inserted from those authors too; and, if so, then they will be the strongest evidence. This notion is rendered the more probable from the structure of these orations, which are far from being rhetorical, but, on the contrary, as plain and natural as can be imagined.

(10) *Plut.* in *vit.* *Alex.*

(11) See vol. v. p. 297.

chief citizens; these surrendering the city into his hands, and *Mythrenes* the castle with the royal treasures therein contained. He then proceeded to the river *Hermus*, about twenty stadia distant from *Sardis*, where he encamped, and from whence he dispatched *Amyntas* the son of *Andromenes* to *Sardis*, to take the government of the castle, and, carrying *Mythrenes* with him, treated him honourably. To the *Sardians*, and other *Lydians*, he granted the privilege of being governed by their antient laws. He then entered the castle, which was garrisoned by *Persians*, and seemed to him well fortified. It was seated on an high rock, which was every-where steep, and surrounded with a triple wall. He therefore purposed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to *Jupiter Olympias*; but, while he was yet in suspense, which part of the castle was most commodious for that purpose, a dreadful tempest arose on a sudden, huge claps of thunder were heard, and a violent storm fell on that part where the royal palace of the *Lydian* kings had stood. Thus the god seemed to point out the place where the temple should be erected; and it was ordered to be built accordingly. The government of this castle he committed into the hands of *Pausanias*, one of his friends, but the collection of tributes and imposts to *Nicias*. *Asander* the son of *Philotas* was constituted prefect of *Lydia*, and the rest of the provinces of *Spithridates*, and had such a number of horse and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged necessary. *Calas* and *Alexander* the son of *Eropus* were dispatched into the province commanded by *Memnon*, and with them a very considerable body of troops. In the mean time the mercenaries in garison at *Ephesus*, seizing two galleys, of three banks of oars, retired; with them went *Amyntas*, who as we have elsewhere observed, had deserted to *Darius*, as soon as *Alexander* ascended the throne.

*Builds at  
Sardis a  
temple to  
Jupiter  
Olympias.*

As soon as the king had information of this, he went to *Ephesus* in person, where he did every thing that was popular; he restored the democracy, and ordered the tribute which had been paid to the *Persian* to be applied to the rebuilding the temple of *Diana*. It is said, he would have been at the whole expence of that magnificent pile, if the *Ephesians* would have inscribed his name thereupon; but this they refused, chusing to keep the honour and the expence to themselves. His favours encouraged the commons of *Ephesus* to fall upon some persons of distinction, who had been formerly in the administration of affairs; and, notwithstanding they had taken sanctuary in the temple, to drag them to the mar-

*Restores  
the demo-  
cracy at  
Ephesus.*

ket-place, where they stoned them; as these men had been guilty of very flagrant oppressions, *Alexander* would not interpose to save them, but immediately after their deaths, he issued out an edict, whereby he strictly forbad any farther inquiry into the conduct of the former magistrates, rightly conceiving, that if the people were suffered to treat the guilty thus, envy, malice, and avarice, would soon lead them to treat the innocent in the same manner. This conduct of his gained him high reputation, all degrees of people owning him for their deliverer, while at the same time the nobles confessed that he was their preserver<sup>1</sup>. By another edict, he ordered the popular government to be restored in all the *Greek* cities, and sent *Alcimalus* with a body of troops to see it executed; then with the remainder of his army he marched to besiege *Miletus*, before which his fleet, commanded by *Nicanor*, had lain for some time, and the *Persian* fleet was also in the neighbourhood of that city. The *Milesians* themselves were disposed to submit to *Alexander*, but *Memnon*, who, with a considerable body of troops, had entered the place immediately after the battle at the *Granicus*, resolved to defend it. We have already observed, that he was a great officer, and his conduct here was equal to the reputation he had before acquired; for notwithstanding the *Macedonian* fleet blocked up the haven, the citizens were disaffected, and *Alexander's* veteran foot stormed the place almost as soon as they came before it; yet he made a vigorous resistance, and, after the city was taken, withdrew his garrison into an island, where part of the mercenaries capitulated, and were received into *Alexander's* service; the rest, with *Memnon* himself, withdrew to *Halicarnassus*<sup>m</sup>.

WHEN the king was fully master of *Miletus*, he treated the citizens with much humanity, but sold all the strangers he found for slaves. As soon as he was informed that the *Persian* fleet was withdrawn from *Mycale*, he dismissed his own (E); this was a very extraordinary step, and authors are

<sup>1</sup> ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. <sup>m</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. ARRIAN. ubi supra.

(E) After the battle at *Granicus*, *Alexander's* generals were a good deal perplexed as to the manner in which they should advise him to proceed; for they saw plainly, that, though their late victory had struck the *Persians* with great consternation, yet in effect it had very little lessened their power: besides, at sea they were still masters. What the sentiments of *Parmenio* were on this head, and what those of *Alexander*, we learn from *Arrian* in the following words: The barbarian fleet consisted of about four

are pretty much at a loss how to account for it. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that *Alexander* being well informed of *Darius's* design to march against him immediately with a mighty army, he determined by this means to cut off from his own troops all hopes of safety but from their valour: he grounds this conjecture on the conduct of *Alexander* in the last battle, wherein he made his men fight with the river at their backs; so that flight was rendered impracticable, there being the chance of war, if they fought, but no chance at all, if they attempted to run away<sup>n</sup>. *Arrian* hath assigned us some better reasons: he says, in the first place, that *Alexander* had no money to pay them; and in the second, that he was afraid to trust his fortune in an engagement at sea. There was a third reason much stronger than the other two: he was determined to possess himself of all the sea-ports by means of his land-army;

<sup>n</sup> Ubi supra.

four hundred ships. *Parmenio* advised *Alexander* to a naval engagement, assuring him, that the *Greeks* would be victors at sea, because a lucky omen had just happened, an eagle being seen upon the shore from one of the ships of his navy. He also added, that, if they overcame their enemies, they would reap an immense advantage from such an engagement during the whole war; and, if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vast danger could ensue, because the *Persians*, by virtue of their shipping, held the sovereignty of the sea without fighting. As for his part, he would willingly enter himself on board, and share the danger of the fleet in his own person. However, *Alexander* returned him answer, that he was mistaken in his conjectures, and did not interpret the omen justly; for it would be a point of small prudence in him with so few ships to hazard an engagement against a fleet so nu-

merous; and, with soldiers so little trained up in naval discipline, to pretend to attack the expert *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians*: neither was he willing, that the barbarians should try the skill and valour of the *Macedonians* on so unstable an element: and besides, should they be beaten in a sea-fight, an inexpressible damage would accrue to them from the same their enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that, if the *Greeks* were animated by the news of an overthrow at sea, they would begin to study innovations. All which things maturely weighed, he deemed a sea-fight altogether unsafe at that juncture: and, for his part, he expounded the omen in a different manner. The eagle, indeed, he allowed, promised success; but, as she was seen on the shore, it seemed rather to portend, that he should become master of the enemy's fleet by beating their armies on the continent (1).

(1) *Arrian, lib. 4. c. 19.*

and having done this, he very rightly conjectured, that the *Persians* would be deprived of all use of their fleet for want of their necessary recruits, as well as of convenient ports where they might refit°. He had moreover some notion, that his fleet would be more serviceable on the other side of the *Hellepont*; for these and many other reasons he was determined upon this measure, how extraordinary soever it might appear; for though it be true, that never any general possessed personal courage in a higher degree than the prince of whom we are speaking, yet it is as certain, that he was a great master of war, and did many things which had the air of rashness, from a superior skill in the military art, which enabled him to penetrate farther into the connexion between causes and events, than many who were about him, and than most of the authors who have transmitted his history to posterity, as the reader will discern from the last note.

*The siege  
of Halicarnassus.*

ALMOST all the cities between *Miletus* and *Halicarnassus* submitted as soon as the former was taken, and the rest surrendered as soon as the king marched towards them; but for *Halicarnassus* itself, *Alexander* was sensible, that the reduction thereof would cost him both time and trouble: *Memnon*, whom *Darius* had declared high admiral, and governor of the *Lower Asia*, commanded there in person, with a very numerous garison P. *Alexander* encamped therefore at the distance of five stadia from the city, skirmishing daily with the garison, till he had provided all things for the siege.

*Is disappointed in  
his attempt upon  
Myndus.*

While things were in this situation, some of the citizens of *Myndus* privately promised *Alexander* to put their town into his hands, provided he would advance towards it in the night with a considerable body of forces. This proposition the king very readily accepted, and drew out a considerable body of horse, supported by a number of light-armed foot, in order to go on this expedition. At midnight therefore he approached the walls, according to his promise; but, perceiving no signs of a surrender from the citizens, and considering that he had neither engines nor scaling-ladders at hand, as coming thither not to besiege a city, but to have it delivered to him; he nevertheless ordered the *Macedonian* phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall; which they did, and presently overturned one of the towers thereupon, without making a breach in the wall itself. But the citizens making an obstinate defence, and being assisted by the *Halicarnassians*, who sent them succours by sea, *Alexander* was disappointed in his expedition of taking it at the first assault: wherefore without more ado he drew off, and returned to

° ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 19.

P DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

his siege of *Halicarnassus*: and first of all ordered the ditch *Returns to* which the citizens had dug round their walls of thirty cubits *the siege of* in breadth, and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, that so the Halicar-  
*nassus.*  
 wooden towers, out of which they were to direct their missive  
 weapons against the besieged, and their engines to shake the  
 walls, might advance forwards. The ditch being accordingly  
 filled up, the towers were advanced; but the besieged is-  
 sued forth by night, with a design of burning both the towers  
 and engines, which were now nigh the walls; and had cer-  
 tainly effected their design, had they not been encountered  
 by the *Macedonians* who were placed to guard the engines,  
 and others who came hastily forth at the noise of the skirmish;  
 so that they were, with small loss, beat back into the city.  
 There fell of the *Halicarnassians* in this conflict one hundred  
 and seventy, among whom was *Neoptolemus* the brother of  
*Arrhabæus*, and son of *Amyntas*, one of those who had for-  
 merly fled to *Darius*. Of the *Macedonians* sixteen were  
 slain, and near three hundred wounded; for that sally being  
 made in the night, they were the less able to guard their  
 bodies, and avoid the darts and arrows of their enemies.

WE have in *Arrian* a very exact journal of this siege,  
 wherein the greatest vigour was shewn on the part of the as-  
 sailants, the most obstinate resolution discovered by the defend-  
 ants, and the most consummate experience in the affairs of  
 war by both; for as the king's troops frequently attempted to Halicar-  
 scale the walls, continued constantly to batter them with en-  
 gines, and in some places proceeded by sap, so the garison *abandoned*  
 sallied often, sometimes burnt the besiegers engines, at others *by the Per-*  
*sians.*  
 levelled their works; yet were in all their attempts exposed to  
 great danger, there happening a vast effusion of blood on both  
 sides. At last *Orontobates* and *Memnon*, and the rest of the  
*Persian* commanders, considering that they could not now  
 hold the town long, because part of their walls was already  
 bear down, and part shaken, and ready to fall, and many of  
 the defendants either cut off in the several encounters which  
 had happened, or wounded and rendered unserviceable, and  
 having weighed the matter deliberately, about the second  
 watch of the night set fire to the wooden tower which they  
 had built to guard them from the shocks of the enemies en-  
 gines, and to the arsenal where their engines were lodged, as  
 also to some houses near the wall; which last blazed out with  
 much fury, because the wind setting that way, many flakes  
 of fire were driven from the tower and arsenal thither. Here-  
 upon some of the townsmen betook themselves to a castle in  
 an island, and others to another castle called *Salmis*: which

<sup>1</sup> ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 31.

<sup>2</sup> DIOD. Sic. ubi supra,  
 L. 12

when

when *Alexander* was informed of by some deserters, and when he beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheless detached a body of *Macedonians* thither, with orders to slay those who set fire to the city, but to spare whomsoever they found in their habitations. As soon as it was day-light, *Alexander* viewing the castles which the *Persians* and their mercenary troops had seized, resolved not to lay siege to them, as well because the reducing them, considering their situation, would take up too much time, as because they would not be of any great importance after he had reduced the city; wherefore taking care to inter those who fell in the last conflict by night, he commanded his engineers to convey the machines to *Tralles*, which city he laid level with the ground; and marching thence into *Phrygia*, left a body of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse, under the command of *Ptolemy*, to keep the country of *Caria* in obedience \*.

*Tralles raised by Alexander*  
*Ada made governess of Caria.*  
 AT the time *Alexander* entered this country, there was a woman of distinction, whose name was *Ada*, who claimed the title of queen of *Caria* thus: She was the daughter of *Hecatomnus*, and the sister of *Hidrieus*, and, according to the *Carian* laws, his wife too: on his death she succeeded him in the kingdom; but was quickly dispossessed of it by *Pexodorus*, whose son-in-law *Orontobates* succeeded him by the favour of *Darius*. *Ada* all this time held the city of *Alinda*, which was the strongest in those parts; the keys of which, as soon as *Alexander* entered the province, she delivered to him; and, as a farther mark of her respect, she adopted him her son. The king, charmed by her obliging behaviour, and struck with that greatness of mind she manifested on this sudden turn of affairs, received the honour she did him very kindly; and, after having demolished *Halicarnassus*, he made her governess-general of all *Caria* †. While his forces remained in *Caria*, *Ada* had often sent him presents of the best things the country afforded; and now, when he was about to depart, she sent him several cooks and confectioners to serve in his kitchen; but the king sent them back with this compliment, that his governor *Leonidas* long ago provided him better cooks than they; to wit, *Long morning marches to give him a stomach to his dinner; and slender dinners, which would leave appetite enough for supper.* This conduct of *Alexander* towards the queen of *Caria* was of great use to him; for it induced many of the princes of the *Lesser Asia* to revolt from the *Persian*, and put themselves under his protection. *Many princes revolt from the Persians.*

\* ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 24. See vol. v. p. 298, 299. † ARRIAN. ibid.

*thruidates* king of *Pontus* was in the number of these: he was the ancestor of that famous king of the same name, who gave the *Romans* so much trouble, and was descended from the royal house of *Persia*; and coming to *Alexander's* camp to pay his compliments to him, conceived such a love for him, that he accompanied him in his *Persian* expedition <sup>u</sup>.

*Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that the last action of the *The* campaign was against the *Marmarians*, an inconsiderable *slaughter of the* people inhabiting on the borders of *Lycia*; their city was seated among rocks, and thence held by them to be impregnable. These people, either for the sake of booty, or from *Marmarians.* their warm attachment to the *Persians*, fell upon the rear of *Alexander's* army, cut a great number of *Macedonians* to pieces, and took a great part of the baggage: this exceedingly provoked the king, who immediately caused the place to be invested, and as it had no fortifications but those of nature, he stormed it two whole days together. The old men then among the besieged would have persuaded them to surrender; but they declaring resolutely, that they would never submit, their elders advised them to put all the superannuated men, women, and children to death, and then to force a passage thro' the enemy's camp. This advice the young men embraced, when every one going home, made a great feast; and after eating and drinking plentifully with his wife and children, shut the door of his house, and then set it on fire. As soon as the flames began to mount, they, to the number of six hundred, sallied out, forced the *Macedonian* guard, and made their escape to the mountains <sup>x</sup>.

In the beginning of the winter, *Alexander* made choice of *The new-* *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus*, *Cænus* the son of *Polemoncrates*, married and *Meleager* the son of *Neoptolemus*, to lead home all the *men sent* new-married soldiers in his army, that they might spend the *home.* winter with their wives; an act very extraordinary in its nature, and for which there was no precedent among the *Greeks*; but inasmuch as it is exactly conformable to the law of *Moses*, some learned men have been tempted to believe, that *Aristotle*, who was well versed in the *Hebrew* learning, advised him thereto (F): however it was, *Arrian* tells us expressly, that no action of his life endeared him more to the *Macedonians* than this. He likewise sent *Parmenio*, and some other general officers to raise recruits, some into *Europe*, and some into *Asia* <sup>y</sup>.

THINGS

<sup>u</sup> FLOR. lib. iii. c. 5.    <sup>x</sup> DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.    <sup>y</sup> ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 25. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vi. Alex.

(F) The words of the law of are these: *When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out*



*A conspiracy discovered.*

THINGS being in this situation, and the king busy in providing for the next campaign, a very extraordinary piece of treason was discovered. *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*, whom the king had made general of the *Thessalian* horse, held a correspondence with *Amintas*, who was in the service with *Darius*. *Asifines* a *Persian*, was pitched on by the latter to carry letters to this *Alexander*, promising him a thousand talents of silver, and the kingdom of *Macedonia*, if he would undertake to murder the king: this *Asifines* *Parmenio* apprehended upon some suspicion or other; and being examined, he confessed the whole business: whereupon the king sent instructions to *Parmenio* to apprehend *Alexander* before he should be able to corrupt the troops under his command, and thereby cause a defection, which, on account of his great quality, might be very dangerous. This commission was

out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business; he shall be free at home for one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken (2). To this passage it might be objected, that *Moses* forbids the inlusting new-married men, whereas *Alexander* dismissed those who actually served in his army: yet the truth is, that *Alexander* exactly fulfilled the law; for in another place it is enjoined the principal officers of the *Hebrew* army, when in the field, to inquire, amongst other things, *What man is there that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her? let him go and return to his house, lest he die in battle, and another man take her* (3). We are well assured, that *Aristotle* was acquainted with, and highly esteemed, the law of the *Jews*: we know too, that what *Philip* expected from him was, not to instruct his son in scanning of verses, or solving grammatical niceties; but that

he might become a worthy successor of himself, and an able king of *Macedon*. To this end, that truly wise man put a correct edition of *Homer* into the hands of his pupil, and doubtless acquainted him with whatsoever else he had collected, in relation to the science of government, from books, or in his travels (4). This supposition therefore, that the practice of *Alexander* was founded on the *Mosaic* law, is very probable. To say the truth, the best laws in *Greece* were but copies of the *Mosaic* law, as some learned men in the last century have very fully shewn, and of which any impartial person may be easily convinced, if he will compare those laws in their original languages, and consider how nearly the *Greek* approaches to an elegant translation of the *Hebrew*, necessary allowances being made for the difference in manners.

(2) *Deut.* xxiv. 5.  
118, 11.

(3) *Deut.* xx. 7.

(4) *Jos. lib. contr. Ap.*

very happily executed, and the king thereby delivered from a conspiracy which had given him no small disquiet <sup>2</sup> (G).

As soon as the season permitted, *Alexander* quitted the Alexander province of *Phaselus* where he now was, and having sent part *proceeds in* of his army through the mountainous country to *Perga* by a *the con-* short, but difficult road, he led the rest by the sea-shore, *quest of* taking his route by a certain promontory, where the way is *the adja-* altogether impassable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the south wind had held for a long time; but of a sudden it changed, and blew from the north so violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they by divine assistance obtained a safe and easy passage. This is *Arrian's* account, not only in substance, but in his own words, of a march held by many to be miraculous, and even compared to that of the children of *Israel* through the *Red Sea*, while, on the other hand, it is the opinion of many there is nothing extraordinary in it at all <sup>3</sup> (H). In this march he

was

<sup>2</sup> *ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 26. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. 1* *ARRIAN. PLUT. ubi supra.*

(G) We are told by *Diodorus*, that it was by a letter from his mother *Olympias* the king was informed of the conspiracy of *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*: however, *Arrian*, besides the information of *Parmenio*, relates another odd circumstance, which concurred to make this matter more observable. While the king, who then lay before *Halicarnassus*, was fast asleep about noon, a swallow came chattering about him, hovering over his head, and resting sometimes on one, sometimes on the other side of the bed. He, being exceedingly fatigued, was not easily awaked; but, when her incessant chattering roused him from sleep, he put her away gently with his hand; notwithstanding which, she was so far from endeavouring to escape, that she perched upon his head, and

ceased not her noise till the king was thoroughly awake. This prodigy being deemed of too great moment to be disregarded, he immediately consulted with *Aristander* the *Telmissean* soothsayer, who assured him, that a conspiracy was formed against his life by one of his domestics, but that it would be brought to light, because the swallow was a domestic bird, and most exceedingly loquacious (5).

(H) There seems to be no just reason for believing any thing supernatural in relation to *Alexander's* passage by the sea-side. In his letters he spoke of it himself in terms the most plain and simple, affirming nothing more than that he marched from *Phaselis* through the streights called *the ladders* (6). There is, however, a passage in *Strabo*, which seems to set this matter in a clear

(5) *Arrian. lib. i. c. 26.*

(6) *Epist. Alex. ap. Plut. in vit. Alex.*

*The Af-  
pendians  
submit,  
and after-  
wards re-  
nounce*

was met by deputies from the *Aspendians*, who desired him to spare putting a garison into their city, because they were content to be his faithful subjects; to which he readily assented, upon condition they paid him fifty talents, and sent him the same number of horses which they were wont to furnish to *Darius*; terms to which they also readily agreed: but while the king was employed in reducing other places in the neighbourhood, the *Aspendians* fortified their city, and refused to comply with the treaty which their deputies had made. Upon which the king marched immediately that way with his army.

*They  
again sub-  
mit:*

*but have  
harder  
terms.*

THE city of *Aspendus* is seated chiefly upon an high and steep rock, the foot of which is washed by the river *Eurymedon*; but round the rock upon the plain are abundance of houses surrounded with a slight wall. As soon as *Alexander* approached, the inhabitants of the lower town, distrusting their safety there, fled, and betook themselves to the higher town or castle; which when he perceived, he entered the lower town with his army, and encamped within the walls. The besieged seeing *Alexander's* force, and themselves hemmed in on every side, contrary to their expectations, sent messengers to intreat him to accept of the former conditions. *Alexander* considering the strength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long siege, was willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms; but insisted now, that their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages; that the number of horses which they had before promised should be punctually delivered, and the number of talents doubled; and moreover, that they should be under the command of such a garison as he should place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the *Macedonians*; and lastly, that the cause concerning the field which they were said to

light, and to prove very fully, that there was in this passage no miracle at all. "Near the city of *Phaselis*, between *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, there is a passage coasting along by the sea, thro' which *Alexander* marched his army. This passage is very narrow, and lies between the mountain *Chinax*, which overlooks the *Pamphylian* sea, and the shore. It is dry at low-

water, so that travellers pass through it with safety; but, when the sea is high, it is all covered over. It was then in the winter-season; and *Alexander*, who depended much upon his good fortune, was resolved to set out, without staying till the floods were abated; so that his men were forced to march up to the middle in water (7)".

have wrested unjustly out of their neighbours hands, should be referred to arbitration. This affair being finished, the king prosecuted his march to *Telmessus*, a very strong city, seated on the top of an high mountain, having another as high over-against it, and a narrow craggy road between these two. This pass the *Telmessians* had seized; and if they had defended it as they ought, might, in all probability, have compelled the king to look for another road. But *Alexander* rightly judging, that the terror of an attack would oblige them to *pass of* withdraw, encamped his forces in the very entrance of the *Telmessus*. passage, at the close of the evening; and in the morning, as he had rightly conjectured, it was perceived, that the *Telmessians* were retired into their city, the siege of which, on account of its strong situation, the king declined for the present, and continued his march through *Phrygia*, intending to reassemble all his troops at *Gordium*, whither he sent his orders to *Parmenio* to march, as he did also to *Ptolemy* and his colleagues, who with the new-married men and recruits were now returned from *Macedonia* <sup>b</sup>. On his march he met with deputies from *Athens*, who in very submissive terms besought him to dismiss such of their citizens as he had taken fighting in the service of the *Persians*; but from this the king desired to be excused till the war was over; and then, he told them, he would be content to hear what they could say in favour of their citizens <sup>c</sup>.

*Darius* was all this time fighting for *Alexander* at home; *Darius* for upon the death of *Memnon* his admiral, who had begun *puts* *Chal-* with great success to reduce the *Greek* islands again under his *ridemus* *ta* obedience, and was on the very point of invading *Eubœa*, *death*. he was quite at a stand, not knowing whom to employ in his stead, and being also irresolute as to the choice of a general who should command the land-forces he had raised. There happened to be at this time of his court and council one *Charidemus* an *Athenian*, an officer of great merit, who had served long, and with much reputation, under *Philip* of *Macedon*. This man being heartily zealous for the *Persian* interest, and seeing it no less in danger from their own feeble counsels than from the *Macedonian* arms, took upon him in few words to set the king and his ministers right. While you, Sir, said he to *Darius*, are safe, the empire can never be at stake: let me exhort you, therefore, never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel

<sup>b</sup> ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 28.  
lib. iii. c. 2.

<sup>c</sup> ARRIAN. ubi supra. CURT.

him to abandon this enterprize; and if you will honour me with this command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise. *Darius*, who was a wise and brave man, readily acceded to *Gharidemus's* proposal; but the *Persian* lords who were present, through envy, bitterly inveighed against it; whereupon the *Athenian* was so far transported with passion, that he told them they were cowards, who would neither serve their master themselves, nor suffer him to be served by others. This moved them to charge him with treachery, and to allege, that he sought the command merely to put all things into the hands of the *Macedonians*; which made such an impression on *Darius*, that he ordered him to be instantly bound, and delivered over to execution. Those who had pushed the king upon this barbarous and unjust act took care not to let the thing cool, but hurried the *Athenian* to instant death; to which as he went, he said aloud, *Darius will very soon repent his cruelty towards me, when by the loss of his kingdom he shall find with how much injustice he has taken away my life*<sup>d</sup>. Indeed *Darius* repented in a few days; but, as our author rightly observes, powerful as he was, he could not recal from death him whom a hasty word had sent from the land of the living. He was forced therefore to take the counsel of his own subjects, and pursuant to their advice determined to march against *Alexander* with an army, which, as one of his predecessors emphatically said, had in it many men, and few soldiers.

*Alexander unties the Gordian knot.* WHEN *Alexander* arrived at *Gordium*, and found himself under a necessity of remaining there some time, till the several corps of his army could unite, he discovered an earnest desire of seeing *Gordius's* chariot, and the famous knot in the harness, of which such strange stories had been published to the world<sup>e</sup>. The cord in which this knot was tied was composed of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. *Alexander*, when he could find no possible way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, lest it should cause some fears to arise in the hearts of his soldiers, is said by some to have cut the cords with his sword, and to have affirmed, that the knot was untied (I).

ON

<sup>d</sup> DION. Sic. ubi supra. CURT. lib. iii. c. 5.      <sup>e</sup> See vol. iv. p. 455, 456.

(I) But *Aristobulus* assures us, of the beam of the waggon, that he wrested a wooden pin out which, being driven in across the beam,

ON *Alexander's* arrival at *Ancyra*, a city of *Galatia*, the *His* province of *Paphlagonia* submitted to him, which he there-*lance in* upon added to the government of *Galas*, proceeding instantly *entering* to reduce *Cappadocia* as far as the river *Halys*, and then *Cilicia*. marched on to possess himself of *Cilicia*. In it were three famous freights or passes: the first at its entrance called the gate: the second called the freights of *Amanus*: the third near the bay of *Iffus*. It was the first of these which *Alexander* sought to surprise by a quick march, and which, when he came to the camp of *Cyrus*, a place so called, because *Cyrus* the younger had once taken post there with his army, he had the mortification to hear had been seized by the *Persian*, who had sent a considerable body of troops to defend it. This did not hinder the king's pursuing his design, and marching in the first watch of the night with his horse and light-armed foot to the very mouth of the pass, in order to attack it as soon as the day broke. But the enemy spared him the trouble; for, long before day, forgetting the importance of the place, they abandoned it, and fought their safety in flight; so that *Alexander* immediately took possession of it, and the next day marched all his army through into *Cilicia* without so much as a skirmish \*.

As soon as he entered the province, he received advice, *His sharp* that *Arfames*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Tarsus*, *sickness,* was about to abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very *and won-* apprehensive he would plunder it before he withdrew. To *derful re-* prevent this the king marched incessantly, and arrived just *covery.* time enough to preserve the place: but his saving it had well-nigh cost him his life; for, either through the excessive fatigue of marching, as some say, or, as others relate, by his plung-

\* ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 9. See vol. v. p. 300.

beam, held it up, and so took the yoke from it. *Arrian* (8), from whom we have taken this relation, leaves his reader at liberty to receive which story he pleases. *Curtius*, on the contrary, declares positively, that the king cut the knot through with his sword, saying, as he struck, *It matters not how it is undone*. But what is the authority of *Curtius*, compared to that of *Aristobulus*, who was an eye-wit-

ness of the thing, and who declares as expressly, that the king did not cut it? to which sentiment also *Plutarch* adheres. However it was, *Arrian* informs us, that a great tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, happening in the succeeding night, it was held declarative of the true solution of this knot, and that *Alexander* would become lord of *Asia* (9).

(8) *Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30.*

(9) *Arrian. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.*

ing when very hot into the river *Cydnus*, which, as it runs thro' thick shades, hath its waters exceedingly cold, he fell into such a distemper as threatened his immediate dissolution. His army in a moment lost their spirits; his generals, who were wont to advise him, knew not what to do themselves; nay, his physicians were so affrighted, that the terror of his death hindered them from taking proper methods for preserving his life. *Philip* the *Acarnanian* alone preserved temper enough to examine the nature of the king's disease, the strongest symptom of which was a continual waking, which he promised by the help of a draught to take off, and by composing his spirits to put him in a way of recovery. But while *Philip* was employed in preparing his medicine, the king received a letter from *Parmenio*, in which he was advised to be cautious of taking any thing from *Philip*, *Darius* having suborned him to take away his life. Having perused the letter, the king put it under his head; and when *Philip* brought him the potion, he took it out, and reached it to the physician, drinking the mixture with a steady and smiling look, while *Philip* read the letter. The composure of the man's countenance, and the answer he gave to the letter by exhorting the king to quiet his thoughts, and to dispose himself to rest, assuring him, that he would recover his health, if he pursued his directions, convinced *Alexander* of the falshood of the accusation. When, according to *Philip*'s promise, the king began to recover his health, he not only testified an extraordinary gratitude towards the author of his cure, but also assured all who were about him, that he had the justest sense imaginable of their loyalty and affection to his person, notwithstanding any suggestions he might have received to their prejudice.

*He passes  
by Darius.*

IMMEDIATELY on his recovery, he dispatched *Parmenio* to seize the second streights, while he himself reduced such places in the neighbourhood as had not besought his protection. Being encamped at *Soli*, he received advice, that *Ptolemy* and *Ajander* had beat the generals of *Darius*, and made great conquests on the *Hellepont*. This was very grateful intelligence, and *Alexander* caused very magnificent feasts and shews to be made in his camp on that account. A little after he was informed, that *Darius* was advanced through *Syria* within two days journey of the streights; upon which the king immediately marched towards him, with such expedition, that, going thro' the defiles, he encamped near the city of *Myriandrus*. In the mean time *Darius*, led by his ill fate in the shape of his flatterers, had passed the streights of

<sup>b</sup> *ARRIAN*. lib. ii. c. 4. *CURT.* lib. iii. c. 10.

*Amanus*, and came down to *Iffus*, where he put most of the *Macedonians* he found to the sword <sup>i</sup>.

ALEXANDER was so much surpris'd, when he first received the news that *Darius* was behind him, that he could scarce believe it to be true; but when he was thoroughly satisfied of the fact, and that *Darius* had again pass'd the river *Pinarus*, he called a council of war, wherein, without asking any body's advice, he only told them, that he hoped they would remember their former actions; and that they, who were always conquerors, were about to fight people who were always beat. He further observ'd, that *Darius* seem'd to be infatuated, since he had with such expedition quitted an open and champaign country, where his numbers might have acted with advantage, to fight in a place inclos'd, where the *Macedonian* phalanx might well be drawn up, and where his multitudes could only incommode him. To these he added many other reflections on the antient glory of the *Greeks*, and as antient infamy of the *Barbarians*. When he had finish'd his oration, those who were present shook hands, and, commending the king's magnanimity, promis'd that they would do their duty. *Alexander* then made the necessary dispositions for repassing the mountains, posted guards where he found them necessary, and then commanded his troops to refresh themselves, and to take their rest till morning <sup>k</sup>.

AT break of day he began to repass the mountains, obliging his forces to move in close order, where the road was narrow, and to extend themselves as they had more room; the right wing keeping always close to the mountain, and the left to the sea-shore. On the right there was a battalion of heavy-armed troops, besides the targeteers under the command of *Nicanor* the son of *Parmenio*. Next these, extending to the phalanx, were the corps of *Cænus* and *Perdiccas*; and, on the left, the respective bodies commanded by *Amyntas*, *Ptolemy*, and *Meleager*. The foot appointed to support them were commanded by *Craterus*, but the whole left wing was committed to *Parmenio*, with strict orders not to decline from the sea-shore, lest the *Persians* should surround them. *Darius* ordered twenty thousand foot and thirty thousand horse to pass once again the river *Pinarus*, finding that he already wanted room to draw up the rest. His first line consist'd of thirty thousand *Greek* mercenaries, having on their right and left sixty thousand heavy-armed troops, being the utmost the ground would allow. On the left, towards the mountain, he posted twenty thousand men, which, from the hollow situation of the place, were brought quite behind *Alexander's*

<sup>i</sup> ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6. CURT. lib. iii. c. 16.

<sup>k</sup> Ibidem ibid.



right wing. The rest of his troops were formed into close and useless lines behind the *Greek* mercenaries, to the number in all of six hundred thousand men. When this was done, he suddenly recalled the horse who had passed the river, sending part of them to take post on his right against the *Macedonians* commanded by *Parmenio*; and the rest he ordered to the left towards the mountain; but, finding them unserviceable there, he sent the greatest part of them to the right; and then took upon himself, according to the custom of the *Persian* kings, the command of the main body. As soon as *Alexander* perceived that the weight of the *Persian* horse was disposed against his left wing, he dispatched, with as much secrecy as he could, the *Thessalian* cavalry thither, and supplied their places on the right by some brigades of horse from the van, and light-armed troops. He also made such dispositions, that, notwithstanding the mighty advantage of the hollow mountain, the *Persians* could not surround him. But, as these precautions had much weakened the centre of his army, he ordered those advanced posts on the enemy's left, of which he was most apprehensive, to be attacked at the very beginning of the fight; and, when they were easily driven from them, he recalled as many troops as were necessary to strengthen his centre<sup>1</sup>.

WHEN all things were in order, *Alexander* gave strict command, that his army should march very slowly. As for *Darius*, he kept his troops fixed in their posts, and in some places threw up ramparts; whence the *Macedonians* rightly observed, that he thought himself already a prisoner. *Alexander* at the head of the right wing engaged first, and without any difficulty broke and defeated the left wing of *Darius*. But, endeavouring to pass the river after them, his troops in some measure losing their order, the *Greek* mercenaries fell upon them in flank, and made them fight, not only for victory, but for their lives. *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus*, and an hundred and twenty *Macedonians* of some rank, were killed upon the spot. But the foot next to *Alexander's* right wing, coming in seasonably to its relief, fell upon the mercenaries in flank, amongst whom a dreadful carnage was made; they being in a manner surrounded by the horse and light-armed troops, which at first pursued the left wing, and the foot that had now passed the river. The *Persian* horse on the right still fought gallantly; but, when they were thoroughly informed of the rout of their left wing, of the destruction of the *Greek* mercenaries, and that *Darius* himself was fled, they began to break, and betake themselves to flight also. The *Thessalian* cavalry pursued them close at the heels; the narrow craggy

Battle of  
Issus.

Year of  
the flood  
2015.

Bef. Chr.

333.  
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¹ ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 8, 9.

roads incommoded them exceedingly, so that vast numbers of them perished. As for *Darius*, he fled, soon after the left wing was broken, in a chariot with a few of his favourites : as far as the country was plain and open, he escaped well enough ; but, when the roads became rocky and narrow, he quitted it, and, mounting an horse, rode all the night ; his chariot, in which were his cloak, and his bow, fell into the hands of *Alexander*, who carried them back to his camp ^m (K). The day after the battle, *Alexander* went with *Hephestion* to comfort the mother, wife, and daughters of *Darius*, who were

^m See vol. v. p. 304, 305.

(K) In respect to the battle of *Iffus*, *Diodorus* informs us, that *Alexander* looked every-where about for *Darius* ; and, as soon as he discovered him, with his handful of guards attacked him, and the flower of the *Persian* army, which was about him ; being as desirous of obtaining this victory by his personal valour, as of subduing the *Persian* empire by the courage of his soldiers. But when *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius* saw *Alexander's* design, and how fiercely he fought to accomplish it, he threw himself, with the horse who were about him, between his brother's chariot and the enemy, where an obstinate fight was maintained, till the dead bodies rose like an entrenchment about the chariot of *Darius*. Many of the *Persian* nobility were slain, and *Alexander* himself was wounded in the thigh. At last, the horses in the chariot of *Darius* started, and became so unruly, that the king himself was forced to take the reins ; the enemy, however, pressed so hard upon him, that he was constrained to call for another chariot, and mounted it in

great danger. This was the beginning of the rout, which soon after became general. According to this author, the *Persians* lost twelve hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse ; the *Macedonians* three hundred foot, and an hundred and fifty horse. After the battle he tells us that *Alexander* returned to *Darius's* tent, and there bathed, and was lodged, with all the luxury and magnificence of a *Persian* prince. He gives us also the story of *Alexander's* visit to *Sisygambis*, with this addition, that the king called to him the little son of *Darius*, and kissed him. The boy coming readily, and shewing no sort of terror, the king, turning to *Hephestion*, said, *This boy of six years old hath a noble countenance, an high spirit, and is more worthy of esteem than his father*. He then promised, that he would take the same care of the child, as if he were his own ; and assured the young princesses, that he would be no less careful to provide matches for them than *Darius* himself would have been (1). *Plutarch* assures us, on the authority of one *Chares*, that

(1) *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii.*

were taken prisonersⁿ. As the garb of *Alexander* and *Hephæstion* were much alike, *Sisygambis* the mother of *Darius* fell down at the feet of *Hephæstion*, being somewhat taller, supposing him to be the king; but, when some of the attendants signified to her, by motions of their heads and hands, that she was mistaken, she immediately went and paid her devoirs to the king himself. He, seeing her in some confusion, took her by the hand, and raised her up, saying, *Do not be uneasy, mother: you were not in the wrong; for he too is Alexander*° (L).

ALEX-

ⁿ See vol. v. p. 304.

° ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 10, 11, 12.

Darius himself wounded *Alexander* in the thigh: yet *Plutarch* observes, that *Alexander*, in his letter to *Antipater*, though he mentions the wound in his thigh, says nothing of his having received it from *Darius*. On his return to the camp, after the pursuit, he entered *Darius's* tent, and immediately cried out, *Come, let us cleanse and refresh ourselves in Darius's bath*. No, cried one of his attendants, *call it rather Alexander's; for the goods of the vanquished belong to the victor by the law of arms*. After bathing, participating of a fine entertainment, and being conducted into the magnificent bedchamber of the *Persian* king, *Alexander* could not help saying, with an air of transport, *This is to be a prince indeed!* As to the respect shewn to the women, *Plutarch's* account is only a little warmer, and more exalted, than that of *Arrian* and *Diodorus* (2). *Justin* informs us, that the *Persian* army consisted of four hundred thousand foot, and an hundred thousand horse. He says, that the battle was hard fought, that both the kings were wounded, and that the *Persians* still fought gallantly

when their king fled; but that they were afterwards speedily and totally routed: he is very particular as to their loss, which he says amounted to sixty-one thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand taken prisoners. Of the *Macedonians* he says there fell no more than an hundred and thirty foot, and an hundred and fifty horse (3). *Curtius*, not mentioning the armies passing by each other, makes the whole of his relation very confused. Indeed it is so laboured, that it appears rather an exercise of rhetoric than a candid narration, and the close of it, which is what we have most to do with, exceeds all the rest. He agrees that of the *Persians* there fell an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: of *Alexander's* arm, five hundred and four, he says, were wounded; thirty-two foot, and an hundred and fifty horse, killed. That we may not suspect any error in transcribers, his own observation confirms the fact: *tantulo impendio ingens victoria fletit*, so small was the cost of so great a victory (4).

(L) This passage is found in

(2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*
c. 20—29.

(.) *Justin, lib. xi. c. 9.*

(4) *Curt. lib. iii.*

ALEXANDER made the best use of this signal victory, encouraging the provinces and petty princes in the neighbourhood to come and submit themselves voluntarily, treating all that did so, not as new and conquered, but as old and hereditary subjects, neither burdening them with soldiers, nor oppressing them with tribute. *Menon*, an antient officer of his, he appointed governor of *Cœlesyria*, and assigned him such a body of horse, as he judged necessary for the safety of the province. The *Persians* had all this time a great fleet at sea, to which most of the little princes on the maritime coasts had been forced to join all the ships they could furnish, rather out of fear, than any inclination they had to concern themselves in the present dispute about the dominion of *Asia*, which, however it ended, they knew would leave them, where it found them, tributaries and dependents. *Strato* the son of *Gerostratus*, king of *Arados*, and the neighbouring isles, took this opportunity of making peace for his father's subjects, who were in the utmost danger; their king, with all their naval force, being failed to join the *Persian* fleet. *Strato* prevented *Alexander's* march towards the dominions he held on the continent, by going of his own accord to his head-quarters, where, presenting him with a crown of gold, he submitted himself, and all his dominions, to his pleasure; whereby *Alexander* reaped all that he fought, *viz.* glory and power; and *Strato* lost nothing, but, on the contrary, avoided the *Macedonian's* entering his territories in an hostile manner ^P (M).

AMONG

^P See vol. ii. p. 380.

Arrian, who confesses that he met with it in the works of most historians of those times; yet he seems dissident of the truth of it, and contents himself with saying what ought always to be said when it is mentioned; *That there is so much worth and beauty in the action, as ought to incline us to wish it true at least, if not to believe it.* Other historians have not been so nice; they found the story good, inserted it therefore in their writings; and, taking occasion from thence to extol the virtue and clemency of *Alexander*, have never troubled their

readers with any suspicions as to the certainty of the fact. But we, in this, as in our relation of the battle, have stuck close to *Arrian*, from whom indeed there is no stirring without danger of falling, not only into uncertainties, but into incredibilities; as the reader will perceive from a short specimen of inconsistencies extracted from other writers, and digested in the foregoing note (4).

(M) We have omitted in our text a very remarkable passage in *Alexander's* life, which is attested by many credible authors,

AMONG other places belonging to *Gerostratus* was *Marathus*, a city on the continent, very considerable in respect of its extent, its wealth and beauty; thither, for the sake of better

among others by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, though it is not mentioned by *Arrian* at all. The reason, however, of our omitting it was, we knew not how or where certainly to place it. The story is best told by *Curtius*, and therefore from him we shall take it. He says, that, *Strato* king of *Sidon* being cordially attached to *Darius's* interest, *Alexander*, when he was in the neighbourhood of the city, gave his favourite *Hephestion* leave to bestow the kingdom upon whom he would. *Hephestion*, having lodged with two brothers, and, being extremely taken with their kindness towards him, offered them the kingdom; but they, alleging that by the laws of the country it was hereditary, refused it on account of their not being of the royal blood. *Hephestion*, charmed with so noble a disinterestedness, desired them to name him to whom it of right belonged. The brethren readily told him, that there was one *Abdolonymus* of the blood-royal, who was so poor, that he kept a little kitchen-garden, and wrought in it for a subsistence, in the suburbs. To him, by the direction of *Hephestion*, they carried the royal robes and crown: they found him weeding, and, having told him their errand, made him wash and clean himself, and put on the royal robes. He was then conducted to *Alexander*, about whom there were many who could not help inveighing against the raising so mean a man to the

throne. *Alexander* looked on him a little, and then, turning to those who were near him, said, *His person does not at all disgrace his birth: I would be glad to know how he bore his poverty. I would to heaven*, cried the new king, *I may bear my prosperity as well! these hands have ministered to my necessities; and, as I had nothing, so I wanted nothing.* *Alexander* was so well pleased with this answer, that he gave him the palace, furniture, and private estate of *Strato*; nay, and added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom (5). *Diodorus*, instead of *Sidon*, lays the scene at *Tyre*, after the reduction of that place; but in this he must be mistaken, for the name of the first king of *Tyre* was not *Strato*, neither was he absent when the city was taken; but, on the contrary, was himself taken in it, and, as we shall hereafter see, was also left king of *Tyre* by *Alexander*. *Diodorus* calls also the new king *Ballonimus*. He says too, that he was expressly recommended to the king by *Hephestion*, as a person of his own knowledge (6). *Plutarch* is wholly silent in his life of *Alexander* on this subject, but elsewhere he tells us the story. He transports us, however, to *Paphos*, where he says, the former king being deprived for tyranny, *Alynomus*, a poor man, who had no possession but his garden, was by *Alexander* raised to the kingdom, because he was of the royal

(5) *Curt. lib. iv. c. 4.*

(6) *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii.*

better accommodation, *Alexander* marched, and remained there a considerable time, while he debated in his council on the properest means for establishing the tranquillity of his new-acquired dominions, and for carrying on the war against *Darius*. As for that prince, after he had a little recovered his astonishment, he collected, as well as he could, the scattered remains of his army, and retired with them as speedily as possible beyond the river *Euphrates*: from thence he wrote to *Alexander* at *Marathus*, and sent also ambassadors to intreat him to set at liberty his mother, his wife and children. In his letter he expostulated pretty warmly on the injustice of the war commenced against him: he alleged, that neither he, nor any of his predecessors, had ever injured the *Macedonians*; that *Philip* had invaded them without any declaration of war; and that himself had prosecuted that invasion, without signifying what grievances he had sustained, or what satisfaction he expected; that, as to the end of the war, providence would determine; but that, in the interim, he, who was still a king, requested of *Alexander* as a king also, that he would restore to him his mother, wife, and children; and also name plenipotentiaries to treat of peace.

Embassadors sent from Darius to intreat the discharge of his mother, wife and children.

ALEXANDER sent back the ambassadors, and with them *Thersippus*, charged with a letter to *Darius*, the contents of which we have given elsewhere ¹.

PARMENIO, according to the instructions he had received, possessed himself intirely of the treasure, equipage, baggage, and whatever else *Darius* had left at *Damascus*, under the command of *Cophanes*; all which, by the express direction of the king, he carried back to the same city, and there took an exact account of them. Amongst other prisoners were the *Greek* ambassadors sent from *Sparta*, *Athens*, and *Thebes*, to negotiate with the king the raising a commotion, which might oblige *Alexander* to return home. These, by command of the king, were sent to him as traitors. As for the two *Theban* ambassadors, *Alexander* said, as he had left them no city in *Greece*, they had some reason for what they did; and there-

¹ See vol. v. p. 307.

blood (7). But against this there is a material objection, which is, that *Alexander* never was at *Paphos*. As *Curtius* has told the story, it is well enough, especially as it is supported by

Justin (8); yet not so well as to deserve a place in the body of the history, since it is impossible to set this story absolutely free from all objections.

(7) *Orat. de fortun. Alex.*

(8) *Justin. Hist. lib. xi. c. 10.*

Alexander fore *Ismenes* being of a noble family, and *Dionysodorus* having been victor in the *Olympic* games, he, partly out of compassion to their country, and partly out of respect to themselves, freely set them at liberty. When he knew that the *Athenian* ambassador was *Iphicrates* the son of *Iphicrates*, the famous general, he said, his family were under too many obligations to his father for his son to suffer any thing from his hands; and therefore he not only dismissed him, but treated him with great kindness. As for *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian*, he would hear nothing either in favour of him or his country, but ordered him to remain in custody; tho' afterwards, when affairs were better settled, he let him too go at large. Thus *Alexander* wisely kept terms with all the *Grecian* states, tho' at the same time he prudently pretended pity, and personal respect, that it might not be at all suspected his moderation was tinged with fear; though, as we shall hereafter hear from his own mouth, he had but a very indifferent opinion of the affection of the *Greeks*; and therefore, as he trusted them little, so he was by no means forward to provoke them.

The Tyrians *Tyre* was in the number of those places, which, within a short space after the battle of *Iffus*, sent deputies to submit themselves to the conqueror; the king, whose name was *Azelmicus*, was absent in the *Persian* fleet; but his son was of the number of the deputies, and *Alexander* received him as favourably as he had done those who came from *Byblus* on the same errand. It is possible the king intended to honour *Tyre* farther; for he acquainted the citizens, that he would come and sacrifice to the *Tyrian Hercules*, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a most magnificent temple. But these people, like most other trading nations, were too suspicious to think of admitting so enterprising a prince, with his troops, within their walls. They therefore sent their deputies to him again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he should command them; but, as to his coming and sacrificing in their city, they could not consent to that, but were positively determined not to admit so much as one *Macedonian* within their gates. *Alexander* immediately dismissed their deputies in great displeasure. He then assembled a council of war, wherein he insisted strongly on the disaffected state of *Greece*, the power of the *Persians* at sea, and the folly of carrying on the war in distant provinces, while *Tyre* was left unreduced behind them; he also remarked, that, if this city was once subdued, the sovereignty of the sea would be immediately transferred to them, because it would fix their possession of the coast; and, as the *Persian* fleet was composed

chiefly of tributary squadrons, those tributaries would fight the battles, not of their late, but of their present masters. These reasons having persuaded the council to concur with them (N), the siege was immediately resolved on. But of this siege, of the gallant behaviour both of the *Tyrians* and *Macedonians*, of the storming of the place, and the hard treatment the inhabitants met with at the hands of *Alexander*, we have spoken at length in the history of *Tyre*, to which we refer the reader (O). While he was employed in this long siege, embaf-

See vol. ii. p. 375 — 379.

(N) It may seem somewhat strange, that *Alexander*, now in the current of his victories, an absolute prince, and impetuous in his temper, should condescend to explain himself so much at large as to the nature and importance of his designs. But we are to consider, that his army was composed of veteran troops, commanded by old and experienced officers; that their valour did not consist in a short extravagant fury, but in a cool and determined resolution; in order to engage which, there was a necessity that the king should shew them not only what he would have them do, but why he conceived it fit to be done. Nor did his authority suffer at all thereby; for, as the *Macedonians* always held themselves subjects, and not slaves, so, when once they were acquainted with the nature and expedience of the service required from them, they were indefatigable, and never refused to share any danger in the execution of an undertaking they had once resolved on (9).

(O) The taking of *Tyre* was foretold by a multitude of omens, if any credit may be given to the historians who have recorded them: we have reserved

them for a note, that they might not perplex the history: we shall mention only such as are most remarkable, that we may not tire the reader; and we shall leave him to make what judgment of them he pleases, without pretending to regulate his sentiments by our own. *Arrian* assures us, that, the very night after *Alexander* had taken the resolution of besieging the place, he had a dream or vision, wherein he seemed to be scaling the walls of *Tyre*, in which he was assisted by *Hercules*, who gave him his hand to raise him up. *Aristander* explained this to be an infallible sign of the taking the city; but he declared, that it was a sign likewise the siege would prove an *Herculean* labour (1). *Plutarch* says, that there is a well in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, which the inhabitants shewed, affirming, that *Alexander* slept near it when the place was first besieged; and that, sleeping there, he dreamt that a satyr came and mocked him; that he ran after him a long time in vain; but that at last, and with much ado, he got hold of him. The diviners gave him an easy and elegant explanation of this vision; for, dividing the *Greek* word *satyros*,

(9) *Diod. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv. c. 7. Arrian. lib. ii. c. 16.*

(1) *Arrian lib. ii.*

embassadors came again from *Darius* with new proposals, which were likewise rejected, as we have related at length in the history of *Persia* ¹.

He
marches to
Jerusalem, and
treats the
high priest
respect-
fully.

TYRE thus subdued, *Alexander*, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, resolved to make an expedition into *Syria*; and in his way thither purposed to chastise the *Jews*, who had highly offended him during the siege of *Tyre*; for, when he sent to demand of them provisions for the subsistence of his soldiers, they answered, that they were the subjects of *Darius*, bound by oath not to supply his enemies. When these people knew of the king's march towards them, they

¹ See vol. v. p. 308.

they shewed its signification to be, *Thine is Tyre* (2). In this city a man saw in a dream *Apollo* flying away: when he reported this before the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them; on which the poor man was forced to fly to the temple of *Hercules*; but the magistrate, having better considered it, fixed one end of a gold chain to the statue of *Apollo*, and the other to the altar of *Hercules*. A strange expedient this, and a pregnant instance of epidemic madness and superstition! however, when *Alexander* took the place, he set *Apollo* at liberty, and ordered him to be filed *Philalexandrus*, that is, a lover of *Alexander* (3). *Diodorus* is very particular in the account he gives of all the methods practised by *Alexander's* engineers, and those of the town. It is too long to transcribe; but may be read by those who are skilled in such matters to very good purpose, as well as *Arrian's* accurate detail of the same siege; for it is certain, that the *Tyrians* did as much to defend themselves, as the wit or courage of man at that

time would allow, neither was it altogether in vain, since it cost *Alexander* several months, and put all the force he had to the utmost stretch, before they were reduced. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Aristander* having, from the entrails of a sacrifice offered at the beginning of the seventh month, predicted, that it would be taken therein, the soldiers, when the general storm was protracted to the very last day of that month, began to deride him; but *Alexander*, to save the prophet's credit, ordered it to be called the twenty-eighth day of the month, instead of the thirtieth, which, however, was needless, for the place was taken the same day (4). *Curtius's* account of the siege swells with miraculous mounts, and wonderful triumphs over the sea. He exhausts whole provinces for timber, and makes free with mount *Libanus*, though *Alexander* never went near it (5). It is certain that *Alexander* did great things here; but *Nebuchadnezzar* had done as much before, when he took the same place (6).

(2) *Plat. in vit. Alex.*
supra.

(3) *Curt. lib. iv.*

(4) *Diod. Sic ubi supra.*

(5) *Ezek. xxi. 18.*

(6) *Plut. ubi*

were under the greatest terror, and, as their last resource, had recourse to solemn acts of devotion, to prayers, processions, and particular fasts, till at length God was pleased to answer their petitions, by commanding *Jaddua* the high-priest in a vision to array himself in his pontifical habit, to direct the priests to put on their proper garments, and, with the people clothed in white, to advance in slow and solemn order to meet the *Grecian* prince. *Jaddua* and the rest did as they were commanded, and, issuing out of the gates of *Jerusalem*, advanced as far as *Sapha*, an eminence at a small distance from the city, from whence, as soon as they discerned *Alexander's* approach, they went to meet him. The king, when the high-priest drew near, halted towards him, bowed himself before him, and saluted him with religious veneration. This scene, which amazed the *Macedonians*, struck the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* not only with surprize, but with sorrow and discontent ; for out of mere hatred to the *Jews* they had taken part in this expedition. *Parmenio*, being near him, took the liberty of asking the king, why he adored the *Jewish* high-priest ; to whom the king readily answered, He did not adore the priest, but God, whose minister he was : for, when he was at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, and much troubled in his mind about the preparations necessary for his passing into *Asia*, he had a dream, wherein he saw this very person in his pontifical habit, who commanded him to lay aside doubts and fears, and pass boldly into *Asia* ; for that God would be his guide, and give him the empire of the *Persians* : on seeing, therefore, this person, he was convinced, that what he did was by the express assistance of the Deity, who, he doubted not, would protect him in all his future expeditions ; wherefore, in gratitude for former victories, and to testify his trust in the divine power, he had humbled himself before the priest. He afterwards accompanied *Jaddua* to *Jerusalem*, which he entered in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices in the temple : the high-priest shewed him also the prophecies of *Daniel*, wherein the destruction of the *Persian* empire by himself is set forth, not in dark obscure terms, in equivocal or unintelligible verses, but graphically, as if the prophet had seen the whole transaction, and every circumstance attending it ; whence it came to pass, that the king went away extremely well satisfied, and, at his departure, asked if there was nothing in which he might gratify himself, or his people. *Jaddua* then told him, that, according to the *Mosaic* law, they neither sowed nor plowed on the seventh year ; therefore would esteem it an high favour, if the king would be pleased to remit their tribute in that year. To this request the king readily yielded ; and, having confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their privileges, particularly that

of living under, and according to, their own laws, he then departed. In his march, the *Samaritans*, who, on the refusal of the *Jews*, had furnished him with provisions before *Tyre*, applied themselves to him, in hopes of procuring from him still greater matters than the *Jews* had done; but, though *Alexander* received them civilly, and afforded them a patient hearing of their request, yet he dismissed them with an unavailing answer, that he had now many great affairs upon his hands; but that, when he should return from his *Egyptian* expedition, he would examine into, and, provided they were reasonable, comply with their demands. Having thus removed all difficulties so far, he advanced towards *Gaza*, the only place in this part of the world which was still held for *Darius* " (P).

G. be- *GAZA* was a very large and strong city, seated about five
 66. miles from the sea-shore, on an high hill, surrounded with strong walls. One *Batis* or *Bitis*, an eunuch, had the government thereof committed to him by *Darius*; who, foreseeing what would come to pass, took care to provide all things necessary for a long and obstinate defence, causing all the fortifications to be repaired, and magazines to be well fur-

JOSEPH. antiq. Jud. lib. xi.

(P) The truth of this account is greatly suspected by some modern critics, for the following reasons; 1. All the ancient writers bring *Alexander* directly from *Tyre* to *Gaza*, without taking here, or any where else, the least notice of his march to *Jerusalem*. 2. *Josephus* writes, that *Alexander* was accompanied in his march to *Jerusalem* by the *Phœnicians* and *Chaldeans*: the *Phœnicians*, indeed, who were a conquered nation, might well be in his train; but at that time he had neither seen nor conquered *Chaldea*. 3. *Parmenio* is introduced by *Josephus* asking *Alexander*, how he came to worship the high-priest, when all the world worshiped himself. Now it is certain *Alexander* did not claim divine honours till after the

complete conquest of *Persia*, and the death of *Darius*. 4. The high priest begged of *Alexander*, according to *Josephus*, that he would allow the *Jews* in *Babylon* and *Media* the free exercise of their religion; which implies, that *Alexander* was then possessed of that part of *Asia*, which is certainly false. 4. *Jaddua* the high-priest was dead, according to the *Alexandrian* chronicle, some years before *Darius Codomannus* came to the crown. By these reasons a modern critic has been induced to look upon the whole story as an arrant fable taken by *Josephus* upon trust from tradition, or some Jewish writer; the rather, as he has not here produced his vouchers, which he never fails to do on all other occasions (7).

(7) See Moyle's works, vol. ii. p. 26, & seq.

nished; and, fearing his garison might be too small, he hired certain *Arabian* troops to serve in the place. All this he did, knowing of what importance *Gaza* was to his master, standing as it did in the entrance to *Egypt*, and being at the same time a bridge to *Palastine*. When *Alexander* summoned him, *Betis* returned a resolute answer, that he would defend it as long as he was able. Many of the king's council, looking on the place as impregnable, dissuaded him from meddling with it; but he was not easily diverted from any thing he had once resolved on: *Gaza* therefore was instantly invested; and, where he thought the walls were weakest, he caused a mount to be thrown up, and from thence brought his engines to play upon the city. At the beginning of this siege a very extraordinary accident happened: The king being about to sacrifice, and having a crown of gold on his head, a bird of prey, hovering some time over him, let fall at last a stone from between his claws upon his head, and soon after, flying to the engines, was there taken, his feet being entangled in the nets which covered the ropes wherewith they were wrought. Upon this, *Aristander* was immediately consulted; and his answer was, that the city would certainly be taken; but at the same time he cautioned the king not to be so adventurous as he was wont, because some great danger was threatened to himself. The king accepted this advice very kindly, and did not expose himself for some time; but one day, when the *Arabs* made a furious sally, and set fire to his engines, and had well-nigh driven the troops from the mount, he forgot the caution he had received, and, advancing with a body of targeteers, regained the post which had been lost, and drove the enemy into the place. But, in the heat of the engagement, he was wounded by an arrow, which, piercing his shield and breast-plate, lodged in his shoulder. Far from being concerned at this accident, he expressed no small satisfaction therein; for, one part of the prediction being fulfilled, he questioned not but the other would come to pass. As soon as the great engines he had made use of at *Tyre* arrived by sea, he carried his works quite round the city, and battered the walls in several places at once. In the mean time, where the battering engines were not at work, he employed miners, who working secretly under the foundation of the walls, they suddenly fell down, to the great surprize of the citizens. When through these several methods a breach was practicable, three several attacks were made by the *Macedonians* with much resolution, in which, notwithstanding, they were repulsed with great effusion of blood. In the fourth the citizens had not such fortune; for the place was taken by storm, and they, va-

Alexander
wounded.

The town
taken by
storm.

*The state
of Egypt
at that
time.*

liantly fighting, were slain to a man *. These obstacles removed, and a garison left in *Gaza*, there was nothing now to hinder his so earnestly desired expedition into *Egypt* (Q).

As soon as his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and he had received a body of recruits from *Greece*, *Alexander* marched from *Gaza*, and, in the space of seven days, reached *Pelusium*. Here he found no resistance; for *Mazaces* the *Persian* governor was able to make none †. He was despirited with the continual misfortunes which had befallen his master's arms; he had a very indifferent army; and, which was still worse, he had the hearts of the most numerous nation in the world against him (R). *Mazaces* therefore, reflecting

* ARRIAN. lib. ii. cap. ult.
in vit. Alex. CURT. l. iv. c. 27.

† ARRIAN. l. iii. c. i. PLUT.

(Q) If *Darius* had always chosen such governors as this *Betis*, *Alexander*, with all the power of *Greece*, would not have triumphed so easily; for though this siege lasted but two months, yet it cost him such a number of men, that he sent *Amyntas* into *Macedonia* for recruits, and took pains to increase his army while it was in *Egypt*. *Curtius* has a very strange story in his account of this siege, and is singular in it; for there is not a word mentioned of any such thing elsewhere, if we except one legendary writer, whose credit is scarce upon a par with his own: the story is this: An *Arabian* soldier, pretending to desert, came to *Alexander*, and fell at his feet. The king put out his hand to raise him up, ordering, that he should be kindly received; but, as he arose, he, with a sword that was concealed under his shield, struck at the king's throat. *Alexander* avoided the blow by a gentle inclination of his body, and immediately after cut off the villain's

head with his own sword (8). It was *Neoptolemus*, a near relation of *Alexander* by the mother's side, who first mounted the walls of *Gaza*. *Plutarch* does not tell us any thing of the number of the slain. *Curtius* says, there fell of the citizens ten thousand. Another author reduces this to six thousand (9). As to the *Macedonians*, we know nothing of their loss at all; and indeed, whenever we have any accounts of their losses, they are set so very low, that it is difficult to give credit to them; especially when, as in the present case, there are concurring circumstances, which amount to a proof, that their losses must have been very great.

(R) It will afford much help to the subsequent narration, and yet take up very little room, to set this matter in a proper light. Most of the provinces of the *Persian* empire shewed a great deal of loyalty to *Darius*; but *Egypt*, as it had never been faithful to any of his predecessors, so it was

(8) Curt. l. iv.

(9) *Hegesias Magnus*.

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reflecting on all these things, and terrified perhaps with the examples of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, determined to admit *Alexander* peaceably. The king, having entered so easily, sailed up the *Nile*, after leaving a garison in *Pelusium*; and, when he was come to a convenient height, he landed, and, leaving the river on his right hand, marched through the deserts to *Helopolis*; then, crossing the river, he came to *Memphis*, where he offered pompous sacrifices, not only to the *Grecian* gods, but also to the *Egyptian Apis*. He likewise celebrated magnificent games, whereat assisted the most renowned champions in *Greece*.

FROM *Memphis* he sailed down the river to the sea: having passed round the city *Canopus*, he fixed on the place where the village of *Scandria* or *Alexandretta* now stands, as a convenient situation for a fine port, and magnificent city. *Alexander* himself directed where every public structure should be erected. He also fixed the number of temples, the deities to whom they should be dedicated, and assigned particularly a large and eminent site for a temple to the *Egyptian Isis*. There was nothing now wanting but to trace, according to custom of those times, the walls of the city: for doing this they had no materials at hand, this project of building a city being sudden: however, a workman advised the king to collect what meal there was among the foldiers, and to sift it in lines upon the ground, whereby the circuit of the walls would be well enough marked out (S). *Alexander* followed this advice, which

now very impatient of throwing off his yoke, without regarding what other yoke it put on. The chief reason of this was the great diversity between the religion of the *Persians* and that of the *Egyptians*. Not only *Cambyses*, who was a tyrant, but *Ochus*, who was a voluptuous prince, had slain their consecrated *Apis*, and profaned the most sacred rites of their religion. The *Persian* governors, and their under-officers, ran all into the same humour; and thus the whole body of the people were exasperated in the highest degree against the government they should have defended, from principles, which, of all

others, make men the most furious, viz. those of religion. The *Egyptians* had but a little before shewn the excess of their rancour, by joining with *Amyntas*, who, with four thousand mercenaries, fled thither from the battle of *Issus*, and thought to have set up for himself; in which the *Egyptians* furthered him all they could (1).

(S) We follow the authority of *Arrian* in placing *Alexander's* directing the building of the city honoured with his name before he went to visit the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*; *Diodorus* and other authors placing it afterwards, alleging, that it so happened. The

(1) *Diod.* l. xvii. *Curt.* ubi supra, l. iv. c. 26.

which answered very well ; and *Aristander*, having considered it attentively, told the king, that it was an omen of the new city's abounding with all the necessities of life. Some say, that the bounds were no sooner marked out, than great numbers of birds came and pecked up the meal, and then flew away ; which when the rest of the soothsayers held for an ill omen, *Aristander* alone held it to be a good one, affirming its meaning to be, that the city built in that place should become so populous as to send out colonies, as they had seen birds feed and live from it¹. He was certainly an excellent servant to his master ; for he was never at a loss either for expedients or expositions, and perhaps digressed as little from the rules of his art as any of his contemporaries.

Alexander At this time *Alexander* formed his extraordinary design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. As to the motives which induced him thereto, authors disagree (1) ; but, whatever they

¹ ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 1, 2. ubi supra.

² CURT. l. iv. c. 32. DIOD.

last-mentioned historian says, that it was seated very commodiously by the haven of *Pharos* ; that the frets were wisely contrived, so as to admit the cooling breezes, which mightily refreshed the air. In point of strength, it ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, so as to leave the sea close on one side, and a great lake on the other, and a narrow pass at each end. Its form resembled that of a soldier's coat. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, being in breadth an hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after-ages so rich and famous, that, our author tells us, in his time there were on its rolls three hundred thousand freemen. *Plutarch* affirms, that he was directed to the choice of this situation by *Horus* in a vision ; and, according to his account of the

matter, a more pleasant, or more convenient, place could not have been chosen (2). *Alexander* himself was a prince of great taste ; he looked upon works of this kind as the noblest monuments, and therefore spared neither pains nor cost in completing them. The architect he employed here was the celebrated *Dinocrates*, who had raised himself an immortal reputation by rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* : to him, he consigned the care of this work, which did the highest honour in succeeding times to its founder and architect (3).

(T) *Arrian* tells us, that they were chiefly founded in the imitation of *Perseus* and *Hercules*, the former of whom had consulted that oracle, when he was dispatched against the *Gorgons* ; and the latter twice, viz. when he went

(1) *Diod. ubi supra.*
c. 26. *Plut. l. xviii. p. 190.*

they were, certain it is, that he hazarded himself and his troops in the highest degree, there being two dangers in this march, which, with the example of *Cambyfes*, who lost the greatest part of his army in it, might have terrified any body but *Alexander*. The first was the want of water, which, in the sandy deserts surrounding the temple, is no-where found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the sands, which, changing their situation every moment, leave the traveller neither track to march in, nor mark to march by. From these impending mischiefs all authors agree that *Alexander* was miraculously delivered; for, when the water brought on camels backs was spent, there fell a prodigious shower of rain, wherewith they filled all their vessels; and, when their guides could no longer distinguish the road, they were directed by supernatural harbingers; though as to them authors do not agree (U).

into *Libya* against *Antæus*, and when he passed into *Egypt* against *Bufiris*. Now as these heroes, *Perseus* and *Hercules*, gave names out to be the sons of *Jupiter*, so the *Macedonians* since had a mind to be the sons of *Jupiter*. *Hammon*, *Maximus Tyrius* informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the *Nile* (2). *Diodorus* tells us in few words, that he went to consult the oracle (3). *Plutarch* is as concise (4). *Justin* assigns a very singular reason; he says, there had been always great jealousies about *Alexander's* birth; that *Philip* was never thoroughly convinced of his being his son; that, a little before his death, he had openly declared, that he was satisfied he was not; that *Olympias* herself had confessed as much, pretending that she conceived him by a monstrous large dragon. To silence all these reports, to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of

being the son of a god, were his motives, if we may believe this author (5).

(U) *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* affirmed they were two monstrous dragons, which went with a mighty noise before them, *Alexander* giving strict orders to his officers to follow these leaders. But *Arislobulus*, together with the current of historians, asserts, that they were led by crows, which, as often as they deviated from the way, by their croaking and fluttering before them, set them right. These are certainly strange stories; yet there is all imaginable authority for them: which made so strong an impression on *Arrian*, that he gives us his judgment of the matter in these words. *I am fully convinced, that Alexander was conducted by some divine power, from the testimony of all who speak of his journey, notwithstanding the diversity of sentiments among these authors have greatly obscured the truth of this story* (6).

(1) *Arrian*, l. iii. c. 3. (2) *Serm.* xxv. (3) *Diod.* l. xvii. (4) *Justin.* l. xi. c. 11. (5) *Justin*, l. xi. c. 11. (6) *Arrian*, l. iii. c. 3. *Diod.* l. xvii. *Curt.* l. iv.

Where he consults the oracle. THIS arduous march once over, *Alexander* arrived at the temple of *Ammon*, seated in the midst of a barren thirsty waste, in a narrow spot of ground, the utmost extent of which exceeds not forty furlongs, curiously planted with olive-trees and palm-trees, and watered with dews, which fall no-where else in all that country. A fountain also has its rise here, different in its nature and properties from all the fountains upon earth; for at mid-day it is cool to the taste, but to the touch intensely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth increases by degrees from thence till midnight; after midnight it waxes cool by little and little; in the morning it is chilly, at noon again excessive cold; and it receives all these various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of fossile salt, which, being put into little boxes of palm-tree, some of the priests of *Ammon* carry into *Egypt*, and bestow on the king, or some great men, as a present. It is dug out of the earth in large oblong pieces, some above three fingers in length, transparent like crystal. This kind of salt the *Egyptians*, and other nations who are curious in their worship, use in their sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from sea-water. *Arrian* tells us, that *Alexander* himself consulted the oracle, and was well satisfied with its answer; but, as to what he consulted it upon, or what the answer was that he received, that author is silent (W).

ALEX-

(W) *Strabo* concurs with him, asserting, that the king entered in his royal robes, consulted the oracle, and received its answer, none being let into the secret. *Diodorus* distinguishes three things which passed at this meeting (7). First, the salutation of the priest, whereby *Alexander* was acknowledged the son of *Jupiter Ammon*. The second, a promise to the king, that he should subdue the whole world. The third, an assurance, that he had fully punished the murderers of *Philip* (8). *Plutarch's* account corresponds pretty well with this; and he tells us besides, that *Alexander*, highly pleased with what had passed, made mighty presents to the priests. He likewise acquaints us, that some were of opinion, *Alexander's* title to divinity was founded in a blunder of the high-priest, who, being desirous to salute him in Greek with these words, *my son*, instead of *παῖς* pronounced *pai-* ~~di-~~ which the Greek flatterers understood *pai dios*, i. e. *son of Jupiter*. The same author adds, that *Alexander*, in a letter to his mother *Olympias*, told her, he had received some secret answer from the god, which he would reveal to her at his return (9). But *Olympias*, who was a woman of spirit and sense, was so little

(7) *Arrian. l. iii. c. 4.*(8) *Diod. l. xvii.*(9) *In vit. Alex.*

pleased

ALEXANDER, on his return to *Memphis*, received embassadors with congratulations from most of the states of the *grecce*, as also recruits both of horse and foot ; all which was very acceptable to him, as he testified by his kind reception of every body, by his making great feasts, and exhibiting pompous shews. These solemnities over, he began to think of settling the province, and of returning to the prosecution of the war. As he intended the *Egyptians* should live under their own laws, he made choice of *Doloaspis* and *Petisis*, eminent *Egyptians*, to be joint presidents of the province ; but *Petisis* desiring to be excused from such a burden, *Doloaspis* was made sole president. Into all the places of strength, however, he put garisons ; and those garisons were under the command of such officers as he thought he had reason to confide in. Thus *Memphis* was committed to the care of *Pantaleon*, *Pelusium* to *Polemon* ; the troops were under *Lycidas*, that is, the foreign troops ; for, as to the rest, they were commanded by *Peucestas* and *Balacrus*. The fleet had for its admiral another *Polemon*. Thus he established several independent commanders in *Egypt* ; a policy imitated by the *Romans* : for, considering the nature of the people, the situation of the strong places, and the vast consequence of the province, it was thought too great a charge to be committed to a single person, or to be trusted in the hands of men of high quality, it being always held a mark of superior policy to prevent insurrections, rather than be obliged, with the hazard of war, to quell them. *Alexander*, as we have shewn, was not only aware of this, but in his conduct set an example to others. These regulations took up a good deal of time, so that the winter was spun out before all things were completed ; and then *Alexander* made the necessary dispositions for marching with his army into *Phœniciû*, that he might open the campaign in good time ^a.

TYRE was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the force, and thither *Alexander* with all convenient speed directed his march. ^{Samari-} ~~In the way he received an account of a~~ ^{tans pre-} ~~very unhappy accident, which gave him much concern.~~ ^{nished.} *Andromachus*, a great favourite of his, and a deserving man, had been appointed superintendant of *Syria* and *Palæstine*. This

^a ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 5.

pleased with the king's propagating these vain stories, that she sent to desire him to forbear embroiling her with *Juno*. As to *Alexander's* return, there is also a good deal of uncertainty, *Ari-*

stobulus affirming he came back the same way he went ; and *Protemy* asserting that he returned by a nearer, which brought him directly to *Memphis*.

officer, going to *Samaria* to collect the tribute, was not only opposed in the execution of his office ; but, a mighty tumult suddenly arising, the people set fire to the house wherein he lodged, and burnt him and his retinue. To avenge so horrid a fact, the king ordered a strict inquisition to be made after the murderers, directing, that all who were any way concerned should, without mercy, be put to death : but this was not all, he established a colony of *Macedonians* in their city, and gave part of its territories to the *Jews*. Such of the *Samaritans* as escaped this slaughter, repaired to *Sechem*, which has been ever since, and still is, their capital. From this fact of theirs *Alexander* took such a distaste to this people, that he dismissed eight thousand of them who had served in his troops ever since the siege of *Tyre*, sending them as far as the *Upper Egypt*, where he commanded they should have certain lands divided amongst them b.

WHEN he arrived at *Tyre*, he there met with *Athenian* ambassadors, who came to renew the request formerly made him to pardon such of their citizens as he had found serving the enemy. The king, being desirous to oblige so famous a state, yielded to their request, and sent also a fleet to the coast of *Greece*, to prevent the effects of some commotions which had lately happened in *Peloponnesus*. These, with some private affairs, once settled, he directed his march to *Thapsacus*, a city on the *Euphrates*. There he found a broken bridge, which *Darius* had made use of in his flight, after the battle of *Iffus* ; as also a great body of horse, under the command of *Mazæus*, who had orders to obstruct his passage ; but *Mazæus*, either from a notion of policy, or through downright cowardice, having burnt the country, slighted the post, and retired ; whereupon the king, having repaired the broken bridge, passed the *Euphrates*, marching on to seek *Darius*. A little before that, the wife of the last-mentioned prince paid her last debt to nature in child-bed. *Alexander* caused her to be buried at a prodigious expence, though he had been so cautious of injuring either her reputation or his own, as not only to forbear seeing her, but also forbade the commanding her beauty in his presence. *Tyræus* an eunuch, who attended on her person, escaped soon after, and carried *Darius* the tidings of his queen *Statira*'s death. He was extremely moved at the news, and no less so at the recital of the honours paid her by *Alexander* when living, and the mighty respect shewn her at her death ; which, on account of the youth of *Alexander*, he attributed in his mind to some sinister cause ; but when the eunuch, with most solemn asseverations, had convinced him,

Queen
Statira
dies.

b JOSEPH. antiq. Jud. l. xi.

that there was not the least colour for his suspicions, he, in a great transport of mind, prayed to God to restore the kingdom of *Persia* to its antient glory, that he might thereby be enabled to testify his gratitude to *Alexander*; or, if its fatal period was come, he prayed, that this generous victor might sit next on the throne of *Cyrus* c.

AFTER passing the *Euphrates*, the *Macedonians* marched through *Mesopotamia*, having the river on the left, by an indirect road, which they took to avoid defiles, and for the easier procuring of provision. *Darius*, informed of this march, detached *Satropates* and *Mazæus* to prevent their passing the *Tigris*: but they came too late; *Alexander* had passed the river before they arrived, though not without great difficulty, many of his soldiers being borne off their feet, and carried down with the stream; whereupon he commanded them to march in close order, so that they resisted the water like a wall; notwithstanding which expedient a great deal of time was spent in getting them over; and they were so much fatigued with the passage, that he was forced to let them rest two days d, during which time they were greatly alarmed by an eclipse of the moon, as we have related already e; but, their hopes and courage being revived, they pursued their march in quest of the enemy (X). *Alexander* chose a strong camp within about fifteen miles of the same place, where he left his baggage, with his sick and wounded soldiers, and, with the rest, marched on till he was within sight of the enemy f.

THE vast army of *Darius* continued all night under arms, which must have fatigued them very much, and have given of *Guagamela*. great opportunity for their fear to work upon them. Their king, it seems, was apprehensive that *Alexander* would attack him in the night, which was the reason that he kept his troops upon so hard a duty. They were drawn up in very exact order, as appeared by many memoirs of their disposition, 2017. Def. Chr. 331.

c DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. d ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 7. DIOD. ubi supra. See vol. v. p. 311. e See vol. v. ibid. f ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 8. See vol. v. 313, 314.

(X) It is unnecessary to detain the reader here with a long account of the strength of the *Persian* army: we shall content ourselves with observing, that it is hardly possible to guess at its real strength. *Arrian* himself seems to have been misled, if his text is not corrupted in this passage, wherein he tells us, that

Darius had forty thousand horse, and a million of foot. *Diodorus* says, there were two hundred thousand horse, and eight hundred thousand foot. *Plutarch*, that the horse and foot made up together a million. *Justin* gives us exactly half of *Diodorus*'s number.

The Persian army, bow drawn up. which, after the battle was over, were found in their camp, and which doubtless had been distributed to their principal officers, to prevent confusion and mistakes. *Darius* himself was in the main body, surrounded by his relations, some choice troops of horse, certain chariots and elephants; and round all these were posted the *Greek* mercenaries, on whose courage and skill he chiefly depended. When *Alexander* marched to the engagement, his right wing was composed of his royal brigade of horse commanded by *Clytus*, of several other corps of cavalry, besides a large body of auxiliary horse commanded by *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*. The first line of the phalanx which joined these was commanded by *Nicanor* the son of *Parmenio*. The next by *Cornus* the son of *Polemostrates*. The third corps was under *Perdiccas*. The fourth was commanded by *Melager*. The fifth by *Polyperchon*. The last was the battalion of *Amyntas*, commanded by his brother *Simnias*, *Amyntas* being gone into *Macedonia* to raise recruits. On the left were the troops commanded by *Craterus*, consisting of several battalions of foot; a body of auxiliary horse commanded by *Erigyus*; the *Thessalian* horse under the command of *Philip*. The whole wing was commanded by *Parmenio*. This was the disposition of the middle line of the army; for before both wings and the centre there were light-armed troops for forlorns, and behind each division of the army there was a corps of reserve. To the battalions of foot that composed these, *Alexander* gave orders, that they should bear their spears so as to face about immediately, in case the enemy should surround any part of his army. He likewise ordered, that they should open whenever the armed chariots were driven upon them, so as to give them a clear passage; which dispositions and directions proved of the highest consequence. The forces brought at present into the field are computed by *Arrian* at seven thousand horse and forty thousand foot.

The two armies engaged. ALEXANDER's right wing charged first upon the *Scythian* horse, who, as they were well armed, and very robust men, behaved at the beginning very well, making a vigorous resistance; and, that this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed upon the left wing bore down upon the *Macedonians*. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened intire destruction; but *Alexander's* light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the *Macedonian* line; which opening, as *Alexander* had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged; and, before any thing decisive happened there, the *Persian* foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling on the flank

of the *Macedonian* right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. *Alexander*, perceiving this, sent *Arctas* with a corps to charge them, and thereby compel them to keep their posts. In the mean time he remained where he was, and, prosecuting his first design, broke their left wing, and pursued it till it was fully routed. He then charged the *Persian* foot in flank; and they, being intimidated, made but a feeble resistance. *Darius*, perceiving this, gave up all for lost, and fled himself. Then the *Macedonians*, following their victorious monarch, made a vigorous pursuit. The battalion commanded by *Simmias* only did not stir, that officer being informed, that not only the left wing was in great danger, but that a great body of *Persian* and *Indian* horse, taking the advantage of the king's absence, had penetrated through the centre, and were fallen in upon the *Macedonian* baggage. This misfortune was quickly followed by another; the barbarian prisoners mutinied thereupon, and fell on the *Macedonians* in their camp; but, the corps of reserve facing about, and being supported by *Simmias's* battalion, the *Persians*, after a smart engagement, were routed, and great numbers slain.

PARMENIO, on the left wing, in the mean time, was almost enveloped. The cavalry in the *Persian* right being excellent, as well as very numerous, in all probability the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding their courage, and military skill, would have been overborne at last, and totally destroyed, if *Alexander*, on the first intelligence of this misfortune, had not immediately returned from the pursuit, and charged the enemy in flank and rear: yet did they not then fly, but, facing about, continued to defend themselves against *Alexander*, and pressed hard upon *Parmenio* at the same time. *Hephestion*, *Cœnus*, and *Momidas*, were wounded in this conflict, which was very long and bloody, but ended at last in the total defeat of the *Persians*; whereupon *Alexander* continued the pursuit of *Darius* about ten miles, and then, passing the river *Lycus*, encamped, that his soldiers might take some repose. *Parmenio* in the mean time, and the troops under his command, secured the enemy's tents, baggage, elephants, and camels. Such was the end of this battle, which decided the fate of *Asia* (Y).

ALEX-

§ ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 13, 14, 15. Diod. ubi supra. CURT. l. iv. c. 46, & seq. See vol. v. p. 314, 315.

(Y) *Diodorus*, in his account of the battle of *Arbela* (for so most historians call it, though it was fought near *Guagamela*, differs in some circumstances from *Arrian* in the account he gives us of the order of battle; but, if we consider, that *Arrian* wrote from

Alexander ALEXANDER receiving certain intelligence, that *Darius* enters Babylon. was retired into *Media*, thought it at that time unnecessary, and

the memoirs of eye-witnesses, and persons of great quality, we cannot but suppose, that in these particulars he must have been well informed. In other respects it is that we should set down what *Diodorus* hath recorded. By him, then, we find that success which for a time attended the *Persian* troops intirely ascribed to the conduct and valour of *Darius*. It unfortunately happened, that *Alexander*, attacking his guards, threw a dart at *Darius*, which, though it missed him, struck the carioteer, who sat at his feet, dead; and he tumbling forwards, some of the guards raised a loud cry; whence those behind them conjectured, that the king was slain, and thereupon fled without looking behind them; which created such a confusion, that *Darius* found himself obliged to follow their example. The dust raised by the flight of so vast a multitude gave *Darius* room and leisure to retire to a place of safety; for he, not knowing that the *Macedonians* could not perceive what route he took, turned off immediately with the troops under his command, and, marching with convenient speed, took post in some villages that were directly behind the *Macedonian* army: from whence he safely departed, while *Alexander* by forced marches, endeavoured to overtake him, on a vain presumption, that he fled straight forward. According to this author, the *Persians* lost ninety thousand, and the *Macedonians* five hundred men: how-

ever, he owns, that a great number of the latter were wounded (1). *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, and many other authors, agree, that the evening before the battle, when *Alexander* had given the necessary directions, he went to bed, and slept so soundly, that *Parmenio*, and the rest of the generals, were forced to do many things in the morning according to their own sentiments, because they did not care to awake him. At last *Parmenio* was constrained to go to his bed-side, where he called him several times before he answered. At length he rose, and dressed himself with great serenity. While he was doing this, *Parmenio* could not help saying, *Alexander*, Sir, considering you are to fight the most important of all your battles, that you could sleep so soundly, as if you were already victorious. Why so I am, my good friend, returned the king, since I shall no more be obliged to follow *Darius* hither and thither, through a country already desolated by the length of the war (2). We have another instance in *Plutarch* of the wonderful coolness and penetration of this great prince. When *Parmenio* perceived, that the *Macedonian* camp was in danger, he sent to recal the king from his pursuit. When *Alexander* heard the message, *Parmenio*, said he, is certainly beside himself; if I am witness over these enemies, we shall have their baggage, and our own too; whereas if I lose this advantage, we shall have no

(1) *D. A. S. l. xvii.*(2) *Plut. in Alex. J. p. l. xi. c. 13.*

and indeed impracticable, to follow him ; but determined to march directly to *Babylon*, which accordingly he did. On his

thing to fight for but our lives. But when *Parmenio* sent again to inform him, that himself and the troops under his command were in the utmost danger, the king came immediately to his relief ; but, says our author, suspicions began to arise, that either the vigour of *Parmenio* was diminished by his age, or that out of envy he sought to diminish his master's greatness (3). The truth seems to be, that *Parmenio* had too much concern for him. *Philip of Macedon* confessed him the only general he knew ; and we find nothing recorded of him in history which doth not speak him a most consummate, though at the same time a very cautious commander. If the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of *Persians* would have been able to keep the field, and would have been quickly joined by most of those who fled before. Such a multitude, encouraged by a taste of success, would have quickly swallowed up the *Greeks*, and recovered all they had conquered. *Alexander*, who fancied himself the son of a god, had his head full of nothing but victory ; wherever he appeared ; but to *Parmenio*, who was a mere man, conduct seemed as necessary as courage, and the preservation of half the army essential to the whole. It is true, we are not, properly speaking, bound to enter into the character of those whose history we write ; yet sometimes it is necessary ; for what is history without truth ? or to what end do we

read, but to be acquainted with things as they were ? There were in the court of *Alexander* many who hated *Parmenio* and his family ; of these some wrote, and from the memoirs of these writers *Plutarch* had his informations : we do not therefore presume to blame him for transmitting what he read to posterity ; but we take the liberty of doing the same thing : and because *Arrian*, who copied *Arrian*, says nothing of *Parmenio's* envy, we report the suggestion as doubtful, that a character, which seems to have the fairest title to honour, may not, at this distance of time, be sullied by insinuations once thought too idle to deserve mention. *Alexander*, during the battle, rode by his master's side, covered with a white mantle, and with a crown of gold upon his head. He it was, who, in a great measure, contributed to fix the victory, by shewing the *Macedonians* an eagle hovering over the king's head. After the battle, the king sacrificed in a magnificent manner, and sent presents of the spoils to all the *Grecian* states (4). *Justin* says, that few battles had been so bloody as this ; that *Darius*, when he saw the battle was lost, endeavoured to throw himself into the thickest of the fight, that there he might be slain ; but, against his will, was forced to fly by those who were about him. Being persuaded by these to break down the bridge on the river over which he passed, that it might

(3) *Plut. in Alex.*(4) *Ibid. ibid.*

his approach *Mazæus*, governor of the place, marched out to meet him, and delivered the city into the conqueror's hands ^a.

The *Babylonians* were very glad of this revolution, and therefore with great joy came out to meet *Alexander*, with presents of high value (Z).

The conduct of Antipater in Greece. IT is now time for us to turn our eyes a little towards Greece; for though the main hopes of the *Macedonians* followed their royal leader through the great continent of *Asia*, yet were they not asleep as to their interests in *Europe*, where several attempts were made to lessen their power. While *Memnon* lived, the *Persians* were not only lords of the sea in name, but in reality also. He retook many of the islands which had

^b ARRIAN. DIOD. CURT. ubi supra.

prevent the enemy's passage, he answered, *I will never purchase safety to myself at the expence of so many thousands of my subjects as must, by this means, be lost, or take from them that passage which has preserved me*.

Indeed all authors agree, that *Darius* behaved very honourably in this action; and we shall see hereafter, that he loved his subjects so well, as to be satisfied with dying by their hands, rather than to owe his safety to the fidelity of strangers.

(Z) This joy of theirs proceeded from their excessive hatred of the *Persians*, as again that excessive hatred took birth from their principles of religion; for the *Persians*, being deists, had pulled down all their temples, and in every other respect curbed that propensity to idolatry which was so extravagantly warm in this nation. *Alexander*, on the other hand, answered all their expectations; for he immediately commanded, that every one of their temples should be rebuilt, particularly the famous temple of *Belus*.

He sent also for their priests, conversed with them, and left to their care the decree he had made in favour of their religion (6). He offered sacrifices himself to *Belus*; left *Mazæus* in possession of the government; but removed *Bagophanes*, who had put the citadel and the royal treasures into his hands; yet he entertained him in his court, and treated him with marks of confidence and esteem (7). As he was a prince of great learning, he inquired after the astronomical memoirs of the observations which were said to have been made in that city for a long tract of time, and he caused the best account that could be got of them to be transmitted to his tutor *Aristotle*; so desirous he was, that the republic of letters should reap some advantage from his labours and victories (8). On the whole, however, his stay at *Babylon* did him no good; for he and his officers began there first to taste of luxury, and to fall in love with that magnificence and delicacy which had enervated and destroyed the *Persians* (9).

(c) *Just. l. i. xi. c. 14.*
c. 16.

(2) *Porph. ap. Simplic. l. ii. de cælo.*

(6) *Diod. ubi sup.*

(7) *Arrian. l. iii.*

(9) *Diod. ubi supra.*

fallen under the power of *Alexander*; he sent ships of war to cruise on the coasts of *Macedonia*; and, if he had lived, he would have made a descent on *Eubœa*, where questionless he would have been joined by a great number of the *Greeks*. After his death, things were in a languishing condition till the battle of *Iffus*, when new efforts were made to stir up troubles in *Greece*. Those however were rendered abortive by *Antipater*, who kept such a fleet at sea, and made such dispositions of his land-forces, as rendered it not safe for any of the *Greek* states to declare against his master ⁱ. However, when advice arrived of this last victory, these smothered dissensions broke out into an open flame. The *Greeks* in general began to be afraid, that if they made no attempt before the *Persian* empire was absolutely destroyed, all they could do afterwards would be to no purpose. As soon therefore as they had news, that *Memnon* governor of *Thrace* had rebelled, and that *Antipater* was making great preparations to march against him, they took arms, *Agis* king of *Lacedæmon* being declared their general. *Antipater*, being informed of this, immediately drew together an army, and, having composed matters in *Thrace*, marched into *Greece*. It was not long before the armies met; that of *Agis* consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, and two thousand horse; *Antipater* had about forty thousand men; for when he came with a well-disciplined army out of *Macedonia*, many of the *Greeks* joined him out of fear, who would otherwise have been neutrals, or have fought against him. The engagement that ensued was very obstinate and bloody; but at last *Agis* was killed, and the army he commanded routed, with the loss of five thousand three hundred men. *Antipater* himself lost three thousand five hundred; but it put an end to the war; for the *Greeks* seeing the fatal issue of this business, and that the *Athenians* sided with the conqueror, they were constrained to forget their resentments, and to implore mercy ^k. Such was the state of *Greece*.

AFTER thirty days stay at *Babylon*, *Alexander* continued his march to *Susa*, which had been already surrendered into the hands of *Philoxenes*. Here the king received the treasures of *Darius*, as we have related in the history of *Persia* ¹ (A). *Susa*.

About

¹ *ARRIAN*. l. ii. *DIODOR.* ubi supra. *PLUT.* in vit. *Demost.*

^k *DIODOR.* ubi supra.

¹ See vol. v. p. 317.

(A) Authors vary a little as to the money which *Alexander* seized at *Susa*. *Arrian* says it was fifty thousand talents (1);

(1) *Arrian*. l. iii. c. 16.

About this time arrived the recruits under the command of *Amyntas*. They consisted of five hundred horse, and six thousand foot, all *Macedonians*; six hundred *Thracian* horse, and three thousand five hundred *Trallian* foot; about a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, from *Peloponnesus*; in all, about two thousand horse, and thirteen thousand five hundred foot. These he incorporated into his veteran army, without forming any new corps. He dealt also very kindly by them all, taking care to let them have pay in advance, procuring

with him *Curtius* agrees (2). *Diodorus Siculus* says there were forty thousand talents in bullion, and nine thousand coined; so that he comes within a thousand talents of the sum (3). *Plutarch* tells us there were but forty thousand talents: yet his account rises higher than any other historian's: which seems not to have been well observed; for these forty thousand talents, he says, were in coined gold; and distinguishes it from the rest of the treasure, of which he does not give us the particulars; only he says, there was purple to the value of five thousand talents, which, as fresh and lively, though it has been laid up an hundred and twenty years. He says too, on the authority of *Dion*, that vessels filled with water from the Nile and Danube were set in this treasury, as monuments of the mighty extent of the Persian empire (4). *Justin* says expressly there were but forty thousand talents: which agrees well enough with *Diodorus*, whose slips he is observed to follow; yet this author hath a very curious passage, which, for the sake of brevity probably, *Justin* omitted (5). *Alexander*, as he informs us, coming in person to take an account of these treasures, sat down on the royal throne, which, it seems, was so high, that his

feet did not come near the footstool. One of his pages, observing this, took up *Darius's* table, and placed it upon the footstool, for which *Alexander*, who now sat at ease, commended him; but one of the eunuchs of the old court, fixing his eyes on the table, fell a weeping. Tell me, friend, said *Alexander*, what it is you see here that moves you to grieve so much. O king, answered the eunuch, I was once *Darius's* servant, as I am now thine. As I loved and honoured my master while I served him, so I cannot even now behold, without extreme disgust, that table at which he sat, placed under thy feet. *Alexander*, moved at the blunt honesty of the man, commended him, and ordered it to be taken away. But *Philotas* interposed: As this table, Sir, said he, was not placed here by your command, there is nothing of insolence in the use you have put it to. To me it appears to be a thing ordained by providence, to show the mutability of empire. The king then ordered it to remain where it was (6). This *Philotas* was the son of *Parmenio*; and we shall quickly hear of his being tortured, and put to death, on a suspicion that he bore no good-will to the glory of his master.

(2) *Curt. l. v. c. 2.*
Alex.

(3) *Diod. Sic. l. xvii.*

(5) *Justin. l. xli. c. 15.*

(4) *Plut. in vit.*
(6) *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*

for them good quarters, and being present himself at the reviews, and as often as they were exercised ^m.

AT last he thought of prosecuting the war; and so moving *He reduces* from *Susa*, he passed the *Pasitigris*, and entered the country *the Uxi-* of the *Uxiants*, where he met with a vigorous opposition from *ans*. *Madates*, whom nevertheless he received into favour at the request of *Sisygambis* ⁿ (B).

AFTER

^m CURT. I. v. ⁿ ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 17. DION. ubi supra.
See vol. v. p. 317, 318.

(B) There is nothing in the life of *Alexander*, which hath afforded the rhetoricians, who have made his actions their theme, so happy an opportunity of exerting their genius's, as his tenderness to the family of *Darius*. *Plutarch* and *Curtius* are particularly fond of these passages, and have taken all possible care to set them out to the best advantage. The last-mentioned author hath inserted in his work a very extraordinary relation of an interview between *Alexander* and *Sisygambis* at *Susa*. We were afraid of swelling the text too much, otherwise it had been inserted there; yet, considering the manner in which it is told, perhaps it will appear with greater propriety in a note, by way of appendix. *Alexander* having received from *Macedon* several pieces of purple, and other rich vestures, he ordered them to be sent to *Sisygambis*, together with the persons who had wrought them, with a compliment, as he intended it, that, if the fabrication of these garments pleased her, she might let her grandchildren be taught how to make them for their diversion: but working in wool being then held in *Persia* a very mean and dishonourable thing, *Sisygambis* shed tears when she heard the message.

The person who carried it returned, therefore, in haste to *Alexander*, and acquainted him, that *Sisygambis* was much displeased: whereupon the king went instantly to her apartment, in order to console her, and to remove any misconception she might have put on his message. "Dear mother," said he, "the robe in which you see me arrayed, was not only presented me by my sisters, but is also the work of their hands: be convinced, Madam, from thence, that I meant not to offend you; but as I was led into an error through the custom of my country, impute what is amiss to my ignorance, and not to any fault in my will. Hitherto I have made it my study never to transgress any of your customs. As soon as I was informed, that it was held disrespectful in *Persia* for a son to sit before his mother, till licensed so to do by her, I made it a rule with me never to sit before you, till I received your commands. As often as you have offered to prostrate yourself before me, I have taken care to prevent it; and, as the last and highest token of my esteem, have always styled you mother, a title, strictly speaking, belong-

He forces
a passage
to Perse-
polis.

AFTER chastising the *Uxians*, *Alexander* ordered *Parmenio* to march with the *Theſſalian* horse, the royal brigade, and the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road against the enemy. In the mean time, he with the *Macedonian* foot, the light-armed troops, and a body of horse and archers, marched over the mountains to the *Persian* streights. These he found effectually fortified with a strong wall, flanked with towers, and *Ariobarzanes* with an army of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, posted behind to dispute his passage. The king, trusting to his usual fortune, immediately stormed the wall; but after a long and bloody conflict, in which he lost abundance of men, he was forced to sound a retreat, having been able to effect nothing*. He then began to inquire for some other way; and, having met with a man who had been formerly a prisoner, his father a *Lycian*, his mother a *Persian*, so that he spoke both tongues, this man told him, that, having long kept sheep on these mountains, he could lead him to another pass, but that in truth it was difficult enough too. *Alexander* thereupon left *Craterus* in his camp, with orders, that when he perceived, that himself had passed the other streights, and was about to attack the *Persian* camp, he should scale the wall†. Then following his *Lycian* guide, he marched that night an hundred furlongs, and by an intricate road arrived at last at the streights; and though he met with a river in his way, yet he passed it, and advanced so speedily, that by day-break he surprised the first guards, whom he cut to pieces, as he did most of those in the second post; whereby *Ariobarzanes* received no intelligence of his passage, till *Alexander* surprised him in his camp. *Craterus*, as soon as he heard the trumpet sound, attacked the wall: this so distracted the *Persians*, that they would have fled, but it was impossible. *Ptolemy* seized the wall with three thousand foot. *Alexander* charged them before, *Craterus* behind; when they fled to the wall, *Ptolemy* drove them back. Thus distressed, they knew not what to do, and the

* ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 18.
vit. Alex.

† DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in

"ing only to *Olympias* (7)." *Curtius* concludes his chapter here without telling us more than that *Sisygambis* was satisfied. In all probability, she could not but be well pleased at an explanation which took from her all appre-

hensions of *Alexander's* prejudice towards her family: but that this is the very speech which *Alexander* made to her, perhaps will not easily be credited on account of its rhetorical quaintness.

far greater part of them were put to the sword. *Ariobarzanes* himself with a few horse escaped into the mountains.

ALEXANDER then returning in haste to the river, strengthened the slight bridge he had thrown over it, and passed over all his army; then by long marches he sought to reach the *Arrives* capital of *Persia*. At *Pasargadae* he seized the treasures of *at that Cyrus*, and appointed *Phraortes* governor of *Persia* (C). city.

He came at last to *Persepolis*, and, meeting with no opposition, he made war on the royal palace; and, under colour *Destroys* of revenging what *Xerxes* had done at *Athens*, barbarously *the royal* destroyed the most magnificent pile, this, or perhaps any *palace*; other, part of the world could boast. *Parmenio*, the friend of *Philip*, a man of moderate counsels, interposed, but without effect. In vain he represented to *Alexander*, that the destruction of this most noble palace would make him appear a barbarian to the *Asiatics*, and put them in doubt whether he intended to keep *Asia*, or only to plunder it; and that, besides, it was no revenge upon the *Persians* to rase what was no longer theirs, but his. The king was positive, as indeed he generally was; the city of *Persepolis* was given up to *and* the plunder of the soldiers, and then the palace set on fire, *plunders* and destroyed (D). the city.

IN

2 ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 18.

(C) *Diodorus* and other historians tell us, that, when he was near *Persepolis*, he met eight hundred *Grecians*, all of whom had their bodies grievously mangled; and that they with one voice cried out on the barbarous treatment they had met with from the *Persians*, among whom they were prisoners. In compassion to which miserable tale, the king generously relieved them, promised to send them safe back to *Greece*, and vowed destruction against *Persepolis* (8). *Arrian* and *Plutarch* have not a word of this tale: without doubt they had heard it, and their not inserting it seems a strong indication of its being fabulous. In

all probability it was calculated, like another story we shall mention presently, to excuse a fact that never can be excused.

(D) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander*, having assembled his troops, made them a long speech, wherein he set forth the reasons, such as they were, of his proceeding in this cruel manner: he charged this city with having caused innumerable mischiefs to *Greece*, with implacable hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her spoils; and, to avenge all those injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with it, the inhabitants, and their estates, whatever they thought fit. Upon this the *Macedonians* rushed into

(8) *Diod.* ubi supra. *Curt.* lib. v. c. 17.

IN the palace, *Alexander* seized to his own use an hundred and twenty thousand talents, which he immediately ordered to be transported on mules and camels; for he had such an extreme aversion to the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that is, even to the miserable remains of them, that he would leave nothing valuable with them. What authors have delivered concerning the city and palace of *Persepolis*, and the destruction of both, we have related at length in the history of *Persia*, to which we refer the reader[†].

Alexander follows Darius. DURING the time that *Alexander* continued at *Persepolis*, he received advice, that *Darius* remained still at *Ecbatana* in *Media*. He determined to march after him, which he did in a most precipitate manner; for in twelve days he reached *Media*, moving near forty miles a day; in three more he reached *Ecbatana*, where he was informed, that *Darius* had retired from thence five days before, with an intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. This put some stop to his rapid progress; and perceiving that there was no necessity for thus hurrying himself and his soldiers, he began to give such orders as were necessary in the present situation of his affairs^{*}. The *Thessalian* horse, who had deserved so well of him in all his battles, he dismissed according to his agreement, gave them their whole pay, and ordered two thousand talents over and above to be distributed among them. He then declared, that he would force no man; but, if any were willing to serve him longer for pay, he desired they would enter their names in a book, which a great many of them did; the rest sold

[†] See vol. v. p. 108, et seq. in the notes, et p. 319. ^{*} ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 19. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. v.

the place, and put to the sword, without mercy, all they could lay hands on, plundering and tearing away all the wealth, jewels, rich furniture, and gorgeous vestments, with which the houses were full; and, though they every-where loaded themselves with silver, gold, and purple, their thirst of spoil did but so much the more increase, every one thinking himself had too little, and others had too much; so that, quarrels ensuing, many had their hands cut off, as they

endeavoured to snatch and tear away prizes, and others were killed. Women of all ages and conditions they seized for the sake of their cloaths and ornaments; such as their beauty made desirable, they ravished; stripping all alike, they sold them for slaves; so that in the same proportion whereby *Persepolis* excelled all other cities before the *Macedonians* approached it, she was by them depressed in misery and calamity below the most wretched village on the earth (9).

their horses, and prepared for their departure. The king named *Epocillus* to conduct them to the sea, and assigned him a body of horse as an escort; he likewise sent *Menetes* with them to take care of their embarkation, and that they were safely landed in *Eubæa* without any expence to themselves. *Parmenio* he directed to see all the several sums of money, which had been collected throughout *Persia*, delivered to his treasurer *Harpalus* at the castle of *Ecbatana*, to whom he assigned a guard of six thousand *Macedonian* foot, and a considerable corps of horse (E).

ABOUT this time the king received advice from *Greece*, *The affairs of* that all troubles there were happily ended through the extraordinary care and conduct of *Antipater*, who had reduced the *Greeks*. *Lacedæmonians* so low, that they were constrained to accept any terms of peace which he was pleased to afford them; and, on the other hand, *Antipater*, to do his master honour, would come to no agreement, but on condition that they sent deputies into *Asia* to beg pardon of *Alexander*, and to implore his favour[†]. These services gave him a great interest in the heart of his prince, who as yet had not learned to distrust his servants, or to conceive jealousies of those, who by their important services had shewn the extensiveness of their capacities. He sent therefore instructions to that minister to

† DIOD. SIC. ubi supra.

(E) This *Harpalus* was one of *Alexander's* principal favourites, and, as he was a monarch remarkably steady in his affections, so this man had experienced his clemency as well as his kindness; for, having, after the battle of *Granicus*, been appointed treasurer, he had by degrees got large sums into his hands; and, being terrified by some artful people with stories of the king's rigid temper, he fled, and carried away great sums with him. *Alexander*, inquiring thoroughly into the matter, entertained a favourable opinion of the man notwithstanding all this; and therefore sent to invite him back again, assuring him, that he would forget all that was past; which he not

only performed, but restored him to his favour, and former post. The reason of all this was, that *Harpalus* had been his friend and confidant in his father's time, and at that time too, when to be well with *Alexander* was no-way to be well with *Philip*; he had even been banished on his account, and durst not return to the court of *Macedon*, till *Alexander* had assumed the crown (1). Hence the gratitude of this prince appears, who, in the midst of victories, and after conquering so many provinces, could remember and reward those who sided with him, when he was but the second person in the little kingdom of *Macedon*.

(1) *Arrian*, ubi supra. *Plut.* in vit. *Alex.* & in vit. *Demosth.*

keep always a guard about his person, made him such remittances as were sufficient to pay his army regularly, and to support the expence necessary for preserving the tranquillity of Greece : he likewise sent immense sums to his mother and relations, as also most magnificent presents to his old friends and acquaintance (F).

The death
of Darius.
Year of
the flood
2018.
Ber. Chr.
330.

ON new informations, as to the posture of *Darius's* affairs, the king with a body of horse and light-armed troops set out once more on the pursuit, marching as far as *Rhages*, a city one day's journey from the *Caspian* streights : there he understood, that *Darius* had passed those streights some time before ; which information leaving him again without hopes, he halted for five days. *Oxidates a Persian*, whom *Darius* had left prisoner at *Susa*, was appointed governor of *Media*, as the king departed on his *Parthian* expedition. The *Caspian* streights he passed immediately without opposition, and then gave directions for collecting provisions sufficient to serve his army on a long march through a wasted country. But before his officers could accomplish his commands, *Bagistanes* the *Babylonian*, and *Antibelus* the son of *Mazæus*, came

(F) This bountiful temper of his, *Olympias* looked on as extravagance ; and on this topic she wrote him long and frequent letters, telling him, that though it was fit he should give, and give like a king, yet that some bounds should be set even to royal munificence ; that his rewards did not render men grateful, but rather made them independent : that his favourites were so rich, they were continually studying how to engage new dependents, so that, while they were obliging all men to their service, he was like to have few servants left (2). The king read these letters, and, knowing the temper of his mother, laid them by carefully, without ever speaking of their contents ; only one day it happened, that he opened an epistle from *Olympias*, when *Hephestion* sat behind him. *Alexander* perceived that he read over

his shoulder, yet he forbade him not ; but, when himself had read the letter out, he took his signet off his finger, and clapped it on his favourite's mouth. But the great ground of expostulation between *Olympias* and her son was the king's steady refusal to permit her to have any hand in the regency. But he knew her too well, and was afraid to suffer a woman of her intriguing spirit to intermeddle with the government. On the other hand, *Antipater* wrote often in the same stile, lamenting his condition, as being continually exposed to the artifices and malice of *Olympias*. When *Alexander* one day had read a very prolix letter of this nature, and which was written with more than ordinary spirit, he could not help saying, *I wonder Antipater does not know, that one tear of a mother can blot out a thousand of these letters* (3).

(2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

(3) *Ibid. ibid.*

from *Darius* to acquaint him, that *Bessus* governor of *Bactria*, *Barzaentes* president of *Arachosia*, and *Nabarnes* a general of horse, had conspired against that unhappy prince, and made him prisoner ^u: of the cruel treatment he met with from the conspirators, of his death, and *Alexander's* concern on that occasion, we have spoken already ^v.

As soon as *Alexander* had collected his forces together, *Hyrcania* and had settled the government of *Parthia*, he entered *Hyrcania*; and having, according to his wonted custom, committed the gros of his army, with the baggage and carriages, to the care of *Craterus*, he at the head of a choice corps of horse and foot passed through certain craggy roads, while the army took an open and easy passage, and before their arrival struck the whole province with such terror, that all the principal places were put into his hands. *Nabarzanes*, who was one of the conspirators against *Darius*, surrendered himself here: so did *Phradaphernus*, governor of *Hyrcania* and *Parthia*. *Artabazus* and his sons arrived shortly after, and were all graciously received; *Alexander* testifying an high respect for them on account of their fidelity to *Darius*. Then the Greek mercenaries, who had fled to the mountains, sent deputies to desire, that he would pardon what was past, and admit them to his service; but the king would not hear of any treaty, because, as he said, they were infamous persons, who had taken up arms against their country, and had obstinately persisted in their rebellion; yet, in consideration of their behaviour towards their late master, he consented to receive them as prisoners at discretion; to which terms they at last submitted, beseeching the king to send somebody to conduct them to his camp. The king thereupon sent *Andronicus* and *Artabazus* for that purpose; and, on their arrival, treated them with great lenity, receiving them not long after into his service ^x.

THAT burning desire which *Alexander* had to become the lord and master of every nation of whom he had the least intelligence, induced him to enter the country of the *Mardi*, merely because its rocks and barrenness had hindered any body hitherto from making a conquest of it, or even from attempting it: however, he succeeded very happily by dint of a stratagem; for, giving the necessary directions for the march of his forces, he suddenly turned back with a body of light-armed troops, and chosen horse, with which he acted so vigo-

^u ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 21. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

^v See vol. v. p. 321, 322, 323.

^x ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 23.

rously, that the *Mardi*, astonished at an expedition they little expected, fled to inaccessible rocks and caverns, a few only pretending to take up arms, and they to very little purpose; for where-ever they appeared in the plains, the king drove them with his horse; and whenever he discerned them encamped on the tops of mountains, he ordered all the passages to them to be so well guarded, that the barbarians, finding it impossible to subsist, were constrained to surrender. While he was thus employed, it happened, that a party of the *Mardi* seized and carried off his favourite horse *Bucephalus*. No accident could possibly have disturbed the king more than this; for he had an extravagant love for this creature on account of its singular properties, and the long service it had done him. He therefore began to hew down all the trees in the neighbourhood of his camp, and to burn whatever huts and houses could be found, causing proclamation to be made in the language of the country, whereby he signified, that, if his horse was not restored without injury, he would burn and destroy all things that were capable of feeling the effects of his indignation; which so terrified the *Mardi*, that they sent back *Bucephalus* immediately, accompanied with a deputation laden with presents, and vested with full authority to submit the whole nation to the king's pleasure ¹. *Alexander* then appointed *Antiphradates*, president of the *Tápiri*, to be governor also of this country; and, well satisfied with this conquest, returned to the main body of his army, where many things required his care, and where the soldiers impatiently expected his return, in hopes of having some bounds set to their labour; and the end of the war talked of, at least, with some degree of certainty ².

The ALEXANDER at his arrival found not only the *Greek*
Greeks in mercenaries brought safe to his camp by *Andronicus*, but also
the Persian four *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors, with *Diopithes* the *Athenian*
service, ambassador, and many others, clothed with the like cha-
how racter, who, till *Darius* was made a prisoner, had attended on
treated by that prince. The *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* he ordered to be
Alexander kept in safe custody. As for the ministers of such states as had
 been subject to the *Persians*, these he dismissed; for he thought
 it but just, that while any state owned a dependence on another,
 it should send ministers to recognize that dependence, and to re-
 ceive instructions from the sovereign. As to the *Greek* mercena-
 ries, he distinguished them thus: such as had been in the service
 of the *Persian* before the *Greeks* entered into the general alliance

¹ DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. vi. c. 5.

² ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 24.

for carrying on the war, he set at liberty, and left them free to act as they thought fit; but for such as had entered into the *Persian* service afterwards, and had knowingly and avowedly fought against their country, these he ordered to be inlisted, and inrolled among his own troops, allowing them however the same pay which they had heretofore received from *Darius*, appointing at the same time *Andronicus*, who had negotiated their surrender, to be commander in chief of that body which he had taken into his pay^a. After this he marched to *Zeudracarta*, the capital of *Hyrcania*, where for fifteen days he celebrated solemn games, and sacrificed with great magnificence to the gods of *Greece*; afterwards he entered *Aria*, and, coming to the chief city of that province, *Satibarzanes*, the governor thereof, came and submitted to him; upon which *Alexander* continued him in his government, and assigned him a guard of *Macedonian* archers on horseback commanded by *Anaxippus*.

HERE he received advice, that the traitor *Bessus* had caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Asia*, by the name of *Artaxerxes*. This exceedingly provoked the king, who instantly prepared to march after him into *Bactria*, in order to call him to a severe account for his former treachery, and for this new act of insolence. He was scarce, however, out of the province of *Aria*, before advice came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, immediately on his departure, had massacred *Anaxippus*, and all the *Macedonians*; and, having assembled a great body of forces in the neighbourhood of the chief city, which was called *Aritoana*, was about to declare either for himself, or for *Bessus*, according as he should be encouraged by the success of his enterprize. But *Alexander* was not a prince of a temper capable of allowing time for ripening such designs; for as soon as he was told this, he marched instantly with a body of horse, and light-armed troops, and, travelling seventy miles in two days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Aritoana*, before *Satibarzanes* had the least intelligence of his march. Then it was this *Persian* discovered how unfit he himself was for the management of such an undertaking; for though he had with him a very considerable body of forces, yet, instead of attacking *Alexander*, and his troops, fatigued with such an excessive march, or of intrenching himself in order to defend the army under his command, he instantly quitted the field with a body of horse, and fled with all the exer-

^a Idem ibid. CURT. lib. vi.

dition he was able to *Bessus*, who willingly received him ^b (G). Throughout the whole province of *Aria*, *Alexander* made it his business to search out the chiefs, and the accomplices, in the rebellion, all of whom he either put to death, or sold for slaves: then he appointed *Arfames* the son of *Artalanes* governor of *Aria*; thence marched with his army against the *Zarangæ*, who under the command of *Barzaentes*, one of those who had conspired against *Darius*, were up in arms, and threatened to make an obstinate defence; but their hearts failed them when *Alexander* drew near, inasmuch that numbers daily falling off, *Barzaentes*, being afraid they would purchase their safety at the expence of his, privately withdrew from his camp, and, crossing the river *Indus*, sought shelter among the nations beyond it; but they, either dreading the power of *Alexander*, or detecting the treachery of this *Persian* towards his former master, seized and delivered him up; whereupon *Alexander* immediately ordered him to be put to death, as well for the sake of his own safety, as that he might seem to revenge that perfidy which had been used towards his unfortunate predecessor ^c. But it is now time to quit for a short space the story of foreign wars, in order to turn our eyes on the dissensions, factions, and conspiracies, which began to deform that victorious army, wherewith in so short a time the greater part of *Asia* had been over-run.

Barzaentes taken, and put to death.

The Macedonian chiefs given up to a luxurious life. THE first, and indeed the grand source of those troubles which embittered *Alexander's* victories was the immense treasure acquired by them, and the beneficent temper of *Alexander* himself. For while with a lavish hand he be-

^b ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 25. DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.
^c CURT. lib. vi. c. 25. ARRIAN. ubi supra.

(G) *Curtius* tells us, that thirteen thousand *Arrians*, retiring to an high rock, which was absolutely inaccessible, refused to treat with *Alexander*, in hopes that, seeing it impossible to come at them, he would, when he quitted the country, leave them as he found them. The king, however, took a quite contrary course; for, while he with his horie pursued *Satibarzanes*, *Craterus* with the foot surrounded the bottom of the rock, and held the *Arrians* in a manner prisoners, till *Alexander's* return. As

soon as the king came into the camp, he ordered wood of all sorts to be cut; and, having laid a foundation of large billets, reared up a vast pile, till it was even with the rock: the same thing being done on the opposite side, and at each corner, according as the wind served, they set these piles on fire; and, the flames being driven violently upon the rock, the people were compelled to throw themselves from thence, some half-burnt, others naked: some few, who cried out for mercy, were saved.

flowed

flowed all things on those who were near him, many made a wrong use of his bounty, and foolishly indulged those vices, by the practice of which the former possessors of that wealth had lost it (H).

ALEXANDER began to be very sensible of the mischiefs that would be produced by the introduction of luxury among his people: he therefore sought to extinguish it by discouraging the most eminent of his courtiers, whom he saw giving into this way of living: he told them, that he was surprised, that they, who had experienced that solid satisfaction which results from an industrious and laborious course of life, should sink into that supineness and indolence which had destroyed the *Persians*, and which without question would enervate and enfeeble themselves: he told them, that to possess wealth, and use it, was great and noble; but to make it the instrument of riot and luxury, was base and effeminate: he expostulated with them on the impropriety of such a conduct in men who were still soldiers: he asked them how it could be expected, that a man should keep his arms bright, and exercise them with activity, who would not so much as employ his own hands in doing things necessary about his person, but would rather call in the aid of a servant, as if by gaining riches he had lost the use of his limbs. By his own behaviour also, he to the utmost discouraged this sort of lazy and inactive pride; for, when at any time he relaxed a little from the toils of war, he diverted himself with hunting, in which he could endure not only all the rigour of the season, but would also fast sometimes throughout the whole day (I).

Reprimanded by the king.

YET

(H) Among other instances of *Alexander's* favourites, *Plutarch* informs us, that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore silver nails in his shoes; that, *Leonatus* employed several camels in transporting powder from *Egypt*, which he used when he wrestled. *Hiephæstion* wore very rich garments, and affected in every thing the *Persian* manner of living; but, above all, *Philotas* is said to have been nice in his dress, his table, his equipage, and most munificent to his friends; one of whom asking him to lend him a sum of money, he instantly

ordered it to be given him by his steward; but the steward affirming there was no money in his coffers, *Philotas* warmly replied, *Have you not then plate and cloaths of mine? Turn them into money, rather than let my friend want.* (4).

(I) Once, when he was engaged in this exercise, a lion of a prodigious size attacked him: the king defended himself with great courage, and at last, tho' with much difficulty, he slew the beast; upon which the *Lacedæmonian* ambassador made him

(4) *Plut. in vit. Alex. & in orat. de fortuna Alex.*

They complain of the length of the war.

YET neither *Alexander's* discourses nor his actions prevailed; the manners of his courtiers from bad became worse, in spite of all he could say or do to prevent it; and at last they proceeded so far, as to censure his conduct, and to express themselves with some bitterness on the subject of his long continuance of the war, and his leading them constantly from one labour to another. All this at first drew no harsher language from *Alexander* than this: *That to do well, and to be ill spoken of, was becoming the royal dignity.* But by degrees, as things went farther, he was obliged to alter his behaviour: for when the whole army was split into factions, and the soldiers were ever openly inveighing against his administration, *Alexander* was under a necessity of reproofing them, of talking to them severely, and of taking other methods to make them keep their speech within the bounds of decency, and their actions within the limits of their duty ^d (K).

FROM

^d DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in loc. citat.

a well-turned compliment: *You, have, Sir,* said he, *windicated your title to royalty even against the lion.* Craterus was so much pleased with this adventure, that he caused the whole of it to be expressed in figures of brass by the hands of *Lysippus* and *Leochares*, which noble piece he dedicated in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delfhi*.

(K) *Curtius* tells us, that, to eradicate this spirit of mutiny, and to restore the ancient *Macedonian* discipline, he was forced to cause fire to be set to the spoils collected by the soldiers, and reduce them all to ashes (5): which, however, is very incredible; and therefore we prefer *Plutarch's* account of this matter. He says, that, when he led his army out of *Hircania*, he perceived in them an unwillingness to follow him; that is, he first observed in them that sullen disrespectful humour which generally precedes mutiny. Upon

this occasion he had not recourse either to harsh words, or severe usage; but, having summoned the soldiers to an assembly, he in a long and eloquent harangue gave them to understand, "That hitherto the barbarians had seen them no otherwise than as it were in a dream; and, if they should think of returning when they had only alarmed *Asia*, and not conquered it, those barbarians would set upon them, and destroy them like so many women. However, he would detain none of them against their will, but give such as desired it full liberty to return: he nevertheless protested against those who should be so mean-spirited as to desert him, and his friends, and those who were willing to fight under him still in an enterprize so great and glorious as it would be, to make the *Macedonians* lords of the habi-

FROM this time forward, however, *Alexander* himself be- ^{Alexander}
gan to alter his conduct ; and, by giving a little into the customs ^{gives into}
of the orientals, endeavoured to secure that obedience from ^{the customs}
his new subjects, which he found so difficult to preserve ^{of the Per-}
among his old ones : he likewise endeavoured to blend the ^{sians.}
customs of the *Asiatics* and the *Greeks* by various methods.
The form of his civil government resembled that of the an-
tient *Persian* kings : in military affairs, however, he pre-
served the *Macedonian* discipline ; but then he made choice
of thirty thousand boys out of the provinces, whom he caused
to be instructed in the *Greek* tongue, and directed to be
brought up in such a manner, as that from time to time he
might with them fill up the phalanx. The *Macedonians* saw with
great concern these extraordinary measures, which suited very
indifferently with their gross understandings ; for they thought,
after all this fighting, to be absolute lords of *Asia*, and to
possess not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule over
the inhabitants themselves : whereas they saw plainly, that
Alexander meant no such thing ; but that, on the contrary,
he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other
marks both of confidence and favour, indiscriminately on
Persians and *Greeks* (L).

WITH

“ table world.” What the result
of this exhortation was, the same
author informs us from a letter
written by *Alexander* to *Antipa-*
ter, wherein it is thus expressed :
“ That, when he had spoken to
“ them after this manner, they
“ unanimously cried out, they
“ were ready to go with him
“ whithersoever he should be
“ pleased to lead them (6).”

(L) *Plutarch* has taken great
pains to inculcate a notion of
Alexander’s doing this from a
principle of exalted virtue, and
from an earnest desire of uniting,
as it were in marriage, the people
of the two great continents *Eu-*
rope and *Asia*. Of this he speaks
every-where in raptures, as of
the most sublime and glorious
kind of philosophy invented and
practised by *Aristotle*’s royal pu-

pil, that he might spread peace,
plenty, and politeness, over the
face of the whole earth ; with
this single proviso, however, that
the earth own no master but him.
But it may be, that *Plutarch*
thought more of this matter than
Alexander, since, without having
recourse to any sublime princi-
ples, we can account for his con-
duct in as satisfactory a manner.
Wealth and pleasure were the
ends for which the grofs of his
army had undergone such exces-
sive fatigues ; and now, when
those were in their power, they
did not greatly care to fight any
longer. Dominion and fame
were what *Alexander* had in
view ; and, finding that these
could scarce be secured by an army
already full of dissension, he be-
gan to turn his eyes on those

(6) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

A conspiracy
racy
against his
life.

WITH all these mighty designs in his head, a conspiracy was formed in his camp, in order to take him off before any of them could be carried into execution. This conspiracy, like most others, was, by those who were concerned in it, involved in such obscurity, that few were able to know what to make of it, even at the time it broke out; and authors have related its circumstances so variously, that it is very difficult to give a tolerable and consistent account of it from the lights they afford us. Our best guide *Arrian* was as much in the dark as the rest; and, as we shall see hereafter, met with different relations under the hand of the same author. In so perplexed a business, we shall draw out as clear and distinct a detail of facts as we can; and, having furnished the best materials in our power, shall leave our readers to decide for themselves. One *Dymnus* a *Macedonian*, of no great rank in the army, having determined in his mind to kill *Alexander*, communicated his design to one *Nicomachus*, a young man, for whom he had a great affection, earnestly inviting him to bear a part in the action. The lad, terrified at the very mention of it, revealed it to *Cebalinus* his brother, whom *Plutarch* calls *Balinus*; and he, eager to save his brother and himself, was resolved to make a discovery; but inasmuch as *Dymnus* had told *Nicomachus*, that those who were concerned in this plot would execute it in three days, *Cebalinus* went to court, out of an apprehension, that, if his brother was seen there, it might alarm the conspirators, and engage them to execute their purpose before proper measures could be taken to prevent it. When *Cebalinus* came to the royal quarters, the first person of distinction he met with was *Philotas*, to whom he disclosed this matter, and begged him to bring him to the king. This was easy for him to have done, because he was twice a day admitted to the royal presence: however, he omitted it, though he had a long conference with the king that very day.

THE next day *Cebalinus* solicited him again, when *Philotas* told him, that he had no opportunity of mentioning it to the king; but promised him, that he would do it speedily: yet he omitted it throughout this day also: whereupon *Cebalinus* growing impatient, and doubting with himself, if this should come to the king's ear any other way, his own and his brother's life would be in danger, he applied himself to one of the king's pages; and, having intimated to him what the dis-

whom he had subdued, and to expect from them as much as had been performed hitherto by his *Macedonians*, as if all men were capable of every thing under his auspice (7).

(7) *Arrian. lib. iii. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Curt. lib. v. c. 6. Justin. lib. xi. Plut. in stat. de fortun. & virt. Alex.*

covery was, which he was desirous to make, received directions from him to hide himself in the armoury, together with a promise, that the king should be acquainted with it when he was in the bath; which was accordingly done. When *Alexander* had heard all the page knew, and was farther acquainted, that *Cebalinus* himself was in the armoury, he sent for him, and heard from his own mouth not only all that *Nicomachus's* brother had told him, but also how *Philotas* had trifled with him, and had for two days together concealed this matter from his knowledge. The king, extremely offended, ordered *Dymnus* to be seized, and *Philotas* to be sent for to him^e. The former, as soon as he was apprehended, stabbed himself so desperately, that he died just as he was brought into the king's presence, or, as others say, was killed in his own tent by him who went to apprehend him, because he stood on his defence: however it was, he died without being examined, or making any confession; which gave the king great disquiet, who fancied, that, if the man had been brought to him alive, he might one way or other have drawn from him the whole secret. As it was, he sent for *Philotas*, and taxed him with perfidy, for not informing him of *Cebalinus's* discovery: *Philotas* excused himself, by affirming, that the story seemed to him altogether improbable, and that he was unwilling to fill his head with needless fears and suspicions. As he spoke this, he threw himself at the king's feet, and embraced his knees; and it is said the king gave him his hand in token of forgiveness. Indeed it is very probable, that *Alexander* thought himself bound to pass by such a neglect, in a person who had served him faithfully, whose father had done such important services to *Philip* and himself, and who had lost two brothers in fighting his quarrels^f.

At supper *Philotas* was invited, and the king talked to him as familiarly as he was wont to do; but it seems he retired early, and went to-bed. When he was gone, some who were about the king, *Curtius* mentions expressly *Craterus* for one, began to infuse into *Alexander's* head, that *Dymnus* could never be the prime author, of so extraordinary an attempt, but must have been influenced thereto by persons of superior rank: that it looked very suspicious in *Philotas* never to disclose any thing of this matter, nor to take any measures for seizing the conspirators: that, in things of less importance, pity and tenderness might interfere; but that where the king's life lay at stake, and in him the fortune of

^e DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. lib. vi. ARRIAN. lib. iii.

^f CURT.

*Philotas
seized and
tortured ;*

Macedon, compassion was no virtue, but rather a kind of treason, it being the duty of every loyal subject to sacrifice all private considerations to the peace and safety of his prince. By such discourses, they extorted, as it were, from the king an order to seize *Philotas*, and put him to the question : which when they went to execute, they found him fast asleep : however they waked him, and bound him in irons, at which he is said to have burst out into this exclamation ; *O ! my prince, the malice of my enemies hath overcome thy inclination to mercy.* When he was first put to the rack, he denied every thing ; but at last, unable to bear the pain, he impeached many, and amongst the rest his father. In all likelihood, he said any thing that he thought would deliver him from his torments &c.

CURTIVS gives us a fuller, and we should say a better, account of this matter, if we could at all rely on the harangues inserted in his writings ; but these have evidently so rhetorical a turn, that it is difficult to conceive how they should have proceeded from the mouths of persons so strongly agitated by their passions. It is, however, probable, and consistent with the best historians, that *Philotas* was brought to an open tryal according to the laws and customs of the *Macedonians*, wherein he was charged by the king with having an hand in *Dymnus's* conspiracy. Against this charge he made a long and laboured defence ; he said, That his father and himself, with his brothers, *Nicanor* and *Hæster*, who were now no more, had often hazarded their lives in the king's service, and had some share in the victories purchased by the valour of the *Macedonians* : that the conspiracy of *Dymnus* no ways reached him, his name having never been mentioned by any of the accomplices impeached by *Nicomachus* : he observed, that it was highly improbable, if he had any concern in the plot, that he should suffer *Cebalinus* to remain two days at court at full liberty to apply himself to others : he acknowledged his offence in not acquainting the king sooner with the discovery ; and then, addressing himself, as it were, to *Alexander*, whom he conceived to be within hearing, though he affected not to be present, he put him in mind, that he had immediately implored his clemency, that he had given him his hand as a pledge of his pardon, and had invited him to his table. His own innocence, and the king's assuring him of mercy, had so quieted his mind, that, as he remarked, those who came to seize him, took much pains to awake him ; he therefore conjured the king not to abandon him to his enemies, nor to suffer them to triumph at once

over an innocent man, and the word of a merciful prince. *Alexander*, however, pretended to leave all things to the assembly; and they, managed by the capital enemies of *Philotas*, adjudged him to the torture, and afterwards, upon the confession extorted from him by the pains he then endured, *and then* to death^h, which he suffered, as *Arrian* informs us, by being *put to death*ⁱ struck through with darts by the soldiersⁱ (M).

THOSE who have sought to excuse *Alexander* from the imputations which the death of *Philotas*, and its consequences, drew upon him, have suggested, in their accounts, many things, which, if they were true, would certainly prove, that *Philotas* was an indiscreet and ambitious man at least, if not a traitor (N). However it was, after putting

CURT. lib. vi. c. 19—33.

Ubi supra.

(M) *Curtius* says, that, according to the manner of the *Macedonians*, they stoned him (8). *Diodorus* tells us, that he was punished as a traitor, according to the custom of his country (9). All agree that he was put to death, and that his execution was attended with many conjectures and suspicions, that he fell rather through the effects of private malice, than by the stroke of public justice.

(N) They allege, that he affected a pomp in his manner of living, a splendor in his equipage, a nicety at his table, a complaisance for his friends, a large and swelling retinue, and in fine many other things inconsistent with the moderation which ought to be observed by a subject. They say, that, many years before, he had discovered a contempt of the king, and a very high idea of his father's merit, and his own; that, after the battle of *Iffus*, growing passionately enamoured of one *Antigona* of *Pydna*, a very handsome woman, who, as

a prisoner, fell to his share, he said to her in his cups, *What was Philip, but Parmenio? What is Alexander, but Philotas* (1)? Which, being talked of by the woman, came at last to *Craterus's* ear; who introduced *Antigona* to *Alexander*, to whom she told this and many other things, and received a strict charge from the king to continue a spy on *Philotas's* words and actions. It is likewise alleged, that *Parmenio* himself was not a little displeased with his conduct, and would often give him this caution; *My son, appear less* (2). But these tales carry their refutations in themselves. If *Philotas's* behaviour had been so generally offensive, he would not surely have held his command, and with it the confidence of the king, till this bulliness of *Dymnus*. If *Antigona* could bring herself not only to impeach a man who loved her, but to remain with him in order to extract his secrets, she must have been of a disposition unworthy of belief. Besides, *Craterus*

(8) *Curt. lib. vi. c. 19—33.*
de virtut. Alex.

(2) *Idem in vit. Alex.*

(9) *Ubi supra.*

(1) *Plut. in orat.*

putting him to death, the king thought it not fit to let *Parmenio* survive him long: he therefore dispatched letters by *Polydamas*, one of his friends, to *Cleander*, *Sitacles*, and *Menidas*, who commanded under *Parmenio* in *Media*, with orders to take him off; which accordingly they did, and, if we may believe *Curtius*, in a very extraordinary manner. He says, that *Polydamas*, who undertook the management of this matter, was *Parmenio's* dearest and most intimate friend: he carried with him not only a letter from the king to that general, but also another written in an hand like that of *Philotas*, and sealed with his seal. When he arrived in *Media*, and had communicated the king's orders to *Cleander* and his associates, they concerted all things together, and the next day presented *Parmenio* with his letters, as he was walking in his park; where while he was commending the king, and looking on the letter which he supposed came from his son, *Cleander* stabbed him in the side, then in the throat, his companions afterwards shamefully mangling the dead body: at last *Cleander* cut off the head, and sent it to *Alexander*, the miserable remains being mournfully interred by the soldiers^k.

THESE executions made way for more discoveries, or pretended discoveries. *Amyntas* the son of *Andromenes*, *Attalus*, and *Symmias*, all brethren, were seized on account of their intimacy with *Philotas*, and because their fourth brother *Polemon* had fled to the enemy: they were brought to an open trial, and *Amyntas* defended himself so well, that they were all acquitted; after which *Amyntas* desired *Alexander's* leave to go and search for his brother, which was granted him; and he accordingly brought him back, which was thought a convincing proof, that they were all innocent (O).

DEME-

* CURT. lib. vi. ARRIAN. ubi supra.

was the capital enemy of *Philotas*; and her being brought by him to the king renders the whole business very suspicious. If *Parmenio's* caution to his son reflects at all upon his conduct, it certainly justifies the father, and yet we shall see he escaped no better than his son. On the whole, *Arrian* tells us from *Ptolemy*, that *Philotas* was once tried and acquitted; but that,

upon some new discoveries, he was a second time impeached and convicted (3).

(O) This is *Arrian's* account: *Curtius* carries the matter still farther; he gives us the defence of *Amyntas* at large, and informs us, that, while he was in the midst of it, *Polemon* was brought in a prisoner by those who were sent in pursuit of him. When he came to speak, he told the

(3) *Arrian. ubi supra.*

DEMETRIUS, one of the king's guards, fell also into suspicion; and orders were dispatched into *Macedonia*, directing, that *Alexander Lyncestes*, who had been some years a prisoner, should be put to death: his friendship with *Antigonus* had hitherto preserved his life, but now he was given up to slaughter¹. These things disturbed the army very much, especially the *Macedonians*, who, though they adored the royal virtues of *Alexander*, did not think themselves obliged to be in love with his vices: they therefore did not content themselves with speaking very freely, but wrote home to their countrymen advice of the present state of affairs, the king's suspicions of his friends, and his inclination to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. *Alexander*, having intercepted these letters, and taken the best informations he could, picked out these dissatisfied people, and, having disposed them into one corps, gave it the title of the *turbulent battalion*^m, and appointed *Lesnidas* to command it; hoping by this means to stop the contagion, and to prevent this spirit of disaffection from spreading through the whole army.

As a farther precaution against any future conspiracy, *Having Alexander* thought fit to appoint two generals of the auxiliary provided horse, being apprehensive, that, if this authority was lodged in *against* the hands of a single person, it might prompt him to dangerous *future con-* undertakings, and at the same time furnish him with the *spiracies*, means of carrying them into execution. *Hephaestion* and *Cly-* *he pursues* *his former* *designs.* *tus* were therefore appointed joint commanders of these horse; nor can the king be justly blamed for this caution, if it be supposed, that *Alexander Lyncestes*, and *Philotas*, were justly punishedⁿ. To keep his forces in action, he suddenly *Marches* marched into the country of the *Euergetæ*, i. e. *Benefactors*; *into the* and found them full of that kind and hospitable disposition, *country of* for which that name had been bestowed on their ancestors (P): *the Euer-* he therefore treated them with great respect, and, staying *getæ.* among

¹ ARRIAN. CURT. ubi supra.

^m Ἀτάκτων τάγμα.

ⁿ ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 27.

assembly very frankly, that his intimacy with *Philotas* was the reason he fled: that he was so terrified with the thoughts of the tortures that unfortunate person had suffered, that he left the camp; and that, having lost his companions on the road, while he deliberated with himself whe-

ther he had best proceed, or return back, he was taken.

(P) This is an instance of that strange way of writing, into which, out of a fondness for their own language, the *Greeks* constantly ran. It is impossible, that this nation should have been really called by this name: the truth

among them some small time in order to celebrate a festival to *Apollo*, he at his departure added some lands to their dominions, which lay contiguous, and which for that reason they had requested of him^o.

Enters TURNING then to the east, he entered *Arachosia*, the inhabitants of which submitted without giving him any trouble; *Arachosia, which* whereupon he appointed *Memnon* to be governor of these provinces, as *Arrian* assures us, though *Diodorus* affirms, that he appointed *Teridates*. While he passed his winter in these parts, the king received advice, that the *Arians*, whom he had so lately subdued, were again up in arms, *Satibarzanes* being returned into that country with two thousand horse assigned him by *Bessus*. *Alexander* instantly dispatched *Artibazus* the Persian with *Erigyus* and *Caranus*, two of his commanders, with a considerable body of horse and foot; he likewise ordered *Phrataphernes*, to whom he had given the government of *Parthia*, to accompany them. These, with all convenient speed, marched back into *Aria*, where *Satibarzanes* met them with a well-appointed army; a general engagement ensued, wherein the *Arians* behaved very well, as long as their commander *Satibarzanes* lived; but he engaging *Erigyus*, the *Satibarzanes de-* Macedonian struck him first into the throat, and then, drawing forth his spear again, through the mouth, so that he immediately expired, and with him the courage of his soldiers, who instantly began to fly; whereupon *Alexander's* commanders made an easy conquest of the rest of the country, and settled it effectually under his obedience P.

^o *ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIOD. ubi supra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 9. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 5. P ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 28. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 17.*

truth is, that it is no more than a translation of a Persian name bestowed upon them by *Cyrus*; and it would have been well, if any of the Greek historians or geographers had preserved this Persian name. *Arrian* tells us, that they were before called *Agriaspæ*, and *Diodorus* calls them by two different names. Such differences are common in Greek writers, nor is it easy to discover which is the true or the best reading. These people were celebrated for their wisdom, beneficence, and politeness. When

Cyrus the founder of the Persian empire marched this way against the *Scythians*, his army was grievously distressed for want of provision, insomuch that they were compelled to eat each other: from this deplorable state they were relieved by the kindness of this nation, who brought thirty thousand loads of provision of all sorts into the camp. *Cyrus*, in consideration of this extraordinary act of generosity, honoured them with some Persian appellation equivalent to the Greek term *Euergetæ*.

THE king, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, *Continues* advanced into the country of *Paropamisus*, so called from the *his march-* mountain *Paropamisus*, which the soldiers of *Alexander* called *es in the* *Caucasus*. We are told by *Diodorus*, that he found the *most rigo-* country for the most part open and plain, without trees, *rous sea-* covered with snow, having large open boroughs scattered here *sons, and* and there. The houses in which the inhabitants dwelt were *through* covered with tiles; the roof rising up like a spire, but open at the top, wherebv they received light, and let out the smoke: *the most* the walls of these houses were so well built, and the mortar *barren* made use of for them so excellently tempered, that they had *countrits;* in them no flaws or cracks, but were perfectly secured from the inclemencies of the air. In them therefore the people dwelt all the winter, having store of all sorts of provisions laid up, and having previously secured their vines, and other fruit-trees, by covering them with mats from the effects of the frost. In their marches through this melancholy plain, the *Macedonians* were exposed to vast inconveniences, the reflexion of the light from the snow and ice grievously affecting their eyes, and the excessive cold seizing such as thro' weariness either walked slow, or sat down; so that many of them perished. *Alexander*, however, pleasing himself with the thoughts of having reached *Caucasus*, in sixteen days marching cross *Paropamisus*, came at length to an opening leading into *Media*, which finding of a sufficient breadth, he directed a city to be built there, which he called *Alexandria*, as also several other towns about a day's journey distant from thence; and in these places he left seven thousand persons, part of them such as had hitherto followed his camp, and part of the mercenary soldiers, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell here. Having thus settled things in this province, sacrificed solemnly to the gods, and appointed *Proxses* the *Persian* president thereof, with a small body of troops under the command of *Niloxenus* to assist him, he resumed his former design of penetrating into *Bactria* (Q).

BESSUS,

¶ *ARRIAN*. lib. iii. c. 28, 29. *DIO*, ubi supra. *CURT*. lib. vii. c. 15.

(Q) We have omitted in the text a very remarkable instance of the inequality of *Alexander's* temper, and of that savage cruelty, which, in spite of his many virtues, still lurked in his breast. The reason of our omitting it

was, because we find nothing of it in *Arrian*; the reason of our inserting it here is, its having been approved by the best compilers of history, though it is found in *Curtius*. It must be owned, that there is a chasm in *Diodorus*, wherein,

Bessus, who, as we have hinted, had assumed the title of *Artaxerxes*, when he was assured, that *Alexander* was marching towards him, immediately began to waste all the country

wherein, for aught we know, this story might have been inserted. However it be, the reader ought to find it somewhere, and therefore we have made it the subject of a note. "While the king expected *Bessus* to be brought to him, he came to a little town inhabited by the *Branchidæ*. These were a family of *Milefians*, removed thither by *Xerxes* on account of their putting into his hands the sacred treasures reposed in the temple of *Apollo Didymæus*. They had not quite forsaken the customs of their antient country; but their language was a sort of medley made up of their own, and that of the country they now inhabited. They expressed a great deal of joy at the king's arrival, and readily surrendered both themselves and their town to him. Hereupon *Alexander* called together the *Milefians* that served in his army. Now we must observe, that the *Milefians* bore an old grudge to the *Branchidæ*. The king, therefore, referred it to them, whether they would consider their extraction. On revenge: their former injury; and, as they varied in their opinions, he told them he would advise with himself what was best to be done in the matter. The next day, when the deputies from the *Branchidæ* came to meet him, he commanded them to

"attend him; and, being come to the town, he entered the gates thereof with part of his army, and ordered the phalanx to surround the place, and, upon the signal given, to pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them all to the sword. These poor wretches, being in a defenceless condition, were everywhere butchered; and neither conformity of language, the humble posture of suppliants, nor the most fervent intreaty, could put a stop to their authorized cruelty. The very foundations of the walls were dug up, that there might not be the least footsteps left of the town. Their fury did not stop here; for they not only cut down the consecrated woods, but also grubbed up the very roots thereof, that there might be nothing left but a barren waste solitude. Now, had their cruelty been practiced on the first transgressors, it might have been thought a just punishment of their crime; but here posterity is punished for the sins of its forefathers, without ever having so much as seen *Miletum*, far from being able to betray it to *Xerxes*" (4). There is a passage in *Strabo*, which seems to confirm what is here related by *Curtius*: he is describing *Bactria*, and from thence takes occasion to speak of *Alexander's* exploits there, and in *Sogdia*; and, amongst other things, relates this: "Finding

(4) *Curt. lib. vii. c. 21.*

"here-

country between *Paropamisus* and the river *Oxus*, which river Alexander had passed with his forces, and then burnt all the vessels he had made use of for transporting them, retiring to *Nautaca* a city of *Sogdia*, fully persuaded that, by the precautions he had taken, *Alexander* would be compelled to give over his pursuit. This conduct of his, however, disheartened his troops, and gave the lie to all his pretensions; for he had affected to censure *Darius's* conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, whereas he now quitted the banks of the most defensible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it cannot be said they were ill founded, yet they proved absolutely vain; for *Alexander*, continuing his march, notwithstanding all the hardships his soldiers sustained, reduced all *Bactria* under his obedience, particularly the capital *Bactra*, and the strong castle *Aornus*; in the latter he placed a garrison under the command of *Archelaus*, but the government of the province he committed to *Artabazus* *. He then continued his march to the river *Oxus*, on the banks of which when he arrived, he found it three quarters of a mile over, its depth more than proportionable to its breadth, its bottom sandy, and its stream so rapid, as to render it almost unnavigable; neither boat nor

reduces -
Bactria
and Sog-
dia, Bellus
being
taken.
Year of
the flood.
2019.
Bef. Chr.
329.

* ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30.

" hereabouts the city of the *Branchidæ*, he demolished it. These people had followed *Xerxes* out of their own country, after having betrayed to him the treasures of *Apollo Didymæus*; but *Alexander*, to express his abomination of their sacrilege and treason, rased their city" (5). In several other places this author assures us, that the *Branchidæ* betrayed these treasures into the hands of *Xerxes*, and followed him into *Asia*. Yet *Herodotus* seems to give another account of this matter; for he ascribes the plundering of this temple, and reducing it to ashes, to *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*; and tells us farther, that all the *Milesian* prisoners were conducted

to *Susa*, from whence *Darius*, without any other ill usage, sent them to inhabit the city of *Ampe*, seated near the mouth of the river *Tigris* (6). Perhaps the *Branchidæ* were at this time left behind, and, after the temple was repaired, and the oracle restored, betrayed the treasures to *Xerxes* on his return from the *Grecian* war, when he seized all the wealth laid up in temples, to indemnify him for the loss he had sustained in that expedition. However, if *Alexander* really massacred the people, as well as demolished their town, *Curtius* had reason to reflect, as he does, on the proceeding, which was flagrantly cruel and unjust.

(5) *Strab. geogr. lib. xiv. p. 518.*

(6) *Herodot. lib. vi.*

*Passes the
Oxus.*

tree in its neighbourhood, so that the ablest commanders in the *Macedonian* army were of opinion, that they should be obliged to march back. The king, however, having first sent away under a proper escort all his infirm and worn-out soldiers, that they might be conducted safe to the sea-ports, and from thence to *Greece*, devised a method of passing this river without either boat or bridge, which we have spoken of elsewhere *. Having crossed the *Oxus*, he marched directly towards the camp of *Bessus*, where when he arrived, he found it abandoned; but received at the same time letters from *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes*, who were the chief commanders under *Bessus*, signifying, that, if he would send a small party to receive *Bessus*, they would deliver him into his hands, which they did accordingly; and the traitor was put to death in the manner we have related in the history of *Persia* †. The disagreement among authors concerning his fate we have digested in a note (R).

A SUP-

* See vol. v. p. 324.

† Ibid.

(R) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Bessus*, at a great feast to which he had invited his friends, growing warm with liquor, grievously insulted one of them, whose name was *Bagadoras*, and even attempted to kill him; that, this man flying in the night to *Alexander*, the rest of the counsellors of *Bessus* were exceedingly alarmed, fearing, on the one hand, the cruelty of this usurper, and, on the other, dreaming of great rewards, if they put him into the hands of *Alexander*; which at last they resolved to do, and to that end seized and bound him. They were not disappointed in their expectations; the king rewarded them bountifully: as for *Bessus*, he delivered him to the brother of *Darius*, and the rest of his relations, who, after offering him all the indignities they could think of, and exercising on him variety of torments, cut his flesh into small pieces, and hurled it bit by bit out of their slings (7). *Curtius* informs us of a quarrel *Bessus* had with a friend of his; but he calls him *Cobares* a *Median*, and one of the *Magi*. This man, after *Bessus* had been vilifying *Darius*, and exalting himself, told him plainly, it was in vain to think of flying from such an enemy as *Alexander*; and that the only method he had to take was submitting himself, and trusting to the mercy of the victor: this put *Bessus* into such a passion, that *Cobares* was forced to retire out of the room for his immediate safety, and afterwards fled to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* is characterized by this author as an envious and ungrateful traitor; that he told *Bessus*, two of his best friends had conspired against him, and that he, having discovered the conspiracy, had caused them to be apprehended;

A SUPPLY of horses being now arrived, the *Macedonian* Alexander cavalry were remounted. *Alexander* continued his march to marches to *Maracanda* the capital of *Sogdia*, from whence he advanced to the capital of *Sogdia*.

for which *Bessus* thanked him, and desired they might be brought into his presence. Upon this, *Dataphernes* and *Catenes*, who concurred with *Spitamenes*, were brought in with their hands tied, surrounded by eight chosen men, as if they had been their guards. But no sooner did *Bessus* rise, and approach them, than the pretended guards seized him, pinioned him, took his crown from his head, and tore his robes; whereupon he cried out, that they justly revenged *Darius*, but were too propitious to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* afterwards led him, with an halter about his neck, into the presence of *Alexander*, who delivered him to *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, with directions to see him crucified, after having his nose and ears cut off, and then shot to death with arrows, which *Oxathres* accordingly undertook to do; *Catenes* being to fulfil the last part of his punishment, which was, to guard his body, that no part of it might become the prey of birds. He afterwards tells us, that he was sent to *Ecbatana*, there to suffer death (8). *Plutarch* relates, that, by the direction of *Alexander* himself, *Bessus* was fastened to a couple of tall straight trees, which were bound down so as to meet; and then, being let loose with a great force, returned to their own places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it which was tied to it (9). *Justin* acquaints us

in few words, that *Alexander* delivered *Bessus* to the brother of *Darius*, that he might crucify him (1). It is impossible; that he should die all these deaths; and, amongst this great variety of sentiments, it is as impossible to determine what death he died. That he lost his nose and ears by the command of *Alexander*, may be esteemed certain; and that he afterwards suffered capital punishment, is also certain; as to the manner in which he suffered it, nothing can be positively affirmed. In all probability *Bessus* might have escaped all this severity, if he had taken the advice of *Cabartes*, and submitted himself, and the provinces under his power, to *Alexander*; for there is good reason to believe, that his assuming the imperial title was at least as heinous in the sight of *Alexander*, as his murder of *Darius*; and therefore, if he had not joined this to his former crime, he might have escaped better. The answers given by *Bessus*, as they are recorded in *Arrian* and *Curtius*, hint plainly at this; for he told the king, first, that *Darius* was murdered to obtain his favour; and, secondly, that he was not the true author of the murder, but that all who were present concurred in it. Among these was *Satibarzanes*, who, on his submitting himself to *Alexander*, was not only well received, but had his government restored to him. As for the other conspirator *Bar-*

(8) *Curr. lib. vii. c. 20.*(9) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*(1) *Justin lib. xii. c. 5.*

Is surprised by the barbarians.

Alexander wounded.

Great slaughter of the barbarians. Alexander subdued several other nations.

the river *Iaxartes*, called by *Arrian*, and the rest of the historians who have written his life, *Tanais*, but without any foundation (S). On the side of this river, as some of his troops were foraging, they were surprised by the barbarians, and a considerable number of *Macedonian* horse slain. After which exploit, between twenty and thirty thousand of these rude people betook themselves to an high rock, the ascent of which was not so steep and rugged, in hopes that there they should be safe from *Alexander's* soldiers. But the king, as soon as he received advice of what had happened, marched thither with his horse and light-armed troops, and, notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of the attack, led his troops in person to ascend the rock. The barbarians, having so great an advantage from the situation of the place, and fighting also for their lives, repulsed the *Macedonians* more than once; at last, however, notwithstanding the king himself was wounded in the leg, so as to have the smaller of his shin-bones broken, the *Macedonians* carried it, compelling numbers of those unhappy wretches to throw themselves over the rock, slaying without mercy those that fell into their hands, so that of the multitude retreating thither not above eight thousand escaped.

WITHIN a few days after, the *Abii*, a famous *Scythian* people, sent ambassadors to *Alexander*, to desire peace: with them came ambassadors from the *European Scythians*: to these he gave fair words, and sent some of his own people home with them, under colour of concluding the negotiations; but, in truth, to bring him advice of the situation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. The *Scythians* having some notion of what he designed, that is, the *Scythians* whom he had already subdued, and being also informed, that he had pro-

ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. ult. CURT. lib. vii. c. 26, 27.

zantes, he indeed was put to death, in revenge, as it was said, of the treason he had committed against his master; but then he had always continued in arms against *Alexander*, and, flying to the *Indians* for safety, was delivered up by them (2).

(S) For, besides a very large tract of land on this side, and a much larger on the other, the whole breadth of the *Caspian* sea is between that part of the river

Iaxartes, to which he came, and the fall of the *Tanais* into the *Palus Maotis*. It is true, that *Arrian* distinguishes between this *Tanais* and that; which shews he had more skill in geography than the rest: but still we want a proof, that the *Iaxartes* was ever called *Tanais* by any but *Alexander's* soldiers, who were fond of imposing false names to flatter their own vanity, and amuse the rest of mankind.

jected the building of a city to keep them in awe, they at once took up arms, cut off his garisons, and joined with the discontented *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*. As soon as *Alexander* was informed of this, he directed his several battalions of infantry to furnish themselves with ladders, which as soon as they had done, he marched instantly towards *Gaza*, the nearest city of seven which the barbarians had seized. At the same time he dispatched *Craterus* to *Cyropolis*, the greatest of those cities, into which most of the barbarians had retired, commanding him to encamp near the walls, to draw a ditch and rampart round the city, and plant his engines where he thought convenient; so that the citizens there, finding employment enough to defend themselves at home, might not be able to secure any other places. As soon as he approached *Gaza*, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud, and low-built, to be assaulted, and his scaling-ladders everywhere got ready. Then his slingers, archers, and darters, mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, incommoded the besieged with missile weapons, and at the same time galled them with darts from their engines; insomuch that the walls were deserted by the barbarians, and the ladders being immediately fixed, the *Macedonians* mounted, and, entering, killed all the men they met (for so *Alexander* had commanded); but the women and children, and the riches of the place, were given as a spoil to the soldiers. Thence he moved to another of those cities, which was built and fortified like the former, which he assaulted and took the same day, and disposed of the captives in the same manner. Thence proceeding to the third city on the next day, he took it at the first attack. In the mean time, while he at the head of his foot was busied in reducing those places, he dispatched his horse to two other cities not far off, with orders to take care, that the citizens, when they heard of the storming of their neighbouring towns, and his near approach, might not make their escape by flight, and so render it a difficult task for him to overtake them. And as he judged, so it happened, that the dispatch of these troops thither was necessary; for the barbarians, who held the other two cities, not yet taken, seeing the smoke of that over-against them, which was then on fire, and, besides, some who had escaped out of that calamity, bringing them the news, they fled out of both the cities as fast as they could; but, falling in among the horse posted for that purpose, were most of them slain.

THESE five cities thus taken and destroyed in two days, *Besuges* he hastened to *Cyropolis*, the greatest and most populous of the *Cyropolis* whole country. It was surrounded with a wall much higher than any of the rest, and was built by *Cyrus*; and as many

of the barbarians, both stout and well-armed, had fled thither for shelter, it was not to be supposed, that the *Macedonians* could gain it at the first assault. Wherefore *Alexander*, having planted his engines in places convenient, determined to batter the wall, and, where-ever he made a breach, to storm the place. But finding the chanel of the river, which usually ran through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall disjoined, so as to afford an entrance for his soldiers, he with his body-guards, his targeteers, his archers, and *Argiæ*, while the barbarians were employed in guarding themselves from the engines and the assailants, privately entered the city at first with a few men through that chanel; and, having burst open the gates with that part, gave an easy admittance to the rest. The barbarians then, notwithstanding they perceived their city taken, falling upon the *Macedonians*, a sharp battle ensued, wherein *Alexander* himself received a blow on the head and neck with a stone, and *Craterus*, and many more of his captains, were wounded with missile weapons. However, the barbarians were at last driven out of the market-place. In the mean time, those who battered the wall, seeing it void of defendants, took it, and at their first entrance slew about eight thousand of the enemy.

The rest (for the whole number there gathered together was eighteen thousand) retired into the castle: but these, when *Alexander* had continued his siege but one day, being destitute of water, surrendered the place. Thence moving to the twentieth city, he took it at the first assault (T).

The *Sythians* of *Asia*, laying hold of this opportunity, came down in great bodies to the river side, to watch when they might attack *Alexander* advantageously. This eruption was followed by another, that *Spitamenes* had besieged the garison left in *Alamanda*, and that the *Macedonians* were in great danger. *Alexander*, however, would not abandon a design he had once to med: having therefore dispatched relief to the city before mentioned, he proceeded to mark out that which he had formerly projected to serve for a fortress against the *Sythians*. In twenty days he walled it round; the following with each other in the performance of the tasks

Alexander builds a city to serve for barbarians.

(T) *Ptolemy* indeed says, it tells us, that the captives were was delivered up without fighting; but *Arrian* on the contrary: firms, that it was taken by storm, and all who were found therein slain. *Ptolemy* the revolt should be left (3).

assigned them. This once done, he gave the city to such of the barbarians as had served in his troops, to the mercenaries who were desirous of settling there, and to such of the *Macedonians* as, being unfit for service, were willing to have houses and lands allotted to them in this place.

THE king, having accomplished all that he intended in these parts, and being no ways desirous of entering into a war with the *Scythians*, from whom he knew there was nothing to be got but blows, prepared to march away. The *Scythians*, having notice of this, came down in vast numbers to the river-side, upbraided him and his soldiers, called them cowards and bullies, who, proud of having subdued the illustrious *Pertines*, were afraid of attacking men, and durst not engage the ancient conquerors of *Asia*. *Alexander* was exceedingly nettled at these reproaches, and was yet at a loss how to pass the river in the sight of so daring an enemy: however, he ordered *Aristander* to offer sacrifices, which he did again and again, but constantly assured the king, that the omens were altogether inauspicious. This gave him great concern, but could not engage him absolutely to drop his design. On the contrary, when he reflected on the dishonour which *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* had sustained from his unfortunate war with this people, he began to fancy, that his own fame would be no less injured: wherefore he at last determined at all events to pass the river, and to attack the enemy, having first put them into some disorder by the darts and stones thrown from his engines, which, doing great execution cross the river, were new to the *Scythians*, and amazed them very much. The *Macedonian* horse being few in comparison of the enemy, the *Scythians* repulsed them at the first attack, and disordered them pretty much; but *Alexander* taking care to support them with light-armed troops, they charged again, and made some impression on the enemy; which as soon as the king perceived, he brought up the heavy-armed troops, and the weight of their charge determined the matter; for the *Scythians*, being unable to sustain it, broke and fled, leaving a thousand men dead upon the spot, among whom was one *Sathaces*, an eminent general; and an hundred and fifty were made prisoner: much more execution would have been done in the pursuit, if the *Macedonians*, through excessive heat, and violent thirst, had not been hindered from continuing it. *Alexander*, who was always among the number of the most forward and vigorous soldiers, finding himself very faint, drank freely of some standing water, which threw him into such a flux, as endangered his life, which was held an accomplishment of *Aristander's*

prediction *. It may be truly said, that this was an hard-fought battle; and that the *Macedonians* bought their victory much dearer than they were wont to do, losing one hundred foot, and sixty horse, upon the spot, having a thousand wounded. The king ordered the prisoners to be released; and some days after, when ambassadors arrived from the *Scythian* king, exacting the business, and acquainting him that the late proceedings were against his orders, *Alexander* took all in good part, assured them of his protection, and, being by no means willing to have any thing farther to do with them, granted them a peace on their own terms, and began to turn his thoughts to the care of his other affairs, which were indeed in no little disorder; the war reviving when he least expected it, the troops under *Spitamenes* seeming to be beat at last both into discipline and courage †.

*The Ma-
cedonians
under
Pharnaces
defeated
by Spita-
menes.*

WE have before mentioned the relief sent by *Alexander* to the garison in the castle of *Maracanda*; it consisted of sixty auxiliary horse commanded by *Andromachus* and *Menedemus*, eight hundred mercenaries under the command of *Caranus*, and fifteen hundred foot led by *Pharnaces* the interpreter, who, though a *Lycian* by birth, yet was perfectly skilled in the language of those countries, and could therefore upon occasion treat with the barbarians, in case they sought to avoid farther mischiefs, by submitting themselves. While these troops were upon their march, the *Macedonians* in the castle made a desperate sally on *Spitamenes*, and drove him and his forces from their work. The loss sustained on this occasion, and the news of *Pharnaces's* march, engaged that general to raise the siege, and to retire towards *Syrdia*. *Pharnaces* pursued him, and in his march, meeting with a body of the *Nomades*, he attacked them; whereupon they retired, and joined *Spitamenes*, who, elated with so sudden and unexpected a reinforcement, determined no longer to avoid, but rather to seek, the *Macedonian* army. There are two relations of the subsequent engagement, both in *Arrian*, one taken from *Ptolemy*, the other from *Aristobolus*; they agree in the main, that the defeat and slaughter of the *Macedonians* was owing to the ill conduct of their officers. *Pharnaces* was a man void of military skill, of which he was very sensible, and offered to resign the command of the troops; but this the *Macedonian* generals would not yield to; for they foresaw, that this business would be attended with great loss; and therefore were not willing to make themselves accountable for an unfortunate battle, and for exceeding their commission at the same time.

ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 4. CURT. lib. vii. c. 7.
lib. iii. c. 5.

JUSTIN.

The

The issue of the matter was, that, while they were full of doubts and confusion, the *Scythians* attacked them, supported by *Spitamenes* and his forces. The *Macedonians* behaved with great bravery, and in all probability would at least have made a good retreat, if they had either had a good general, or if the officers they had, had acted in concert. But *Caranus*, with his Squadron of horse, without consulting the rest, entered the river; upon which the greatest part of the foot followed, not his command, but his example, and with much difficulty gained a little island not far from the shore. This shadow of safety proved their utter destruction; for the barbarians cut off many as they entered the water, and more when they were in it; but, as for all those who got into the island, they shot them to death with their arrows; so that of two thousand three hundred and sixty men, horse and foot, there did not escape above forty of the former, and three hundred of the latter; their officers being all slain, after having shewn much more courage than conduct.

As soon as *Alexander* received the news of the defeat, *Alexander* which *Pharnaces* and the troops under his command had sustained, he determined to revenge it: with this view he took half his auxiliary horse, all his light-armed foot, and a battalion of the *Macedonian* phalanx; with these he marched fifteen hundred furlongs (if there be no mistake in the numbers) in three days; on the fourth he drew near to *Maracanda*, which *Spitamenes* had again besieged; but, on the news of *Alexander's* approach, he raised the siege with great precipitation, and retired with all the celerity imaginable. *Alexander* pursued him, not only to the edge of the desert, but even a good way within it: when he found it was impossible to overtake him, he returned, and buried all the soldiers, who had fallen in the late engagement, with honour. Then he caused all the country thereabouts to be burnt and wasted, putting to death the inhabitants of such villages as he had been informed had not only refused shelter to the flying *Macedonians*, but had also maltreated, and even murdered them. After this the king marched to *Zariaspa*, where he put his army into winter-quarters. Thither came *Piratapurnes*, governor of *Parthia*, and *Stasanor*, who had been dispatched into *Aria* to seize *Arfanes*, who had begun to raise some disturbances there; him they brought bound, and with him *Barzaentes*, whom *Bessus* had made governor of *Parthia*; a short time after, arrived the *Macedonian* officers, who had been sent to take care of the recruits, as also those who had conducted

* ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 5. CURT. lib. vii. c. 36.

such as were discharged to their embarkation^a. Thus the army was again restored to a formidable greatness, and at the same time the court of *Alexander* shone with extraordinary splendor from the resort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of so many illustrious persons from *Greece*.

*Affects the
Persian
customs.*

It is certain, that about this time *Alexander* began to throw off in a great measure the manners of a *Macedonian* prince, and to affect those of a *Persian* king. Authors vary not a little in the accounts they give us of this matter. *Arrian* expressly, that he laid aside the *Macedonian* for the *Median* habit, adding, *That to him it appeared wonderful, the king did not blush when he changed the modest covering of his head, which he had worn in so many battles, for the Persian tiara*. Yet *Plutarch* as positively affirms, he did not follow the *Median* fashion; that he neither wore their breeches, long vest, or tiara; but made choice of a garb inclining to the *Persian* habit, more pompous and magnificent than the *Macedonian* vesture, yet not so rich and gaudy as that worn by the *Persian* kings. But it may be, *Alexander* proceeded by degrees in the alteration of his habit, as we know he did in the use of it; for at first he only dressed himself in this manner, when he had business to transact with his new subjects; but when he conversed with the *Greeks*, and commanded the *Macedonians*, he wore his own country cloaths: if therefore this conjecture of ours be right, *Plutarch* and *Arrian* may be reconciled; and indeed it is very probable, that in this great council, wherein he imitated the oriental severity, he appeared in habit as a *Persian* king; that is, as the lord of *Asia*, or, as the *Greeks* were wont emphatically to stile him, the great king^b (U). This mightily grieved his *Macedonians*,
and

* ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 7. CURT. lib. vii. c. 38.
lib. iv. c. 7. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

^b ARRIAN.

(U) *Curtius* gives us a very extraordinary story in relation to the revolt of the *Sogdians*, which, on account of its length, and its having to strong a mixture of the wonderful, we thought more proper for a note, than for the text; where, if it had been curtailed, it would not have been clear, and, if inserted at full length, it would have interrupted the current of the narration. " Among the

captive *Sogdians* (he says) there were thirty of the chiefest nobility of the country, who were remarkable for their prodigious strength of body. These being brought before the king, and understanding by the interpreter, that *Alexander* had ordered them to be executed, they began to sing and dance, and, by other wanton motions of their body, endeavoured to
" express

and this very grief shewed, that they were still loyal and affectionate to him; for men of traitorous or rebellious principles do not grieve for the errors of their prince, but magnify them into crimes; and as if they were conscious of the enormity of their own guilt, endeavour to transfer a part of it to their hated sovereign. When therefore *Alexander* perceived this disposition in his army, he ought certainly to have soothed them, and endeavoured either to convince them of the rectitude of his behaviour, or to have quieted them by yielding in some measure to their desires. But this was not in the nature of *Alexander*, or at least was no longer in his nature after he had visited the temple of *Ammon*. Besides, he had about him a multitude of sycophants, who, as *Arrian* well notes, are and ever will be the bane of princes; he might have added, and the curse of nations. These by complying with his humours, and heating his passions, carried him daily into new extravagances, and brought

“ express the cheerfulness of
 “ their mind. *Alexander*, being
 “ amazed at their unusual ala-
 “ certy on such an occasion,
 “ commanded them to be brought
 “ back, and asked them the
 “ cause of their excessive joy,
 “ when they beheld death before
 “ their eyes: to which they
 “ answered, that, if any other
 “ than himself had sentenced
 “ them to die, they should have
 “ been concerned; but, since
 “ they were to be restored to
 “ their ancestors by so great a
 “ king, who had conquered all
 “ the world, they looked upon
 “ their death to be so honourable,
 “ as even to deserve the envy of
 “ all brave men; which made
 “ them so transported when they
 “ understood his pleasure. The
 “ king then asked them, If they
 “ would be his friends hereafter,
 “ if he should give them their
 “ lives. They replied, that they
 “ had never been his enemies, but
 “ had only defended themselves

“ when they were attacked in an
 “ hostile manner by him: and
 “ that, if any body would make
 “ trial of them by good offices
 “ instead of injuries, they would
 “ willingly contend in the gene-
 “ rous strife, and use their ut-
 “ most endeavours not to be
 “ overcome. He asking them
 “ afterwards, What pledge they
 “ would give him for their fide-
 “ lity; they answered, Their
 “ lives, which they received
 “ through his bounty, and which
 “ they would at all times be
 “ ready to restore to him when-
 “ ever he required them. Nor
 “ were they worse than their
 “ words: for those of them who
 “ were sent home, kept their
 “ country-people in due subje-
 “ ction to *Alexander*; and four
 “ of them, being received into
 “ his body-guard, were inferior
 “ to none of the *Macedonians* in
 “ their sincere affection to the
 “ king (4).”

him to be a proper instance of the truth of another of *Arrian's* observations; that an ability of conquering vast provinces, and of acquiring supreme dominion, is of little consequence to a man's happiness, unless he preserves a philosophic constancy and moderation of mind; however specious appearances may deceive a deluded world, and make them conceive gilded misery true felicity; whereas no two things in nature are farther removed. But to return to the series of our history, for which these reflections are to make way.

Murders *THE Greeks*, and especially the *Macedonians*, observed an anniversary festival to *Bacchus*. This year, it seems, the king, *Clytus* at a banquet, omitting *Bacchus*, transferred the honour of this festival to the *Dioscouri*, i. e. *Castor* and *Pollux*; and, not satisfied therewith, strictly commanded, that for the future to them, and not to *Bacchus*, these solemn rites should be constantly dedicated. These sacrifices were followed by a magnificent banquet, to which all the principal commanders in the army were invited, and *Clytus* the son of *Dropidas*, who stood as high in the king's favour as any of them, amongst the rest. At supper, the discourse turned on the heroes to whom they had sacrificed; and a question was started, With what propriety they were stiled the sons of *Jupiter*, when it was notorious, that *Tindarus* was their father. It may be, this was introduced to give some ingenious flatterer an opportunity of reconciling things, which hitherto the *Macedonians* could never understand, how *Alexander* could be at once the son of *Ammon*, and the son of *Philip*. Some, who sat near the king, laid hold of this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above those of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and, when they were upon this subject, depreciated the fame of *Hercules* too, and set that a step lower than the glory of *Alexander*: to give these things a colour, they insisted on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worship those virtues in the living, which with the utmost readiness, and the most profound respect, they adored in the dead. *Clytus* took fire at these expressions: he said, *he could not bear to hear such indignities offered to the gods, or the credit of ancient heroes undervalued, to tickle the ears of a living prince.* As to *Alexander's* actions, he allowed, that they were great and glorious; but he affirmed, that they had nothing in them supernatural; besides, they were not performed by him alone, but by his army; and that therefore all the *Macedonians* had a right to share in the praise due to those deeds, in which they, as well as he, had exerted themselves. These reflections made *Alexander* very angry. To sooth his anger, some of his flatterers began a discourse about his father *Philip*, in which they sought to lessen his actions, and to repre-

sent him as a prince who had done nothing extraordinary; which provoked *Clytus* so far, that he began to detract from the merit of *Alexander*, and to suggest, that nothing he had done deserved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. Upon this the king lost all patience; and, when *Clytus* proceeded to upbraid him with the preservation of his life at the battle of the *Granicus*, stretching out his arm, and saying, *This hand, O Alexander, saved thee*, the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him; but was prevented by the interposition of his friends, who caught hold of him, and with much difficulty got between them: *Clytus* in the mean time continued his reproachful expressions; whereupon the king called for some of his guards; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himself exceedingly, saying, *That he was now in the same condition with Darius, when in the hands of Bessus: That he had the empty name of a king, and nothing more.* His friends, upon this, retiring, and leaving him to himself, he snatched a lance, or, as some say, a long *Macedonian* pike; and therewith struck *Clytus* through, and killed him. In this account we have followed *Arrian* closely; for to have collected into one relation what different authors have delivered, could have only served to perplex the reader. What may be wanting to his farther information, and could be had from other authors, he will find below ^c (W). Here

let

^c *ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 8.*

(W) The detail given us by *Plutarch*, of what happened at the death of *Clytus*, differs so much from what has been inserted in the text from *Arrian*, and is in itself so curious, that it well deserves the reader's perusal. He informs us, "That the king, "having a present of *Grecian* "fruit brought him from the "sea-coast, so well preserved, that "it seemed to be but just gathered, sent for *Clytus*, that he "might see and partake of it. "*Clytus* was then sacrificing, "but he immediately left off, "and went to wait on the king, "followed by three of the sheep, "on whom the drink-offering "had been already poured, in "order for the sacrifice. *Alexander*, being informed of this

accident, consulted his two diviners *Aristander* and *Cleomantes* the *Spartan*, and asked them, What was portended by it. They assuring him, that it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all haste to offer sacrifices for *Clytus*'s safety; so far as much as, three days before, he himself had seen a strange vision in his sleep, of *Clytus* all in mourning, sitting by *Parmenio*'s sons, who were all dead. *Clytus*, however, staid not to finish his devotions, but came straight to supper with the king, who the same day had sacrificed to *Castor* and *Pollux*. And, when they had drank pretty hard, some of the company fell a singing the verses of one

" *Pisa.*

Let us pursue the history without entering into any debates upon the question which has risen upon the fact, *Whether Clytus's indiscretion could excuse Alexander's intemperance and cruelty.*

As

“ *Prætor* us, or, as others say,
 “ of *Thron*, which were made
 “ by the whole captains who had
 “ been lately won by the
 “ Macedonians, on purpose to dis-
 “ grace and turn them to ridi-
 “ cule; which so offended the
 “ grave ancient men, that they
 “ reproved both the author and
 “ the singer of the verses, tho’
 “ *Alexander* and the blades about
 “ him were mightily pleased to
 “ hear them, and encouraged
 “ them to go on. But *Clytus*,
 “ *Clytus*, who had drunk too
 “ much, and was besides of a
 “ forward and wilful temper,
 “ was so nettled, that he could
 “ hold no longer; saying, *It was*
 “ *not well done thus to expose*
 “ *the Macedonians before the*
 “ *barbarians, since, though it*
 “ *was their unhappiness to be*
 “ *overcome, yet they were much*
 “ *better men than those who*
 “ *laughed at them.* To this
 “ *Alexander* replied, *that sure*
 “ *Clytus spoke so tenderly of cov-*
 “ *ardice, when he called it mis-*
 “ *fortune, only to excuse himself.*
 “ At which *Clytus*, starting up,
 “ *This cowardice, as you are*
 “ *pleased to term it, said he to*
 “ *him, forced your use, though*
 “ *you pretend to be sprung from*
 “ *the gods, when you were run-*
 “ *ning away from Spithridates’s*
 “ *sword; and it is by the expense*
 “ *of Macedonian blood, and by*
 “ *these wounds, that you are*
 “ *now raised to such an height,*
 “ *as to despise and disdain your*
 “ *father Philip, and adopt you-*
 “ *self the son of Jupiter Ammon*

“ *Thou base fellow, said Alex-*
 “ *ander, who was now tho-*
 “ *roughly exasperated, dost thou*
 “ *think to utter these things*
 “ *every-where of me, and stir*
 “ *up the Macedonians to sedition,*
 “ *and not be punished for it?*
 “ *We are sufficiently punished al-*
 “ *ready,* answered *Clytus*, *if this*
 “ *be the recompence of our toils;*
 “ *and esteem those happier, who*
 “ *have not lived to see their*
 “ *countrymen ignominiously scour-*
 “ *ged with Median rods, and*
 “ *condemned to sue to the Persians*
 “ *to have access to their king.*
 “ While *Clytus* talked thus at
 “ random, and the king in the
 “ bitterest manner retorted upon
 “ him, the old men that were in
 “ company, endeavoured all they
 “ could to allay the flame; when
 “ *Chænides*, turning to *Xeno-*
 “ *dus the Cardian*, and *Artemus*
 “ *the Colophonian*, asked
 “ them, *If they were not of opi-*
 “ *nion, that the Grecians behaved*
 “ *among the Macedonians like so*
 “ *many demigods among savages.*
 “ All this would not silence *Cly-*
 “ *tus*, who, calling aloud to
 “ *Alexander*, bid him, *if he had*
 “ *any thing to say, to speak out;*
 “ *or else, why did he invite men*
 “ *who were free-born, and used*
 “ *to speak their minds openly with-*
 “ *out restraint, to sup with him?*
 “ *He had better live and con-*
 “ *verse with barbarians, and*
 “ *conquered slaves, who would*
 “ *not scruple to adore his Persian*
 “ *gods, and submit to him.* Which
 “ words so provoked *Alexander*,
 “ that, not able to suppress his
 “ anger

As soon as the king came to himself, his brains were perfectly cool, and he began to remember what had passed, *he and abandoned* into a fit of excellent grief. He accused himself, as indeed well he might, of having slain his father's brave soldier, *self to his grief*.

"anger any longer, he took one
"of the apples that lay upon
"the table, and flung it at him,
"and then looked about for his
"sword. But *Aryphanes*, one
"of his life-guards, had hid that
"out of the way; and others
"came about him, and besought
"him to stay his fury, but in
"vain. For, breaking from them,
"he called aloud to his guards
"in the *Macedonian* language,
"which was a certain sign of
"some great disturbance in him,
"and commended a trumpeter
"to sound, giving him a blow on
"the ear for delaying, or rather
"refusing, to obey him, though
"afterwards the same man was
"commended for disobeying an
"order which would have put
"the whole army into tumult
"and confusion. *Clytus* continued still in the same quarrel-
"some humour, till his friends
"with much ado forced him out
"of the room; but he came in
"again immediately at another
"door very irreverently, and
"insolently sang this passage out
"of *Euripides's Andromache*. *Ye
"gods! what an honour have
"you introduced in Greece!*
"*When an arm was erected a
"trophy upon the defeat of the
"enemy, it is never considered,
"that the glory is owing to the
"valour of the troops who fought,
"but the general puts in for all
"the honour of it: though he
"had exposed himself to no more
"danger than many thousands*

*besides, and had done no more
"than a common soldier; yet he
"only is celebrated in the songs of
"triumph, and robs the rest of
"their share of the glory.* Then
"*Alexander*, snatching a spear
"from one of the officers, met
"*Clytus* as he was putting by the
"curtain that hang before the
"door, and ran him through
"the body. He fell immediately, and, after a few piercing
"groans, expired. In the
"very instant the king's indignation cooled, and he came
"perfectly to himself; but, when
"he saw his friends about him
"all in a profound silence, as
"seized with horror at the fact,
"he pulled the spear out of the
"dead body, and would have
"turned it against himself, if
"the guards had not held his
"hands, and by main force carried him away into his chamber (5)." The relation of
Curtius agrees pretty well with
"that of *Plutarch*; only he attributes more moderation to the
"king at the beginning (6). *Justin* tells us in few words, that at
"a debauch *Alexander* killed his friend *Clytus* for extolling the
"actions of his father *Philip*; but this author insists very largely on
"his repentance, attributing his recovery from that state of dejection
"and grief, as *Curtius* does, to the advice of *Callisthenes* (7). If we had
Diodorus's account of this business, in all probability we should find it correspond with

*Is flattered
ed by the
army.*

*Rashly
flattered
by Anax-
archus.*

his own faithful friend, the constant companion of his toils, his foster-brother, and him to whom he owed his life: it was then, that in the bitterness of his soul he disclaimed all kindred to the gods, and with a laudable sorrow mourned like a man for having done a base and cruel act unworthy of a man. It was then he cried out on *Clytus*, on his sister *Hellanicus*, whose breasts he had sucked; and inveighed against himself as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendship, and the laws of nature, depriving his friends of life, and executing those as evil-doers, who could not patiently hear or see him do ill. For three days he refused meat, neglected his apparel, and, as some say, with the pike that killed *Clytus*, would have slain himself. The army in the mean while were disconsolate to the highest degree; their regard to *Clytus* is said to have given way to their love and loyalty to *Alexander*; insomuch that, to soothe their afflicted prince, they condemned *Clytus*, and prohibited his interment, seeking thereby to colour the fact, or at least to comfort *Alexander*, by seeming to think his resentment just. This was excusable in soldiers. The priests and philosophers went greater lengths. The former told the king, that what he did was not the error of his own will, but the effects of a fury inspired by *Bacchus*, on account of his festival being transferred to the *Disfuri*. Thus did these execrable dissemblers seek to transfer a crime unworthy of a man to him they worshipped as a god, and most impudently called that a divine fury, which at best was beastly drunkenness.

ANAXARCHUS of *Abdera*, whom most historians stile a philosopher, but *boam* rightly a sophist, was the next who undertook to moderate the king's grief; and, finding him upon his bed, sighing and dejected, he thus addressed him: "Is this
" the *Alexander* whom the world looks upon with such ad-
" miration? Behold him extended on the ground, and weep-
" ing like an abject slave for fear of the law, and reproach of
" men, to whom he himself ought to be a law, and the

Curtius and *Justinus*; but, as we have heretofore remarked, these authors, when they differ from *Arrian*, frequently agree with him: the reason is, that, among a multitude of writers, who undertook to transmit the actions of *Alexander* to posterity, the collectors of general history followed at their pleasure sometimes one, and sometimes another, and

not seldom mixed several relations together. Authors of abridgments copied from these indiscriminately, as the later writers of particular histories did, frequently too adding such embellishments, inserting such descriptions, and framing such speeches, for the amplifying and adorning their works, as they thought fit.

“ measure of equity, since he conquered for no other end but
 “ to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to a vain
 “ idle opinion! Do not you know, that *Jupiter* is represented
 “ sitting on his throne, with law assisting on one side, and
 “ justice on the other; intimating thereby, that, let a sovereign
 “ prince do what he will, all his actions are just and lawful?”
 These were admirable doctrines, tending not only to set the
 king’s mind at rest, as to the murder he had committed, but
 to prevent any more qualms, in case rage, envy, or drunken-
 ness, should plunge him again into the same circumstances.
Callisthenes, the scholar and relation of *Aristotle*, sought to
 settle his mind by honest and moral discourses (X).

If the tragical death of *Clytus* had brought *Alexander* to Alexander
 a right way of thinking, perhaps posterity, like the *Macedonian* aspires to
 soldiers, would have drawn a veil over this dark scene, and
 have chosen rather to commend the king’s compassionate
 concern, than to have censured his drunken cruelty. But
 no sooner was his sorrow for the death of this worthy man
 alleviated, but he began again to give up himself to the ma-
 nagement of those sycophants, whose poisonous speeches had
 wrought that mischief; and still they were endeavouring to
 persuade him, that in their opinion he was something more
 than man, and that it was injustice and disloyalty in other
 people not to think him so too. The result of all these dis-
 courses was, that a god he should be, or at least have divine
 honours paid him, which heretofore had been given to *Persian*
 kings; and *Anaxarchus* the sophist, *Agis* a miserable poet,
Charilus, *Agnon*, and other parasites, undertook to bring
 this great matter to bear, and to engage the *Greeks*, as well as
 the *Asiatics*, to pay him adoration. *Alexander* was mightily
 pleased with this, and a great banquet was appointed, at which
 this hopeful scheme was to be carried into execution. At this
 entertainment, *Anaxarchus* proposed the adoring *Alexander* in
 a set oration: he insisted, that *Bacchus* was a *Theban*; and
 encouraged in it by *Anaxarchus*.

ARRIAN lib. iv. c. 11. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii.
 c. 18. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7.

(X) *Arrian* says, that the sug-
 gession of the priests, in relation
 to *Bacchus*, did not displease the
 king. Both *Plutarch* and the
 first-mentioned author say, that
Anaxarchus allayed the king’s
 griefs at the same time that he

corrupted his manners; but *Cur-
 tius* ascribes the king’s recovery
 to *Callisthenes*. We may well sup-
 pose, that they had all an hand
 in it, though the subsequent hi-
 story will shew, that in all pro-
 bability the last had the least (8).

(8) *Arrian*. lib. iv. c. 9. *Plut.* in vit. *Alex.* *Curt.* lib. viii. c. 7, & 8. *Justin.*
 lib. xii. c. 6.

though

though he admitted, that *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and without reproach, yet he affirmed, that *Alexander's* being descended from him was at once the most certain, and the greatest honour which could be attributed to him. Hence he inferred, that if *Lucius* and *Hercules* were worthily worshiped, so without doubt would *Alexander* be, whose actions so far exceeded theirs, at some distance of time; but inasmuch as that worship would be of small consequence to him then, he alleged it would be more rational, as well as more obliging, to offer it him now while he was living, and could take pleasure in it. The *Macedonians*, who were not in the secret, were astonished at the speech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or what answer to afford themselves to what he had propounded; so a long and deep silence ensued. *Calisthenes* at last broke through it, and, as *Arrian* tells us, endeavoured by a long speech to raise in his mind more sober thoughts. *Alexander* was highly provoked at his speech, and the more for that the *Macedonians* could not forbear applauding it; however, he ordered the business to go on, and settled the ceremonial of his adoration thus: When he drank to a person, it was expected, that the guest should immediately rise up, adore him, and, having received a kiss from the king, should depart. The eldest and most considerable of the *Persians* complied first; in doing which they followed their old custom, and were perhaps not displeased at the embarrassment of the *Greeks* (X). *Lionatus*, one of the king's friends, as

Arrian

ARRIAN. L. IV. C. 2.

(X) All who have treated this subject agree, that the *Persians* were as ready to comply with *Alexander's* motion for adoring him, as the *Greeks* were averse to it; yet we are not to suppose from thence, that the former were as prone to idolatry as the latter; if we should, it would be a very great error: and therefore, to preserve that consistency which is necessary between the several parts of this work, we have thought fit to add this note, in order to explain the conduct of the *Persians*, and to acquit them of that gross adulation which has been charged upon them by some rash and inconsiderate writers.

Bowing down to, and even prostrating one's self before, a prince, ever was, and still is, held in the east an act of civil reverence, and no more. The *Persians* therefore, as deists, paid these profound marks of submission to their king, not as supposing him a deity, but from a persuasion, that he derived a supreme authority from God. It may be, and indeed it is probable, the *Persians* did not explain this matter, either to *Alexander*, or those about him; but contented themselves with satisfying the king by their actions, and themselves by their thoughts. The *Greeks* proceeded upon notions directly opposite. They

were

Arrian has it, or, as *Curtius* reports, *Polyperchon*, observing a *Persian* touch the floor with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which *Alexander* caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and, as he lay on the floor, told him, *he made as ridiculous a figure as he whom he had despised*. When it came to the turn of *Callisthenes*, he pledged the king, and then came for his kiss. *Alexander*, being deeply engaged in discourse with *Hephaestion*, did not perceive he had missed any part of the ceremony; but *Demetrius*, one of his friends, told him, that the philosopher had not adored him. The king thereupon put him back with his hand; and *Callisthenes*, going out, was heard to say, *So then, I have only lost a kiss*†. But the king afterwards re-

† *ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 12. CURT. l. viii. c. 20. JUSTIN. ubi sup.*

were polytheists; and, tho' they every day did a thousand ridiculous things in their public worship, yet, to pay divine honours to a man, was too gross for them; and therefore, as is frequently the case, they acted right upon wrong principles; for, with respect to the ground of this submission, the king and they were agreed in their sentiments. He sought to be taken for something more than man, and they, with good reason, refused to acknowledge him such. As the *Persians* could not but have the highest contempt for their idolatry in all its shapes, so, without question, they were well pleased to see their zeal for idols embarrass the *Macedonians* with their natural prince, which so strongly tended to put him into their hands. There is one objection which may possibly be made to this account, and ought therefore to be answered. It is this: There are various instances in Scripture, where bowing down to, or worshipping, a man, or even an angel, is prohibited as idolatrous (9); whence it might be inferred, that, amongst

the *Persians*, who were deists as well as the *Jews*, this practice was not, strictly speaking, lawful. But, if we consider, that these prohibitions never extend to the case in question, but are always directed against worshipping private men, on supposition of their being clothed with some divine character, we shall easily perceive, that these marks of civil respect to supreme magistrates were always accounted innocent, and very conformable to the divine law. Thus *Daniel* complied with all the customs of the *Persian* court, bowed himself when he entered the royal presence, and saluted with the usual compliment, *O king, live for ever* (1)! In a word, as the intent of the mind renders all actions either good or evil, so, in the present case, the *Persians* did that without idolatry, which was flat idolatry in those *Greeks* who did the same thing; because the former honoured *Alexander* only as a man, the latter, whatever they conceived of him, paid him that respect which they thought only due to a god.

(9) *Act. xiv. 14. Rev. xxiii. 9.*

(1) *Dan. vi. 27.*

venge himself more severely, as we shall shew immediately, that we may not again interrupt the thread of our narration (Y).

*A new
conspiracy
against
him.*

WHILE the minds of men were yet warm, the murder of *Clytus* unforgot, and the king's affectation of foreign manners continually provoking his natural subjects, a new conspiracy was

(Y) *Arrian* represents *Callisthenes* a man exceeding proud of his knowledge, and, in point of vanity, very little behind *Alexander* himself. His temper was morose, but he had a vehement and persuasive elocution (2). *Aristotle* made a right judgment of him and his abilities, when he said, *He was an excellent orator,*

but had no judgment. The same great man foresaw what would one day be the fate of this philosopher; for, hearing him treat *Alexander* with that unbecoming harshness which was too natural to him, he could not help repeating what *Thetis* in *Homer* says to *Achilles*,

Metinks I see thee dying, see thee dead.

He is reported to have been a great declaimer, and that, on this account, he was chiefly admired by *Alexander*. Once at an entertainment the king commanded him to make an extempore oration in praise of the *Macedonians*; which he did with

such facility, in terms so just and proportionate to their achievements, that all who were present, in token of their approbation, threw their garlands upon him, excepting *Alexander*, who contented himself with repeating these lines from *Euripides*;

*Without surprise I hear thy language flow;
For happy subjects pleasing words beflow.*

He then commanded *Callisthenes* to point out the errors and mistakes of the *Macedonians*, that they might the better know how to correct them. The orator, laying hold of this opportunity,

immediately entered into a long and bitter invective against the *Macedonians* in general, and against *Philip* of *Macedon* in particular, to whose greatness he applied these lines;

*When civil broils declining states surprise,
There the worst men to highest honours rise.*

This imprudent declamation lost him the hearts of his auditors; to which also the king's observation contributed not a little. *Callisthenes*, said he, *has not shewn*

so much of his eloquence, as of his ill-will to the Macedonians, in this speech (3). But, however he might lose himself on this occasion, when he came to oppose

(2) *Arrian*, l. iv. c. 10.

(3) *Plut.* in v. t. *Alex.*

was discovered, which very narrowly missed taking effect : The king had nearest his person fifty *Macedonian* youths of the first quality, who, according to the rules of waiting, continually attended him in the field, at his exercises, when at table, and when he retired to his rest. Among these there was one *Hermelaus*, the son of *Sopelis*, who had contracted a violent antipathy to his master ; the occasion this : One day, when he attended *Alexander* in the chace, a boar crossed him as he rode before the king ; whereupon the young man, eager in his sport, struck the boar with his spear, and killed him on the spot. *Alexander*, provoked at losing an opportunity of shewing his dexterity, ordered the boy to be whipped in the sight of all his companions, and his horse taken from him. *Hermelaus*, almost distracted with the deep sense of the disgrace he had suffered, complained of it in the most moving terms to *Sostratus*, the son of *Amyntas*, one of his companions, alleging, that he should never be at peace till he had revenged on *Alexander* the injury that had been done him. *Sostratus*, who loved him tenderly, came easily into his measures ; and they two, having formed the design, afterwards drew in *Antipater*, *Epimenes*, *Anticles*, and *Philotas*, all youths of quality like themselves, and esquires of the body to the king, to be concerned with them. The event of their consultations was, that when it came to be *Antipater's* watch, they should kill *Alexander* in his sleep.

It does not appear that any of the conspirators relented, when the very day came ; nor is it probable, that the king could possibly have escaped, if an unforeseen accident, or, as some would have it, a miracle, had not interposed, and defeated all their purposes. *Aristobulus*, in his memoirs, relates *The conspiracy*, it thus : There was a certain *Syrian* woman who attended the camp of *Alexander*, and who frequently acted and spoke as if *how do* beside her senses. This woman pretended to foretel future events ; but she delivered her predictions in so odd a way, that, till their accomplishments compelled people to take notice of them, she was despised and ridiculed ; but when, by degrees, the falling out of things she had foretold, had gained her some degree of credit, the king, who had always a leaning to these sort of things, directed that she should never be restrained from entering his presence. It happened, that the night the conspirators had fixed for the execution of

the king's assuming divine honours, he was again extolled ; and all the *Macedonian* youth followed him as the patron of liberty, and the teacher of true phi-

losophy. So much does a man's character depend on his going with, or against, the people's humour.

*How dis-
covered.*

their design, *Alexander* drank pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring from the place where they were drinking, to his own apartment, this woman threw herself in his way, and in one of her frantic fits bid him go back and drink all night; in which, it is said, he obeyed her. However it was, so it fell out, that he did drink all that night, which rendered the conspirators scheme abortive. The next day *Epimenes* the son of *Arseas*, who was one of the number, discovered the whole to *Charichus* his friend; and this *Charichus* communicated it to *Eurylochus* the brother of *Epimenes*: *Eurylochus* immediately addressed himself to *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, who informed the king of it; upon which directions were immediately given, that all who were named by *Eurylochus* should be immediately apprehended, and examined apart. They did not make any difficulty of confessing the whole design; and each of them named those who were in it. Some time after, *Hermolaus*, according to the *Macedonian* constitution, was brought before the army, and there charged with intending the murder of his sovereign. Instead of a defence, the young man, with great serenity of mind, and cheerfulness of countenance, said, "That a man
" of spirit, who was born free, could never tamely support
" the indignities which had been offered him by the king.
" He alleged also, that not himself only, but his country, had
" been grossly injured; that *Philotas* had been murdered with-
" out proof; *Parmenus* assassinated without pretence; num-
" bers put to death on slight suspicions; *Cyrtus* butchered in
" drink; the *Macedonian* habit and customs preferred to those
" of *Macedon*; even allowed to esteem a man a god, while
" that man plunged himself in drunkenness, luxury, and
" other vices, scandalous to himself, and detrimental to
" the state. From all which, by giving him death, he sought
" to set himself and the *Macedonians* free." His speech ended, himself and his accomplice were stoned by the army (Z).

*Did the
conspirators
stand
by the
army*

WHEN

§ ARRIAN iv. c. 13, 14. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURR. l. viii. c. 23

(Z) As all the *Macedonian* youth were auditors and admirers of *Callisthenes*, and *Hermolaus* his particular friend, he was charged with this conspiracy, and apprehended. *Arrian* seems to

be in some doubt, whether the apprehension of *Callisthenes* was founded on any proofs (4); which, however, *Ptolemy*, in his memoirs, affirmed; or was seized merely from the malice and spite

(4) *Arrian* l. vi. c. 13.

WHEN the season of action approached, ambassadors from *His Scythia* arrived, whose errand was to inform the king, that *friendship* their monarch, to whom he had sent ambassadors, was dead, *desired by* and that his brother had succeeded him; that this new prince *the kings* was willing to receive his commands; would give him his *of the bar-* daughter in marriage, if he thought fit; and, if he desired it, *barians.* would come to wait upon him in person. *Alexander* answered them in terms of friendship, but declined a *Scythian* alliance. *Pharaimanes* king of the *Cobrasmeni* came about the same time to *Alexander's* camp, with a body of fifteen hundred horse. He informed him, that his territories bordered on the *Euxine* sea; and offered his service, both for providing his army with necessaries, and furnishing himself whatever quota the king should think fit, in case he intended to turn his arms on that side. With this *Alexander* was perfectly well pleased, commended the king, entered into an alliance with him, and recommended him to *Artabazus*, president of the provinces bordering on his dominions: however, as to the expedition proposed, he declared, that his intentions were first to reduce the *Indians*, and then to return into *Greece*; after which he proposed to make use of this prince's offer, and, with his whole forces, to invade the countries bordering on the *Euxine* sea. With this answer he dismissed *Pharaimanes*, and immediately prepared for the carrying his own projects into execution^h, though they were far from being pleasing, either to his council, or to his army (A).

HE

^h ARRIAN. I. iv. CURT. I. viii.

of *Alexander*. We have a better authority on this head than either *Arrian* or *Ptolemy*, which yet is not sufficient to determine it. This authority is a passage in a letter from *Alexander* to *Antipater*, as follows: "The young men were stoned to death by the *Macedonians*; but for the sophist, i. e. *Calisthenes*, I will take care to punish him, and them too who sent him to me, who harbour those in their cities who conspire against my life." *Plutarch* tells us, that *Aristotle* was threatened by these insinuations: however, certainly the king grew very inexorable, and at the same

time very suspicious. As to *Calisthenes*, what became of him, it is impossible to determine. *Aristobolus*, who was an eye-witness of all he wrote, asserts, that he was carried about in chains, till he died of a natural death. *Ptolemy*, ~~who~~ was also an eye-witness of all he recorded, asserts, that he was first racked, and then crucified. Besides these, we have many other stories about him, which, as they are all uncertain, we think we may safely omit, especially as we shall have occasion to speak of him again in another place.

(A) Whoever peruses the critical notes in the best editions of

He re-
enters
Sogdia.

He first directed his march to the banks of the river *Oxus*, and then determined to enter the country of the *Sogdians*, on account of their refusing to yield obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. *Polyperchon*, with some other generals, and a considerable body of forces, he left in *Bactria*. The rest of his army he divided into five columns; the first under the command of *Hephæstion*; the second under *Ptolemy Lagus*; the third was commanded by *Perdiccas*; the fourth by *Cænus* and *Artabazus*; the last he led himself. The rest of the corps spread themselves over the country, reducing all the castles and other fortresses they met with, and which were held by the enemy. The body commanded by *Alexander* marched on to *Maracanda*, where, shortly after, the rest of the columns arrived; the whole province being reduced under his subjection. *Spitamenes*, however, who was at the head of the revolted *Sogdians*, retired towards *Scythia*; and, having procured a supply of six hundred horse, he suddenly entered *Bactria*, surprised a castle, where he put the governor and garison to the sword, and then advanced to the very suburbs of *Zariaspa*; but, not having a force sufficient, he could not besiege the town. However, some *Macedonian* horsemen, who had been left there sick, finding themselves now a little better, immediately mounted, and followed him. The *Scythians* were so terrified at their approach, that they

A body of
his troops
cut off by
the Sog-
dians.

Arrian and *Plutarch*, will perceive, that some mistakes are imputed to the former. and many to the latter, in the accounts they give us of these marches, and other transactions of *Alexander*: yet whoever reads *Strabo's* geography, wherein these matters are treated more largely, though, generally speaking, with conformity enough to the descriptions of the writers above-mentioned, and compares them with authentic relations of the state of the *Uzbek Tartars*, and of the north-east provinces of the present *Persian* empire, will find, that these censures are, for the most part, very indifferently founded; and that these antient writers are very far from being in the wrong. This deserves particular regard, in respect of the transactions we

are now coming to; for it is certain, that the countries are well described, and that what is said of fortifying rocks, and making granaries under-ground, are not either dreams or fictions. On the contrary, if an *European* army were again to make war in these countries, the history of their actions would not only transcend any thing recorded by *Arrian*, but, in all probability, appear more romantic to us than any of the stories of *Curtius* himself, who, on a careful and impartial perusal, will appear not to have erred so much in facts, as in his manner of relating them, attending more to the method and elegance, than to the certainty and accuracy of his history.

abandoned all their booty ; but while the *Macedonians* were employed in collecting it together, *Spitamenes* prevailed on his *Scythians* to take post in a wood behind them ; from whence perceiving the victors to return carelessly, and without order, they suddenly issued, and cut them off to a man. As soon as the news of this defeat came to *Craterus*, he immediately marched against the *Massagetæ*, who, when they heard of his approach, fled towards the desert, but were hotly pursued by him ; and they, and others of the same nation, to the number of about 1000 horse, were overtaken just at the edge thereof ; and, a sharp conflict happening thereupon, the *Macedonians* were victors. Of the barbarians about 150 were slain ; the rest escaped into the desert, *Craterus* and his soldiers not being able to pursue them farther.

IN the mean while *Artabazus* begging to be discharged from his government of *Bactria*, by reason of his advanced age, his petition was granted ; and *Alexander* substituted *Amyntas* the son of *Nicholus* to succeed him ; and, having left *Amyntas* *Cænus* there, with his own and *Melæger's* troops, besides appointed four hundred of the auxiliary horse, all the pikemen on horse-back, and the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* under *Amyntas*, the chief command over all those was given to *Cænus*, who ordered them to winter in *Sogdia*, partly for garisons to defend the country, and partly to encounter *Spitamenes*, if he should attempt to make any inroad there during the winter. But *Spitamenes*, understanding that all places were filled with *Macedonian* garisons, and that it would be a difficult matter for him to make a retreat, if he had occasion, resolved at once to turn his whole power against *Cænus* and his forces, imagining he could penetrate the most easily into the country that way ; and, when he approached *Gabæ*, a fortified place belonging to the *Sogdians*, seated on the borders between them and the *Massagetæ* *Scythians*, he drew in four thousand *Scythian* horse to join his forces, that they might make an irruption into *Sogdia*. These *Scythians*, being extreme poor, as having neither cities, nor fixed and certain habitations, nor possessing any thing which they were afraid to lose, were easily induced to join their forces with any nation. *Cænus*, having intelligence of *Spitamenes's* approach, marched forth with his army to meet him ; and a sharp battle thereupon ensued, in which the victory fell to the *Macedonians*. The barbarians lost above 800 horse, and *Cænus* about 25 horse and 12 foot, in this conflict. The *Sogdians*, who survived this day's action, as also many of the *Bactrians*, leaving *Spitamenes* in his flight, came to *Cænus*, and, having surrendered themselves into his power, swore fidelity to him. But the *Massagetæ*, and other *Scythians*, after the loss of the battle, having

seized upon the baggage of the *Bactrians* and *Sagadians*, their allies, accompanied *Spitamenes* in his flight into the desert ; but, when they came to understand, that *Alexander* was preparing to scour these places, they slew *Spitamenes*, and, having cut off his head, sent it as a present to *Alexander*, hoping, by this action, to make him cease his pursuit after them. This is *Arrian's* account ; as for that of *Curtius*, it is so little consistent therewith, that we are under a necessity of giving it by itself, and leaving it to the reader, whether he will credit the foregoing very probable, or that very surprising story ¹ (B).

AT

¹ ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 18.

(B) *Spitamenes* had a wife on whom he doted ; and, as the dangers and fatigues she was exposed to in accompanying him where-ever his misfortunes drove him, were become troublesome to her, she employed all her charms to prevail with him to desist from flying any farther ; and as he had already experienced *Alexander's* clemency, to try to appease the anger of an enemy he could hope no otherwise to escape. She had three sons by him, who were pretty well grown up. These she brought to his embraces, and begged he would at least take pity of them ; and, to enforce her prayers, she told him *Alexander* was not far off. But he, thinking he was betrayed, and not advised, and that it was the confidence she had in her beauty which made her not care how soon she came into *Alexander's* power, drew his sword, and would have killed her, if her brothers had not happily interposed. However, he commanded her to be gone out of his sight, threatening her with death, if she offered to come into his presence ; and, that he might not be sensible of her absence, he passed the night with his concubines : yet, as his passion for her was

great, it was the more inflamed by the distaste he took to their company. He therefore gave himself intirely again to her, conjuring her never to speak to him on that account, but willingly undergo with him whatever fortune should allot them ; since, for his own part, he had rather die, than surrender himself. Here-upon she excused herself, telling him, that she had advised him only to what the thought was most for his interest ; and, admitting she had talked like a woman, yet it was with a faithful intention ; however, for the future, she would conform to his pleasure. *Spitamenes*, won by this counterfeit complaisance, gave a great entertainment on account of their reconciliation, where, having loaded himself with wine and good cheer, he was brought half-asleep into his apartment. As soon as his wife perceived he was in a sound sleep, she drew a sword she had under her garment for the purpose, and cut off his head ; and, all besmeared with the blood, gave it to a servant who was privy to her crime ; and, being attended by him, came in this bloody condition to the *Macedonian* camp, where she sent word to *Alexander*, she had something

AT the opening of the spring, the king marched into *Sog* *The Sog-*
dia, in order to besiege a fortress built on a rock, to which *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian* had conveyed his wife and family, as to *besieged,*
 a place impregnable. It was indeed the last resource of the
 rebels; and *Alexander* rightly judged, that, unless he could
 reduce it by force, it would afford them a constant retreat,
 and so spin out the war to an excessive length. When he ar-
 rived at the place, he found it strong beyond his apprehension;
 for the rock was not only rugged and steep, but so slippery also,
 that it was almost impossible to ascend it; besides, it was co-
 vered with snow, which, melting, afforded the besieged plenty
 of water, their granaries being filled with corn; so that there
 was as little probability of starving them by a blockade, as
 reducing them by a siege; yet *Alexander* resolved to attempt
 it by the method last-mentioned. To this he was the more
 strongly urged by the answer sent him, when he summoned
 the place; for the commandant then told him, 'That, when
 he had a corps of soldiers with wings, he might expect to
 take the place. In order to push matters as far as they would
 go without loss of time, of which the *Macedonians* were al-
 ways frugal, he caused a proclamation to be made, offering
 the soldier who should first gain the rock twelve talents, and
 prizes of an inferior, but still great value, to those who should

something of importance to com-
municate to him, and which he
must hear from her own mouth

The king immediately ordered
 her to be introduced, and, observ-
 ing her to be stained with blood,
 imagined she came to complain
 of some affront offered her; he
 therefore asked her what she had
 to say. Hereupon she called for
 the servant that waited in the en-
 try; who, having *Spitamenes's*
 head under his garment, gave the
 guards a suspicion; and, upon
 their searching him, he pulled
 out the head, and shewed it; but
 the bloodless paleness had so dis-
 figured its features, that it was
 an hard matter to distinguish
 whose it was. *Alexander*, being
 informed that it was a man's head
 that he brought, went out of
 his tent, and inquired into the
 matter; which he accordingly

told him. The king's mind was
 now perplexed with variety of
 thoughts; for, on the one hand,
 he looked upon it as a considera-
 ble piece of service, that he, who
 was first a refugee, and had after-
 wards proved a traitor, and was
 like to have delayed the execution
 of his great designs, was killed;
 but then again he detested the
 barbarous action of her having
 thus treacherously murdered her
 husband, who had deserved well
 of her, and by whom she had
 several children. At last the
 foulness of the fact got the better
 of the service it did him, so that
 he sent her word to be gone from
 the camp, lest the *Greeks* more
 humane minds, and gentler man-
 ners, should be corrupted by the
 example of so barbarous an
 action (5).

mount after him: the last being to have three hundred darics, which amounted to about three hundred pounds. On the publication of this reward, no less than three hundred of the *Macedonians* offered themselves for this service. These men, taking with them their tent-pins, and strong ropes, went to make their attempt on that side of the rock which was least accessible, supposing that there they should find the least opposition.

IN this conjecture, though they were not deceived, yet in the very getting up they lost thirty of their number, whose bodies were never found, being, by the height of their fall, deeply interred in the snow; for the manner in which they *and taken.* ascended the rock was thus: They struck their iron pins into such places as would afford them fastening; and, having fixed ropes to these pins, they ascended by those ropes; whenever therefore the pins or the ropes gave way, the *Macedonians* fell, and, as we observed before, were lost in the snow. Those who got up safely making the appointed signal from the top of the rock, *Alexander* summoned the place a second time, giving the besieged to understand, that he had now a corps of winged soldiers. The *Macedonians* above, in compliance with the signal from below, making a loud shout, and clattering their weapons, the garrison were so much affrighted, that without making any inquiry as to the number of those who were got up, they surrendered the place at discretion. *Oxyartes* was absent when this fortress fell thus into the hands of the king, who entertained his wife and family with that civility and honour for which he was so justly famous (C).

AFTER the reduction of *Sogdiana*, *Alexander* determined to march into the country of the *Parataces*, where there was

(C) The daughter of *Oxyartes*, whose name was *Roxana*, was esteemed the most beautiful woman in *Asia*, after the death of the wife of *Darius*; and she had the good fortune to subdue the heart of *Alexander*, who hitherto had not given any signs of an amorous disposition. Some writers say, that he saw her at a feast, and that he was so taken with her beauty, that he immediately ordered bread to be divided between them, according to the *Macedonian* method of espousing; but *Arrian* says nothing of this. He only tells us, that *Alexander*, falling violently in love with his captive, was yet a man of so much honour and temperance, that he would not make use of the privilege of war, but openly and generously espoused her; of which *Oxyartes* having advice, he instantly came and surrendered himself, and was received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect (6).

(6) *Arrian*. l. iv. c. 20—24. *Curt*. l. viii. *Plut.* in vit. *Alex*.

another

another fortress on a rock held to be absolutely impregnable. *Another* This was called the rock of *Chorienes*, because one of the *fortress* principal noblemen in the country, of that name, had retired *held im-* thither for shelter, and had with him a very numerous gar- *pregnant* *is* *besieged.* *son*, well stored with all sorts of provisions. The sloping height of this rock was near five miles, its circuit near fifteen; but it was every-where so steep and craggy, that, except by a narrow way wrought by art, it was absolutely inaccessible. The whole was surrounded by a deep and broad ditch. These difficulties served only more strongly to determine *Alexander* to overcome them: he therefore provided instantly for the siege, by cutting down a vast number of trees, of which ladders were made for descending the ditch, it being dry. One half of his army was employed all day in this labour; the other half, by three divisions, wrought all night in the ditch itself, where they began to drive huge piles, and to cover them with hurdles, and other proper materials for establishing a solid bridge, over which the army might march to the assault. At first those in the fort derided their attempt; but when they saw them proceed briskly in it, and found that themselves, with all their advantage of situation, were not able to injure them with their missile weapons, by reason of their contrivances to cover themselves in the ditch, they began to be dismayed; so that at length *Chorienes* sent to desire, that *Oxartes* would come and confer with him; which was accordingly granted. *Oxyartes* having assured him, that nothing was inaccessible to the spirit and industry of the *Macedonians*; and that, on the other hand, there could not be a more generous or merciful enemy than *Alexander*; he so wrought on *Chorienes*, that, with some of the principal persons who were with him, he descended the rock, and went to wait on *Alexander* in his camp. The king received him *The place* so obligingly, that he presently sent back some who accom- *submits.* *panied* him, to direct the garison to yield up the place; which was performed without delay. *Alexander* then ascended with five hundred armed foot, to take a view of the rock; which afforded him great satisfaction, on account as well of its capaciousness and conveniency, as of its extraordinary strength. However, in respect of *Chorienes*, he left no garison there; but, having inrolled him in the number of his friends, committed it again to his charge. This nobleman, to give some *Alexander's army* testimony of the sense he had of such honourable treatment, finding *Alexander's* army was much distressed for provisions, *supplied* distributed corn, wine, and salt-meat, for two months to all *with pro-* his soldiers; and at the same time declared, that he had not *visions.* exhausted the tenth part of his own stores. This made the favour appear still greater in the king's eyes, since it demon-
strated

frated the surrender of *Ghorienes* to have proceeded solely from his sense of *Alexander's* generosity, and not from any necessity he was under * (D).

* ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 24, 25.

(D). The accounts given us by *Curtius* of the *Sogdian* rocks are really irreconcilable to probability, or to themselves. The commander of the first rock he calls *Arimazes*. He describes the rock itself as if it were hollow within; and, as he is fond of any opportunity of digressing, describing, and exercising his talent in rhetoric, so on this occasion he introduces *Alexander* making a speech to those who were to mount the rock, obliges us with their answer, and afterwards enters into a long and pompous detail of the difficulties surmounted by them in scaling of this rock. Last of all he tells us, that, when *Arimazes* came down and submitted himself to the king, with thirty of the principal persons who had taken shelter in him, he ordered them to be first whipped, and then crucified, notwithstanding that he was in great doubt of their throwing his handful of men down, who had scaled the top of the rock; a proceeding directly opposite to common sense and reason (7). In the province of *Naura*, he tells us, that *Alexander* besieged another prodigious rock, of which *Sisimithres* was governor. This man, he says, had two sons by his own mother; which, he informs us, was a thing customary in that country; and that this wife and mother withheld him, by her arguments, from render-

ing the place, when his friend *Oxyartes* had taken pains to come and treat with him. At last, however, *Sisimithres* yielded himself, his family, the people under his command, and the rock, to *Alexander*, who treated him with great humanity (8). A little after, *Curtius* tells us of the king's entering into a province governed by one *Cobortanus*, who treated the king with great magnificence; and that his daughter *Roxana* coming in at this feast, the king fell passionately in love with her, and, being immediately betrothed to her, afterwards married her (9). Here are a multitude of mistakes, if we credit the best Greek authors: for *Roxana* was not the daughter of *Cobortanus*, but of *Oxyartes*; nay, this *Cobortanus* is met with no-where else. In all probability he was the same with the *Corienes* of *Arrian*. As for *Sisimithres*, he is mentioned by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that *Alexander* asked *Oxyartes*, if this person was a man of courage: to which he answered, No. Then, said the king, the rock is our own, if it were indeed impregnable in its nature (1). These passages are evidently discordant; and therefore we have not inserted them in the text, that they might not perplex or impede the reader in his prospect of *Alexander's* conquests.

(7) *Curt.* l. vii. c. 39.
c. 16.

(8) *Ibid.* l. viii. c. 2, 10.
(1) *Plut.* in vit. *Alex.*

(9) *Idem* *ibid.*

CATENES and *Austanes* were now the only rebels remain- *The war*
 ing in this country. Against these *Craterus* was dispatched, *transferred to-*
 with a considerable body of horse and foot; and a battle en- *wards the*
 suing, the barbarians were intirely routed, *Catenes* slain, and *Indus.*
Austanes taken alive, and put in chains. All things being *Year of*
 now in a state of quiet, *Alexander* advanced over mount *the flood*
Caucasus, as his soldiers called it; and in ten days time reach- *2020.*
 ed the city of *Alexandria*, which he had founded. There he *Bef Chr.*
 displaced the governor, because he had been wanting in his *328.*
 duty; and, leaving here such of his *Macedonian* foot as were *Several*
 unfit for further service, he, after pompous sacrifices to *Indian*
Minnerva, advanced to the river *Cophenes*. Thence he dispatched *princes*
 an herald to *Taxiles*, and the other princes on this side the ri- *submit.*
 ver *Indus*, directing them to come forth and meet him as he
 advanced towards their territories; which they accordingly
 performed, bringing with them the most valuable presents
 which their dominions would afford; *Taxiles*, in the name
 of the rest, making him a promise, that they would present
 him with twenty-five elephants ¹(E). *Hephaestion*, with part
 of the army, was sent with king *Taxiles*, and the rest of the
Indian princes, absolutely to reduce the country as far as the
 river *Indus*; and, on their coming thither, they were directed
 to make the necessary preparations for the king's passing over
 with all his forces. *Hephaestion* executed this commission
 with little trouble; only one of the petty princes in the
 country presuming to make any resistance; and he being slain,
 and the city, where he had fortified himself, taken by storm,
 it struck such a terror as kept all the adjacent country in
 great quiet.

ALEXANDER, in the mean time, bent his march with
 the rest of his forces, towards the river *Choe*, by some called
Choaspes, on the banks of which he found a rough and bar-

¹ ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 24, 25.

(E) *Curtius* tells us, that this
Indian king, or his son, whom
 he calls *Omphis*, presented *Alex-*
ander with twenty-six elephants,
 and three thousand bulls, a crown
 of gold, and a considerable sum
 of coined silver; which presents,
 as they bespoke the respect and
 kindness of the giver, had such an
 effect on the mind of the con-
 queror, that he not only restored

the king his own presents, but
 added 1000 talents to him (2). *Plu-*
tarch has the same story with re-
 spect to these thousand talents;
 but, in all probability, they were
 extracted from some of the me-
 moirs of *Alexander*, written ra-
 ther to surprise and amaze man-
 kind with fictitious adventures,
 than really to inform them of
 what he did (3).

(2) *Curr. l. viii. c. 39.*

(3) *Plut. in vlt. Alar.*

Several places reduced by Alexander; barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The first he attacked was surrounded by a double wall; and yet the people therein were so hardy, that they issued out into the field, and offered him battle. *Alexander*, with his horse, and light-armed troops, immediately engaged them, and after a short and smart conflict, compelled them to take shelter in the place he was however slightly wounded in the shoulder. *Ptolemy* son of *Lagus*, and *Leonatus*, two of his principal captains, were also wounded. He then caused the place to be invested, and the next day attacked the first wall, where he thought it weakest. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence; but, finding it absolutely ineffectual, they at last retired within the inner wall; and, while the *Macedonians* were preparing to attack that also, they opened their gates on the other side towards the mountain, whereby many of them made their escape, though numbers were slain by *Alexander's* soldiers, who were so enraged at his being wounded, that they gave no quarter. The king then ordered the city to be rased; and afterwards proceeded to *Andacu*, a most considerable city in those parts. This was surrendered to him upon terms, and he left *Craterus* there with the heavy-armed forces, to reduce all the rest of the country, and to settle it. Himself, with the horse and light-armed troops, continued their march to the river *Euaspia*, where the chief strength of the *Aspii*, the principal nation in those parts, was assembled.

After two days hard match they drew near the city, which the enemy immediately fired, and withdrew towards the mountains, whither however the *Macedonians* pursued them, and cut off great numbers in their rear. Here it was that *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* gave a shining proof of his bravery; for he attacked the general of the *Aspii*, who was posted on a little hill, and in a single combat slew him. The barbarians, on the other hand, fought desperately to preserve his body, till *Alexander*, at the head of some dismounted horse, ascended the hill, and, charging them in flank, obliged them to retire without carrying off their dead general. He passed next over one of these mountains, and advanced to the city *Ariganus*, which he found burnt and deserted; but *Craterus* having now rejoined the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and people it with such of the inhabitants of the country as were willing to dwell therein, and such invalids as were glad to have a place to rest in. The king still advanced, till, encamping at the foot of a mountain, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* informed him, that he discerned a great camp of the barbarians, and a multitude of fires therein. *Alexander* thereupon divided his army into three bodies; the first under the command of *Leonatus*; the second under *Pto-*

lemy; and the third commanded by himself. All three advanced towards the enemy; which when the barbarians perceived, trusting to their numbers, they rushed into the plain; but their violence putting them into confusion, tho' they behaved valiantly, yet the *Macedonians* had the victory in the centre, where *Alexander* commanded, after putting vast numbers to the sword. *Ptolemy* was constrained to attack a considerable body of the enemy posted upon an hill. He, marching up that side of it which was most accessible, without attempting to surround it at bottom, constrained the enemy to fly; and, by leaving them an open passage, tempted them to fly the sooner. *Leonatus* on his side also prevailed; but the victory was bloody every-where. According to *Ptolemy's* memoirs, the enemy lost 40,000 men, and 230,000 head of cattle; which *Alexander* perceiving to excel those of *Greece*, both in size and beauty, he caused the largest and fairest to be chosen out, and sent them into *Macedon*, where they might serve to mend the breed, and to perpetuate the memory of his conquests. After this battle he continued some time encamped, that *Craterus* might have time to join him; which when he had done with the heavy-armed foot, *Alexander* began immediately to project a new expedition for reducing the *Assaceni*, who were said to have twenty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to take the field ^m.

IN order to reach these *Assaceni*, *Alexander* was forced to pass through the territories of the *Guræi*; which he did with his horse and light-armed troops, and crossed a very rapid river in that country, not without much difficulty, on account of the swift current of the water, and of round slippery stones at the bottom, whereon neither man nor horse could tread with safety. The *Assaceni*, when they were well assured of this, retired into the city, and abandoned all thoughts of defence of the plain and open country (F). The government of this country, at the time *Alexander* invaded it, was in the hands of a woman, as *Plutarch*, *Curtius*, and *Justin*, agree; the latter calls her *Cleophes*. She was, according to them, the wife of *Assacenus*; but *Arrian* says nothing of her, tho'

^m ARRIAN. ubi supra.

(F) This capital of theirs is by *Curtius* called *Maxaga*, by *Strabo* *Magosa*, by *Diodorus* *Massaca*, by *Arrian* *Massaga*. It was certainly a well-fortified city, from the pains that it cost *Alexander* to reduce it; and, if *Curtius*

took the description he gives us from any author who had really seen it, we might reasonably esteem the siege thereof one of the boldest enterprizes that *Alexander* ever undertook.

he seems to acknowledge, that the fact was so ⁿ. This lady had very providently entertained a body of seven thousand mercenary *Indians*, who from the upper *India*, came to put themselves into the place; and, as *Plutarch* tells us, they also hired themselves out for the defence of other cities. These *Indians* perceiving, that the army of *Alexander* was far from being numerous, persuaded the garison to issue out, and try their fate in the field, that so, if it were possible, a siege might be avoided. This was accordingly done; and *Alexander*, rightly conceiving, that if the battle was immediately under the walls of the city, the enemy would reap great advantages therefrom, drew up his phalanx a mile behind his horse and archers, causing these to advance before the enemy, and then, as if amazed or dismayed, to retire towards those. His stratagem had its desired effect: the *Indians* conceiving highly of their own valour, followed the *Macedonians*, as if they had already defeated them: but when they drew near the hill where *Alexander* had posted his phalanx, the horse and archers attacked them in both wings, and the king with his foot charged in the centre. Thus the *Indians* were broken at the first shock, and exposed to great slaughter in their retreat to the city; though they behaved with great bravery, and taught *Alexander* to conceive better of them, than of any of the nations he had yet met with.

Alexander
defeats
them in
the field.

IMMEDIATELY after this victory, *Alexander* caused the city to be invested; and, going to take a view of the works which he had ordered to be erected before it, he had the misfortune to be wounded in the leg (G). A bridge being made, the king gave directions, that it should be immediately assaulted; which was accordingly performed with that vigour and vivacity shewn by the *Macedonians* upon all occasions. The *Indians*,

Magaza
their capi-
tal in-
vested.
Alexander
wounded.

ⁿ ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 26. CURT. lib. viii. c. 34. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(G) *Curtius* enlarges mightily upon this accident: he informs us, that the king, notwithstanding this wound, continued his observations on horseback, without suffering it to be bound up; that afterwards, feeling himself exceedingly pained, he was forced to have it dressed; but continued, however, giving the necessary directions, till all things were

done that he desired; being, however, so sensible of pain, that he could not help saying, *Though I am called the son of Jupiter, I feel, like other men, the smart of wounds, and the pain of diseases* (4). *Arrian* tells us, that he was wounded indeed; but that the very next day he ordered his engines to be brought to batter the place.

(4) *Justin. lib. xii. c. 7. Curt. lib. viii. c. 34.*

however,

however, repulsed them with considerable loss. The next day *The* Macedonians the city was stormed again with the like ill success. On the donians third day *Alexander* caused a large wooden tower to be drawn *repulsed in* before the breach, and a draw-bridge to be let fall from thence; *several* that his men might pass over the more easily. This was a good *attacks.* contrivance, and answered the end; but, the soldiers rushing forwards in too great numbers, the bridge broke, and they fell all into the ditch, where the defendants from the wall plied them with stones and darts, so that *Alexander* was forced to send *Alcetas*, with a fresh body of troops, to bring them off. The fourth day a new bridge was made, and the soldiers again attempted the place, but to no purpose. The mercenary *Indians*, as long as their general survived, behaved themselves so gallantly, that *Alexander* was not likely at all to gain the city: but, he being killed by a dart from one of the engines, and many of the soldiers disabled by their wounds, the rest were *The Indi-* desirous of treating with *Alexander*, which they did by an he- *ans sub-* rald; and, for the sake of avoiding unnecessary effusion of *mit* ; blood, the king granted them these terms, as *Arrian* affirms, that they should safely march out of the city, and serve under him upon the same terms they did there. On these conditions they accordingly marched out, and, armed as they were, encamped on an hill at some distance from *Alexander's* camp. In the evening *Alexander* received advice, that these *Indians* were determined to march off in the night, that they might not be obliged to serve amongst the *Macedonians* against their brethren. Upon this, he surrounded their camp with his own *but are all* soldiers, and cut them all to pieces ° (H). *put to the*

THE sword.

° *ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 27.*

(H) *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a very distinct account of this business, and treats it as the blackest act of perfidy that ever was committed: he does not indeed say, that the *Indians* were to be taken into the service of *Alexander*; but that they had leave to march out of the place; and that, when they were marched out, the king followed them, and fell upon them. This engaging them to cry aloud, that he had violated his oath, and to call upon the gods to revenge it, he equivocally an-

swered, that he had given ~~his~~ oath, that they should come safely out of the city, but not that they should remain friends to the *Macedonians*; in consequence of which impious distinction, he killed them, and their wives too, who bravely fought to defend their husbands (5). *Plutarch* allows, that this barbarous action left an indelible stain upon his memory (6). The city of *Massaga* was soon after taken, and therein, according to *Arrian*, the mother and daughter of *Assacenus*; ac-

(5) *Did. Sic. lib. xvii.*

(6) *In vit. Alex.*

Orataken, THE next undertaking of *Alexander* was the siege of *Ora*, in order to which he detached *Atalus*, *Alcetas*, and *Demetrius*, to invest it, while in the mean time *Cænus* marched to *Bazira*, another strong city. Neither of these places surrendered on the arrival of the king's forces, as it had been supposed they would; but, on the contrary, made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence; so that *Cænus* was forced to turn his siege into a blockade, and the king himself was constrained to go in person to the siege of *Ora*. This city was surrounded with a strong wall, and had in it a considerable body of mercenary *Indians*; yet *Alexander* quickly reduced it, seizing all the elephants therein for the use of his army. The inhabitants of *Bazira*, when they were informed of this, took the advantage of a dark night to pass by the troops left by *Cænus* to block up the city, and escaped to the mountains behind them. From these hills the inhabitants of *Bazira*, associating themselves with such as were willing to defend their liberty to the last, withdrew to a certain rock, which, if not impregnable by its situation, they thought might be rendered so by their own skill and courage ^p.

The siege of Aorn ¹⁵ THE rock of *Aornus* was in circuit two hundred furlongs, or not much less than twenty-five of our miles; its height, even in its lowest parts, eleven furlongs; the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow. On the top of it was a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood; the rest arable land with a fountain, furnishing abundance of excellent water (1). *Alexander*, after making the necessary dispositions

^p *ARRIAN* lib. iv. c. 27, 28. *DION* ubi supra. *CURT.* lib. viii. c. 36. *JUSTIN.* lib. xii. c. 7.

conforming to all other authors, his widow. *Curſus* says, that she went out at the head of a procession of noble ladies, carrying golden goblets of wine in their hands; and that she procured to herself not only pardon, but the continuance of her dignity, rather from her excellent beauty than from her eloquence, or from any inclination of pity in the king. He adds, that she had some time after a son, who, whatever father he had, was called *Alexander* (7). *Justin* is still

more plain: he says, that she procured this indulgence by prostituting herself to *Alexander*; and that the *Indians* ever after were used to stile her the *royal whore* (8): so far, it seems, *Alexander* travelled to find a more steady and settled virtue than was known in the schools of Greece.

(1) There was a report among the inhabitants of the adjacent country, that *Hercules* himself had besieged this place in vain. *Arrian* delivers it as his opinion, that this report was,

(7) *Curt.* lib. viii. c. 35.

(8) *Justin.* ubi supra.

positions for preserving the country in peace behind him, marched to *Embolima*, the nearest city, from whence he afterwards advanced to the rock itself. While he was preparing all things for the siege, an old man, and his two sons, who had long lived in a cavern near the summit of the rock, came to offer their services to *Alexander*, to shew him a private way of ascending it; which proposition was readily embraced, and *Ptolemy*, with a considerable body of light-armed troops, was sent with them; with orders, in case they succeeded, to entrench themselves strongly upon the rock in the wood which the old man was to direct them to, before they attempted to attack the *Indians*. *Ptolemy* exactly executed all that had been given him in charge, and, when he had so done, caused a lighted torch to be erected in his camp upon a pole, as a signal to *Alexander*, that they were safely got up.

THE king gave immediate orders for a body of troops to attempt the passage whereby the rock was ordinarily ascended, from which, however, they were repulsed by the *Indians* with great slaughter. Then the king sent an *Indian*, whom he could trust, with letters to *Ptolemy*, directing him, at such time as he attacked the rock next, to issue from his camp, and fall upon the enemy behind. But, in the intermediate space, those who defended the rock attacked *Ptolemy* with great vigour, and were, though with much difficulty, at last repulsed. This, however, did not hinder that general from obeying the orders that were sent him; for, when *Alexander* renewed the attack the next day, he, on his side, came out of his camp with a part of his soldiers, and attacked the enemy in the rear. The *Indians* repelled the *Macedonians* on both sides; and, though *Alexander* himself ascended as far as *Ptolemy's* post with a detachment of chosen men, yet still all they could do was ineffectual, so that the king was forced to turn his thoughts another way: he saw clearly, that the great advantage of the *Indians* was the straightness and declivity of the way by which they were attacked: in order, therefore, that his forces might fight upon more equal terms, he caused a vast quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled the cavities between the plain where the enemy was encamped, and the highest of his advanced posts. When the *Indians* understood his design, they despised it as a thing impracticable; but, when they saw with what ardour this work was carried on, and felt the effects of it from the missive weapons which were now thrown among them by the *Macedonians*, they began to change their sentiments,

without foundation; but it is more than probable, that the report itself was raised after *Alexander* had taken it, in order to magnify his exploit.

insomuch that they sent deputies to propose terms of surrender: which when *Alexander* had heard, he presently suspected their true design was to amuse him till they made their escape; upon which he withdrew his guards from the avenues, and, as soon as he knew that the *Indians* were descended, he, with seven hundred light-armed foot from *Ptolemy's* post, took possession of the deserted rock, and then made a signal for his forces to fall upon the flying *Indians*. They, setting up a loud shout, so terrified the fugitives, that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and were beat to pieces; of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus, as *Alexander's* soldiers boasted, that rock was taken, before which *Heracles* himself had been foiled. Certain it is, that the king sacrificed there with great pomp, and left a garison under the command of *Sisicottus*, who had formerly served *Bessus*; but had now for some time been in *Alexander's* army, and behaved with much fidelity^a. From hence he marched again into the territories of the *Affaceni*, where the brother of the deceased king had taken up arms; however, when he came, he found the cities deserted, and the country totally abandoned. Perceiving therefore, that little could be done there, he made it his business to search out and seize such elephants as the *Indians* had been forced to leave in the plain country; and, after a march of sixteen days, he arrived at the river *Indus*, where *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas* had already provided a bridge of boats for the passage of the army^r (K).

ARRIAN is very nice in his account of *Alexander's* passing

^a ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 28. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii. CURT. lib. viii. c. 36. 38. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7. ^r ARRIAN. lib. iv. cap. ult. DIOD. ubi supra. CURT. ubi supra.

(K) *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that, after the taking the rock of *Aornus*, the king was advised, that one *Aphrices* an *Indian* lay not far distant, with an army of twenty thousand men, and fifteen elephants, in order to oppose his passage. But, before the king had time to think of reducing him, the *Indians* themselves, whether out of hatred to their general, or in hopes of *Alexander's* favour, our author pretends not to determine, put their com-

mander to death, and brought his head and armour as a present to the king (q). *Curtius* calls him *Eryces*; but he varies little in the rest of the story; it should seem, that he was the general of some mercenary *Indians* (1). How *Arrian* came to omit this event, we cannot pretend to say, unless we suppose, that he doubted the truth of it, because it was omitted in the memoirs of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*.

(q) *Diod. Sic. l. xvii.*

(1) *Curt. l. viii. c. 39.*

this river; but neither the importance of the thing, since Alexander he passed it without opposition, or the nature of this work, *passes the* which would be rendered tedious thereby, allow us to dwell here upon matters which must be retouched when we come to the history of *India*. The king refreshed his army for thirty days in the countries on the other side of the river, which were those of his friend and ally *Taxiles*, who at this time performed all that he had promised to the king, giving him thirty elephants, and joining his army now with seven hundred *Indian* horse, to which, when they were to enter upon action, he afterwards added five thousand foot. The true reason of this seems to have been his enmity to *Porus*, a famous *Indian* prince, whose territories lay on the other side of the river *Hydaspes*. During this recess, the king sacrificed with great solemnity, receiving also embassadors from *Ambisurus* a very potent prince, and from *Doxareas*, who was also a king in those parts, with tenders of their duty, and considerable presents (L). These ceremonies over, *Alexander* appointed *Philip* governor

Indus.
Year of
the flood
2021.
Bef. Chr.
327.

(I.) There is not the least notice in *Arrian* of the *Taxiles* here spoken of, being another *Taxiles* than him mentioned before. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Curtius*, however, are positive, that it was the son of him heretofore mentioned; that the name of this man was *Mophis* or *Omphis* (2); and that he refused to take upon him the name of *Taxiles*, which was common to all the kings of the country, till *Alexander* commanded him so to do, and put the crown upon his head; which he did with great willingness, being extremely pleased with this extraordinary mark of submission (3). *Strabo* tells us, that the city of *Taxila*, which was the capital of this kingdom, was seated between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*; that it was extremely well built, governed by good laws, the country round about being exceeding fruitful, and well planted. The same au-

thor tells us, that this kingdom was as large as *Egypt* (4), which is also confirmed by *Plutarch*. He adds, that, at the first interview between *Alexander* and *Taxiles*, the latter, who was reputed a very wise man, addressed him thus: *To what purpose should we destroy the subjects of each other, if it be not your design to deprive us of our fruits and our water, which, as they are the only things necessary to preserve the lives of men, are still worth fighting about? As to what the world calls riches, if I am better provided than thou, thou shalt share with me with all my heart; but, if thou art already richer than I, I am not so proud as to refuse being obliged to you, or so base as to think of being ungrateful for your favours.* To which *Alexander* replied, *Do not think, Taxiles, that by these fair speeches you shall avoid contending with me; I will no more be overcome*

(2) *Diod. l. xvii.*(3) *Curt. l. viii. c. 39.*(4) *Strab. geogr. l. xv.*

governor of *Taxila*, and put a *Macedonian* garison into the place, because he intended to erect an hospital there for the cure of his sick and wounded soldiers: He then ordered the vessels, of which his bridge had been composed when he passed the *Indus*, to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the *Hydaspes*, where he was informed that *Porus*, with a great army, lay encamped to hinder his passage. When he approached the banks of this river with his army, and the auxiliaries under the command of *Taxiles*, he found that the people he had to do with were not so easily to be subdued as the *Persians*, and other *Asiatics*. The *Indians* were not only a very tall and robust, but also a very hardy and well-disciplined people; and their king *Porus*, a prince of high spirit, invincible courage, and great conduct.

*Advances
to the Hy-
daspes.*

*Meets
with
great dif-
ficulties.*

It was about the summer-solstice when *Alexander* reached the *Hydaspes*, and consequently its waters were broader, deeper, and more rapid, than at any other time; for in *India* the rivers swell as the sun's increasing heat melts the snow, and subside again as winter approaches. *Alexander* therefore had every difficulty to struggle with. *Porus* had made his dispositions so judiciously, that *Alexander* found it impossible to practise upon him, as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in his view: wherefore he was constrained to divide his army into small parties, and to practise other arts, in order to get the better of so vigilant a prince*. To this end he caused a great quantity of corn, and other provisions, to be brought

* *ARRIAN. lib. v. DINDOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 8. CURT. lib. viii. c. 42.*

in civility than war; and therefore, do what you will, I will oblige you still more. Which promise of his he accordingly made good, not only by bestowing on the king great presents, but also by making large additions to his dominions (5). After this, *Arrian*, and indeed all other authors, agree, that *Alexander* proceeded to reduce *Nysa*, a famous city said to be built by *Bacchus*, at this time governed by its own laws, and living in a state of freedom: we did not think fit, however, to enter into a detail of what

passed between *Alexander* and the deputies from this city in the text, because *Arrian* himself, though he has related it at large, seems to doubt very much of the fact; or rather to look upon it as a fable (6). To say the truth, there are so many things of importance belonging to the history of *Alexander*, that we are willing to pass by as briefly as we may such romantic stories as these, that we may not omit things at once more pleasing and more profitable to the reader.

(5) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

(6) *Arrian. l. i. Dind. Curt. Justin. Plut. &c.*

into his camp, giving out, that he intended to remain where he was, till the river fell, and, by becoming fordable, should give him an opportunity of forcing a passage: this did not, however, hinder *Porus* from keeping up very strict discipline in his camp; which when *Alexander* perceived, he frequently made such motions as seemed to indicate a change of his resolution, and that he had still thoughts of passing the river. The main thing the *Macedonians* stood in fear of, were the elephants; for the bank being pretty steep on the other side, and it being the nature of horses to start at the first appearance of those animals, it was foreseen that the army would be disordered, and incapable of sustaining the charge of *Porus's* troops.

BUT, after some time that the kings had amused each other, *Alexander*, who hated inactivity, determined to pass ^{mines to} at all events; yet, before he took that resolution, he contrived a method of passing with the least danger possible; which ^{events-} was this: There was, at the distance of one hundred and fifty stadia from his camp, a rocky promontory projecting into the river, thick covered with wood; and over-against this promontory there lay a pretty large uninhabited island almost overgrown with trees. The king therefore conceived within himself a project of conveying a body of troops from this promontory into that island, and upon this scheme he built his hopes of surprising *Porus*, vigilant as he was. To this end he kept him and his army constantly alarmed for many nights together, till he perceived that *Porus* apprehended it was only done to harass his troops, and therefore no longer drew out of his camp, but trusted to his ordinary guards: then *Alexander* ^{Begins to} resolved to put his design in execution. A considerable body ^{put his de-} of horse, the *Macedonian* phalanx, with some corps of light- ^{sign in ex-} armed foot, he left in his camp under the command of *Craterus*, as also the auxiliary *Indians*; giving these orders ~~to be~~ observed in his absence, that, if *Porus* marched against him with part of his army, and left another part with the elephants behind in his camp, *Craterus* and his forces should remain where they were; but if it so happened, that *Porus* withdrew his elephants, then *Craterus* was to pass the river, because his cavalry might then do it safely. *Alexander*, having marched half the way, or about nine of our miles, ordered the mercenary troops under the command of *Attalus*, and other generals, to remain there; and directed them, that, as soon as they knew he was engaged with the *Indians* on the other side, they should pass in vessels provided for that purpose, in order to assist him. Then, marching a long way about, that the enemy might not perceive his design of reaching the rock, he advanced as diligently as he could towards that post. It

happened very fortunately for him, that a great storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, rose in the night, whereby his march was perfectly concealed, his vessels of thirty oars put together, and his tents stuffed and stitched, so that they passed from the rock into the island, without being perceived, a little before break of day; the storm ceasing just as he and his soldiers were ready for their passage. When they had traversed the island, they boldly set forward to gain the opposite shore in sight of *Porus's* out-guards, who instantly posted away to give their master an account of this attempt. *Alexander* landed first himself, and was followed as expeditiously as possible by his forces, whom he took care to draw up as fast as they arrived. When they began their march again, they found that their good fortune was not so great as at first they esteemed it; for it appeared now, that they had not reached the continent at all, but were in truth in another island much larger than the former. They crossed it as fast as they could, and found that it was divided from the *terra firma* by a narrow chanel, which, however, was so swelled by the late heavy rain, that the poor soldiers were forced to wade up to the breast. When they were on the other side, the king drew them up again carefully, ordering the foot to march slowly, they being in number about six thousand, while himself with five thousand horse advanced before. As soon as *Porus* received intelligence, that *Alexander* was actually passing the river, he sent his son, with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppose him. But they came too late: *Alexander* was already got on shore, and even on his march.

When the *Macedonian* scouts perceived them advancing, they informed the king, who sent a detachment to attack them, remaining still at the head of his cavalry in expectation of *Porus*. But when he found, that this party was unsupported, he instantly attacked them with all his horse, and defeated them with the slaughter of many, and the loss of all their armed chariots, the son of *Porus* being slain in the fight. The remainder of the horse returning to the camp with this disastrous account, *Porus* was in some confusion: however, he took very quickly the best and wisest resolutions his circumstances would allow; which were, to leave a part of his army, with some of his elephants, to oppose *Craterus*, who was now about to pass the river also, and, with the rest, to march against *Alexander* and his forces, who were already passed. This resolution once taken, he marched immediately out of his camp, at the head of four thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants. He advanced as expeditiously as he could, till he came into a plain which was firm and sandy, where his chariots and elephants might

Pass: the river.

The son of Porus defeated and slain.

Porus marches against him.

might act to advantage : there he halted, that he might put his army in order, knowing well that he need not go in quest of his enemy. *Alexander* soon came up with his horse, but he did not charge *Porus* ; on the contrary, he made an halt, and put his troops in order, that they might be able to defend themselves in case they were attacked. When he had waited some time, his foot arrived, whom he immediately surrounded with his horse, that, after so fatiguing a march, they might have time to cool and breathe themselves, before they were led to engage. *Porus* permitted all this, because it was not his interest to fight, and because he depended chiefly upon his order of battle, the elephants covering his foot, so that the *Macedonians* could not charge them.

WHEN *Alexander* had disposed his foot in proper order, he placed his horse on the wings ; and, observing that he was much superior in them to the enemy, and that the cavalry of *Porus* were easy to be charged, he resolved to let the foot have as little share as possible in this battle. To this end, having given the necessary directions to *Cœnus*, who commanded them, he went himself to the right, and with great fury fell upon the left wing of *Porus*. The dispute, though short, was very bloody ; the horse of *Porus*, though they fought gallantly, were quickly broken ; and the foot being by this means uncovered, the *Macedonians* charged them. But the *Indian* horse, rallying, came up to their relief, yet were again defeated. By this time the archers had wounded many of the elephants, and killed most of their riders, so that they did not prove less troublesome and dangerous to their own side than to the *Macedonians* ; whence a great confusion ensued, and *Cœnus*, taking this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and intirely defeated the *Indian* army. *Porus* himself behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and with the most excellent conduct : he gave his orders, and directed every thing, as long as his troops retained their form ; and, when they were broken, he retired from party to party as they made stands, and continued fighting till every corps of *Indians* was put to the rout. In the mean time *Craterus* had passed, with the rest of the *Macedonian* army ; and these, falling upon the flying *Indians*, increased the slaughter of the day excessively, insomuch that twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse were killed, all the chariots hacked to pieces, and the elephants not killed were taken : two of *Porus*'s sons fell here, as also most of his officers of all ranks.

As for *Porus*, *Alexander* gave strict directions, that no injury might be done to his person : he even sent *Taxiles* to persuade him to surrender himself, and to assure him, that he should be treated with all the kindness and respect imaginable ;

but

Who submits to Alexander, and is kindly treated by him.

but *Porus*, disdaining this advice from the mouth of an old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and had killed him, but for the quick turn of his horse. *Meroe the Indian*, who was also in the service of *Alexander*, succeeded better: he had been the old acquaintance of *Porus*, and therefore, when he intreated that prince to spare his person, and to submit himself to fortune, and a generous victor, *Porus*, being weary, and almost charmed with thirst, stopped his elephant, alighted, and, having refreshed himself with a little water, desired his friend to conduct him to *Alexander*. As soon as the *Macedonian* knew, that *Porus* was coming, he went with some of his friends to meet him. At this interview, *Alexander* was greatly surprised: the *Indian* king was seven feet high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aspect, and in his air and behaviour preserved such an unconquered spirit, that *Alexander* was charmed with him, insomuch that he desired *Meroe* to ask him, *How he would please to be treated?* *Porus* answered, *As a king*. Which being reported to *Alexander*, he said, *That, for my own sake, I shall do*. And therein, returned *Porus*, is comprehended all that I can ask. This so well suited the genius of his conqueror, that, we may say, the condition of this *Indian* king suffered nothing by the loss of the battle. *Alexander* immediately gave him his liberty, restored him shortly after to his kingdom, to which he annexed provinces almost equal to it in value. Neither was *Alexander* a loser by his munificence; for *Porus* remained his true friend, and constant ally^t.

His proceedings in the conquest of India. Builds two cities.

ALEXANDER, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named *Nicæa*, which seems to have been the same which *Plutarch* says was built to the memory of his famous dog *Peritas*; the other on this side of the river, where his camp had been, which he called *Bucephala*, in honour of his horse, who died here, as *Arrian* says, of mere old-age, being on the verge of thirty. All the soldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honours, offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous shews on the banks of the *Hydaspes*, where he had forced his passage. After this short recess from war, he, at the head of his horse and light-armed troops, entered the territories of the *Gangetæ*, in which were thirty-seven good cities, and a multitude of populous villages; all which were delivered up to him without fighting; and, as soon as he received them, he presented them to *Porus*; and, having reconciled him to *Taxiles*, he sent the latter home

^t *ARRIAN*. lib. v. c. 14, 15, 16. *PLUT.* in vit. *ALEX.* *CURT.* lib. viii. *JUSTIN.* lib. xii.

to his own dominions. About this time ambassadors arrived from *Abissares*, professing, that himself and his kingdom were at his devotion; among these ambassadors was his brother, who brought a large present, and forty elephants. *Alexander* directed *Abissares* to repair to him in person; and, having given orders to *Philip* to march with a body of troops to reduce the *Assaceni*, who were revolted, himself, with the rest of his army, marched to the river *Acissines*; which being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, having great rocks in the midst of its chanel, he passed with much difficulty, making use both of his vessels and his skins. However, those on the latter escaped best; for, when they struck against the rocks, the very force of the blow threw them off again; whereas the like accident dashed the vessels to pieces. On the other side of the river lay the territories of another *Porus*, whose conduct had been very fluctuating during the course of this war; for at some times he had thoughts of submitting himself to *Alexander*, at others he determined to oppose him; at last he abandoned his dominions, and led away with him those soldiers who ought to have defended them. *Alexander*, in pursuit of him, passed the *Hydructes*, another *Indian* river; and, having now conquered the whole kingdom of this other *Porus*, he gave it to *Porus* his ally ^u.

In the midst of all this success, *Alexander* received advice, *The Indians* that the *Catheii*, *Oxydracæ*, and *Mulli*, the most warlike and confederations in *India*, were confederated against him, and had drawn together a great army. The king immediately marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of *Sangala*, seated on the top of an hill, and having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate *Indians* lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the centre. It was evident enough to the *Macedonians*, that the forcing of these people would be a work of great difficulty: however, *Alexander* resolved immediately to attack them: in pursuance of which resolution, he encamped as near as possible to their first intrenchment of carriages; and, having taken a view of it, chose out a place which he thought the most proper for an attempt to be made on. The *Indians* made a noble defence; but at last the first line of their carriages was broken, and the *Macedonians* entered. The second was stronger by far: yet *Alexander* attacked that too, and, after a desperate resistance, forced it. The *Indians*, without trusting to the third, retired into the city, which *Alexander* would have invested; but the foot he had with him not being sufficient for that

^u AARIAN. DIOD. JUSTIN. CURT. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake ; and, on the other side of that, ordered several brigades of horse to take post ; he likewise commanded the engines to be brought up for battering the walls, and in some places employed miners. The second night he received intelligence, that the besieged, knowing the lake to be fordable, intended to make their escape through it. Upon this he ordered all the carriages which had been taken on forcing their camp, to be placed up and down the roads in hopes to hinder their flight ; giving directions to *Ptolemy*, who commanded the horse on the other side of the lake, to be extremely vigilant, and to cause all his trumpets to sound, that the forces might repair to that post where the *Indians* made their great effort. These precautions had all the effect he could wish ; for of the few *Indians* who got through the lake, and passed the *Macedonian* horse, the greater part were killed on the roads ; but the gross of their army was constrained to retire again through the water into the city. Two days after the place was taken by storm, in which seventeen thousand *Indians* were killed, seventy thousand taken prisoners, with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horse. *Alexander* is said to have lost but an hundred men in the siege ; but he had twelve hundred wounded, and amongst them many persons of distinction. This done, he sent *Eumenes* his secretary with a party of horse, to acquaint the inhabitants of the cities adjacent of what had befallen the *Sangalans*, with a promise, that they should be kindly treated, if they submitted ; but they were so much affrighted at what had happened to their neighbours, that all *Eumenes's* good words and promises were lost upon them ; inasmuch that, abandoning all their cities, they fled into the mountains, choosing rather to expose themselves to wild beasts, than to those invaders, who treated their countrymen so cruelly. When the king was advised of this, he sent detachments of horse to scour the roads ; and these, finding aged, infirm, and wounded people, to the number of about five hundred, put them to the sword without mercy. Perceiving that it was impossible to retrieve the inhabitants of this country, he raised *Sangala*, and gave the territory to the few *Indians* who had submitted to him. These points once settled, he prepared to pass the river *Hypaphis*, having nothing in view, as *Arrian* tells us, but still to seek out new enemies, when he had subdued the old ^w.

Their city of Sangala taken by storm,

and raised.

His resolution to pass the Hypaphis.

THE chief reason which induced the king to think of this expedition, was, the information he had received of the state of the countries beyond this river. He was told, that they

^w ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25. DIOP. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

were

were in themselves rich and fruitful ; that their inhabitants were not only a very martial people, but also very civilized ; that they were governed by the nobility, who were themselves subject to the laws ; and that, as they lived in happiness and freedom, it was likely they would fight obstinately in defence of those blessings. He was farther told, that among these nations there were the largest, strongest, and most useful elephants bred and tamed ; he was fired with an earnest desire of reducing so bold and brave a people under his rule, and of attaining to the possession of the many valuable things that were said to be amongst them. As exorbitant as his personal *Discern* ambition was, he found it impracticable to infuse any part of *ments in his army.* it into the minds of his soldiers, who were so far from wishing to triumph over new and remote countries, that they were highly desirous of leaving those they had lately conquered, and returning to their own. When therefore they were informed of the king's intentions, they privately consulted together in the camp on the situation of their affairs. At this consultation the gravest and best of the soldiery held down their heads, wept, and lamented their misfortune, that the king should make use of them, not as lions, who fall fiercely on those by whom they are injured, but as mastiffs, to fly upon and tear such as were shewn them for enemies by their master. The rest were not altogether so modest ; they expressed themselves roundly against the king's humour of leading them from battle to battle, from siege to siege, and from river to river ; protesting, that they would follow him no farther, nor lavish away their lives any longer to purchase fame for him.

ALEXANDER was a man of too much penetration not to Alexander be early in perceiving, that his troops were very uneasy ; he *serves to* therefore harangued them from his tribunal ; and, *say more* might depend upon them, *them.* Arrian and Curtius both have given us the substance of that harangue ; but they differ widely from each other, and the frame of each of the speeches agrees exactly with the genius of the author, in whose works we find it. That in Arrian is grave, solid, and at the same time very specious ; whereas that in Curtius is copious, florid, and full of strong rhetorical figures, which serve rather to amaze than to persuade. We may therefore reasonably suppose, that Arrian and Curtius composed each his harangue : as to that of Alexander, it turned probably on the same general heads with theirs, and consisted in a warm representation of the glory that would redound to them, if, after conquering Asia, they went on to subdue the habitable world ; a recapitulation of the victories they had already gained ; and large promises of vast rewards and gratifications, if they continued

Cœnus un-
dertakes
the cause
of the ar-
my.

to be the companions of his labours, and enabled him to maintain the character of *invincible*, which, as the son of *Jupiter*, the oracle of *Ammon* had bestowed upon him. His eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very strong; however they did not relent, but remained sullen and silent; and at last turned their eyes on *Cœnus*, an old experienced general, whom *Alexander* loved, and in whom the army confided. He had generosity enough to undertake their cause, and to tell *Alexander* frankly, that men endured toil and labour in hopes of repose; that the *Macedonians* were already much reduced in their numbers; that of those who remained, the major part were invalids; and that they expected, in consideration of their former services, he would now lead them back to their native country; an act which of all others would contribute most to his own great designs, since it would encourage the youth of *Macedon*, and even of all *Greece*, to follow him in whatever new expedition he should please to undertake, whether to the north or to the south, against the *Indians* beyond *Hyphasis*, or the unknown nations bordering on the *Hyrcanian* sea.

The king
is prevail-
ed on to
return.

THE king was far from being pleased with *Cœnus*, and much less satisfied with the disposition of the army, which continued buried in a deep silence. He therefore dismissed the assembly; but the next day he called another, wherein he told the soldiers plainly, that he would not be driven from his purpose, that he would proceed in his conquests with such as would follow him voluntarily; as for the rest, he would not detain them, but leave them at liberty to go home to *Macedon*, where they might publish, that they had left their king in the midst of his enemies. Even this expedient had no success; his army was so thoroughly tired of long marches, and desperate battles, that they were determined to go no farther, either for fair speeches or foul. The king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refused to see his friends, and put on the same gloomy and discontented temper, which reigned among his forces. For three days things remained in this situation; at last the king suddenly appeared, and, as if he had been fully determined to pursue his first design, he gave orders for sacrificing for the good success of his new undertaking. *Aristander* reported, after the sacrifices were over, that the omens were altogether inauspicious; upon which the king said, *That since his proceeding further was neither pleasing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return.* When this was rumoured among the army, they assembled in great numbers about the royal tent, saluting the king with loud acclamations, wishing him success in all his future designs, giving him at the same time hearty thanks;

For that he who was invincible, had suffered himself to be overcome with their prayers * (M).

ALEX-

* ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25—29. DIOD. lib. xvii. Olymp. 113. 2. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. ix. c. 5—10. JUSTIN. lib. xiii. c. 8.

(M) *Diodorus Siculus* infits largely on *Alexander's* expedition into *India*: he tells us, that king *Porus* was so wounded, that he fell from his chariot to the ground; that he lost in the engagement twelve thousand men; and that of the *Macedonians* there fell two hundred and eighty horse, and seven hundred foot: after this, he describes the countries through which *Alexander* passed, and the singularities observable in them. He asserts the *Hyphasis* to be seven furlongs over, and six fathoms deep; and he tells us, that *Alexander* was informed, that, if he continued his march, he would meet with a desert twelve days journey over, and then the river *Ganges*, the largest and deepest in *India*; on the other side of which he would find *Xandanes* king of the *Gangarides*, at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants: the king, looking upon this story to be a mere romance, sent for *Porus*, and charged him to tell him the truth; who assured him, that the thing was so, and that he was not imposed on. These accounts, joined to the hardships they had endured, induced the *Macedonians* to refuse to be led farther, which at first exceedingly displeased the king; but, when he found they could not be moved, he consented to return, having

first given orders, that they should erect twelve altars, each fifty cubits high; draw a trench round his camp fifty feet broad, and forty deep, casting up out of the earth, which was dug from thence, a very strong retrenchment on the inside: every foot-soldier was likewise directed to provide two beds of five cubits, and all the cavalry: besides these beds, a manger twice as big as the ordinary size was ordered to be put up. These things were done to amuse posterity, and to make them believe, that *Alexander* had led an army above the common standard of men into *India* (7). *Plutarch* says expressly, that the battle with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonian* courage, and made them unwilling to meddle any more with the *Indians*; especially when they heard, that, beyond the *Ganges*, the kings of the *Gangarides* and *Prassians* had assembled eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. Our author assures us, that this was no vain report; for that *Andracottus*, who was then a youth, and saw *Alexander* in his camp, lived afterwards to conquer all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men, and made *Seleucus* a present of five hundred elephants at once; which prince was often heard to say, that, if *Alex-*

ALEXANDER, having once resolved to make the *Hyphasis* the limits of his conquests, divided his army ; and, having ordered

ander had pursued his design, he would, in all probability have succeeded, the king then reigning in those parts being hated for his cruelty, and despised for the meanness of his birth. We have also from *Plutarch* an account of Alexander's causing arms of an extraordinary bigness, mangers of an excessive largeness, and bits for bridles of an unusual size, to be left behind in his camp, when he was compelled by his soldiers to think of returning (8). *Strabo*, in his description of *India*, agrees very well with *Diodorus*, relating almost the same things which he does. We have, in both, stories of venomous serpents, of a nation putting children to death for want of comeliness and well proportioned limbs, and dogs so strong, and of such spirit, that they encounter lions, with many other tales of the like nature taken from *Onesicritus*, who was not only the captain of Alexander's galley, but had the honour also to outlye every author that meddled with his history, which was in truth no ordinary performance (9). *Curtius* in the main agrees pretty well with the authors mentioned in this note : however, he differs in certain circumstances ; some of no great moment ; and some which deserve notice. He makes the distance from the *Hyphasis*, which he styles *Hypasis*, and the *Ganges*, eleven days journey : he calls the king of the *Gangaridæ* *Aggravanes*, and says he had twenty thousand horse,

two hundred thousand foot, three thousand chariots, and three thousand elephants. In relating the sedition in the *Macedonian* camp, he hath inserted rhetorical speeches of excessive length. As to the extraordinary altars, arms, and beds, he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* (1). *Justin* gives a short, but very magnificent detail of the battle with *Porus*, whose character he has raised more in a line or two, than many authors in pages : he places the *Gangaridæ* amongst the nations conquered by Alexander ; and says, that when he came with his army to engage the *Cupbitæ*, the *Macedonians*, perceiving they were to fight with two hundred thousand horse, intreated him to spare the small remains of the forces his father had made use of, and allow them the moderate favour of carrying home their mangled carcasses to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors : to which reasonable request he at length with much ado assented (2). *Polyænus*, amongst many instances of Alexander's wisdom, and military skill, mentions several which happened in his *Indian* war ; amongst others, the passage of the river *Hydaspes*, and the battle with *Porus* ; the success of the former of which he attributes to the king's invention, and the victory obtained over the latter to the masterly disposition Alexander made of his troops before the engagement (3). This we have fully explained in

(8) *Plot. in vit. Alex.* (9) *Strab. geogr. lib. xv.* (1) *Curt. lib. ix.*
c. 2, & seq. (2) *Justin. lib. xii. c. 3.* (3) *Polyæn. stratagem. lib. iv.*
c. 3, 4, & 9.

dered twelve altars to be erected equal in height, and exceeding in breadth redoubts of an ordinary size, he caused sacrifices to be offered on them; and, having exhibited public shews after the *Grecian* manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of *Porus*, and then began his march towards the river *Hydraotes*. From thence he marched on to the *Acefines*, where he found the city which he had directed *Hephestion* to build, to which he invited all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and left also therein such of his mercenaries as were infirm, and desired to reside there. *Abissaret*, a petty king, who had submitted to him in his march this way, and whom the king had ordered to repair to him, sent deputies to excuse himself on account of sickness; which excuse the king was pleased to accept, because that prince had sent the thirty elephants which he had promised, and offered to submit to whatever terms the king should impose. *Alexander* therefore ordered *Arfaces*, president of the province adjoining to his dominions, to inspect his conduct; and, having settled the tribute he should pay, marched on to the river *Hydaspes*, where finding the new cities *Nicea* and *Bucephala* somewhat damaged by the great rains which had fallen in his absence, he ordered his soldiers to repair them, gave the necessary directions for the security of his conquests, and then applied himself to the care of the preparations necessary for passing down the river *Indus* into the ocean (N).

THE

7 ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 1—3.

the text, and it is without question one of the noblest acts which stand recorded of this conqueror.

(N) *Alexander's* design was to sail down the *Hydaspes* to its junction with the *Acefines*, and then through the *Acefines* into the *Indus*, and through the last-mentioned river to the ocean. As the king was a diligent inquirer into whatever regarded natural history, when he first arrived in these parts, he, from general informations, embraced a very odd opinion: it was this; that he had found out the source of the *Nile*. The grounds of this mistaken notion were these: *Alexander* had seen in the river *Indus* crocodiles, and, on the banks of the

Acefines, such beans growing as in *Egypt*. Putting these things together, he fancied that this great river, rolling on into vast deserts, lost in them its name; but, entering again the well-inhabited country of *Ethiopia*, was there called the *Nile*, and thence rolled down with the same name into *Egypt*. He was confirmed in this odd conjecture by *Homer's* calling the *Nile*, from its entering *Egypt* to its fall into the sea, *Aegyptus*; &c. this seemed to imply, that the same river, running through different countries, acquired different names. At last he became so confident, that, amongst other things which he wrote to his mother *Olympias*, he

Embarks
his army
on that
river.

THE care taken by *Alexander* for the execution of this project, shewed much more prudence than the project itself. He had ordered vast quantities of timber to be felled in the neighbourhood of the *Hydaspes*, through which he was to sail into the *Indus*; he had caused the vessels, with which he had passed other rivers, to be brought thither; and had assembled a vast number of artificers, capable of repairing, rebuilding, and equipping his fleet; which, when finished, and in a condition to be launched, consisted of eighty vessels of three banks of oars, and of lesser ships and transports, about two thousand. As for those who were to manage this fleet, he collected them out of the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Carians*, and *Egyptians* following his army, and who were held to be perfectly well versed in all the branches of the *nautic art* (O). When all things were ready, the army embarked about break of day, the king, in the mean time, sacrificing to the gods,

accord-

set down this; that he had found the springs of the *Nile*. But, inquiring farther, and receiving full satisfaction, that the *Indus* did not lose itself in any desert, but by two large mouths entered the ocean, he caused the passage before-mentioned to be struck out. It may to some seem strange, that we have insisted so largely upon a point which at first sight may seem trivial; our reason is this: Many have erred in the like manner with *Alexander*, though few have had the good sense to retract their errors like him, even when they have discovered them. The matter here stated is a fact, and a fact attended with very curious circumstances, sufficient to direct us in all cases of a like nature, and to engage us not to depend too much on the conjectures of the greatest men, and most celebrated travellers, but to rely on them only for facts (4). A little before this his embarkation died *Cœnus*, *Alexander's* old captain, who had dared to take upon him

the arduous employment of being the army's orator against the will of their prince. *Curtius* tells us, that *Alexander* was afflicted at his death; but that he could not help saying, *That he had made too long a speech, considering the short time he had to live*, with other things to the same purpose: however, he was interred with great solemnity, and, if *Alexander's* sorrow was not over-sincere, we may be sure that of the army was unfeigned; for they had now lost their best friend, as well as a most experienced general. *Diodorus* (5) and *Curtius*, in what they say of the king's passing down these rivers, vary in some respects from *Arrian*, and in others contradict him; but there is no troubling the reader with particular accounts, because they are matters of small importance, and such as have in them more of the wonderful, than of the credible or the useful (6).

(O) As for the disposition of the army, it was settled thus: the archers, *Agrians*, the light-

(4) *Arrian. lib. vi. Arrian. l. vi. c. 2.*

(5) *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii.*

(6) *Curt. l. ix.*

according to the rites used in his own country, and to those of that country where now was. Then he himself went on board, and, causing the signal to be given by sound of trumpet, the fleet began to move. *Craterus* and *Hephæstion* had marched some days before. From the third day, we are informed by *Arrian*, *Alexander* came to that part of the river which was over-against their camps. Here he had information, that the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli* were raising forces to oppose him: whereupon he determined to reduce them; for he made it a rule with him in the course of this voyage, to compel the inhabitants on both sides the river to yield him obedience: but, before he arrived on the coasts of the people before-mentioned, he himself sustained no small danger; for, coming to the confluence of the *Acesines* with the *Hydaspes*, from whence both rivers roll together into the *Indus*, the eddies, whirlpools, and rapid currents, rushing with tremendous noise from the respective chanel of those rivers into the great one formed by them both, at one terrified those who navigated his vessels, and actually destroyed many of the long vessels, with all who were aboard them; the king himself being in some danger, and *Nearchus* the admiral not a little at a loss. As soon as this danger was over, and the fleet and army had once more joined, he went himself on shore; and, having ordered his elephants, with some troops of horse and archers, to be carried across, and put under the command of *Craterus*, he then divided his army on the left-hand bank into three bodies; the first commanded by himself, the second by *Hephæstion*, and the third by *Ptolemy*. *Hephæstion* had orders to move silently through the heart of the country, five days march before the king, that if, on *Alexander's* approach, any of the barbarians should attempt to shelter themselves by retiring into the heart of the country, they might fall into the hands of *Hephæstion's* forces. *Ptolemy Lagus* was commanded to march three days behind the king, that if any escaped his army, they might fall into *Ptolemy's* hands. As for the fleet, it had orders to stop at the confluence of this river with the *Hydraotes*, till such time as these several corps should arrive².

ALEXANDER himself, at the head of a body of horse and light-armed foot, marched through a desert country against

² ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 6, & seq. DIOD. ubi supra.

armed foot, and some horse, he took on board the fleet; *Craterus*, with a body of horse and foot, marched on the right-hand bank; *Hephæstion*, with the major part of the army, and two hundred elephants, on the left-hand. *Nearchus* was admiral of the whole fleet, and *Onesicritus* captain of the royal galley.

He reduces the Malli ; and scarce affording any rest to his soldiers, arrived *the Malli*. on the third day at a city into which they had put their wives and children for security, and a good garison for their defence. These people, having no apprehension that the king would attempt to march through a barren country, were all unarmed and in confusion. Many of them therefore were slain in the field ; the rest fled into the city, and shut the gates. But this only protracted their fate for a small time ; for the king, having ordered the city to be invested by his horse, attacked it, and, with some loss, took both that and the castle by storm, putting all he found therein to the sword. He sent at the same time *Perdiccas* with a considerable detachment, to invest another city of the *Malli* at some distance ; but, when he arrived, he found it abandoned : however, he pursued the inhabitants, who had but lately left it, and slew numbers of them on the road. After this the king took several other cities, not without considerable resistance ; for the *Indians* sometimes chose to burn their houses and themselves therein, rather than surrender. He seems, in respect to this nation, to have acted with more than ordinary resentment, hunting them rather as beasts, than fighting with them as men, and taking pains to cut off not only such as resisted him, but those who fled into woods and deserts to escape him. At last he marched to their capital city, and, finding that abandoned, he proceeded to the river *Ilydraotes*, where he found fifty thousand men encamped on the opposite bank. He hesitated not to enter the river, though he had with him only an inconsiderable party of horse ; and the *Indians* were so affrighted at his presence, that even with all these troops they retired ; but when they saw how few accompanied the king, they returned, and charged him : but by this time the rest of his forces were passing the river, so that the *Indians* were constrained to retire to a city which lay behind them, which *Alexander* invested that very night.

THE next day he stormed the city with such violence, that the inhabitants were compelled to abandon it, and to retire to the citadel, where they prepared to make a very resolute defence. The king instantly gave orders for scaling its walls, and the soldiers began to execute those orders as fast as they could ; but the king, who was impatient, catching hold of a ladder, placed it against the wall, and mounted it himself, covering his body with his shield, *Peucestas* following him, after him *Leonatus*, all by the same ladder. *Abreas*, a man of great courage, who on that account had double pay allowed him, mounted by another. The king having gained the top of the battlements, cleared them quickly of the defendants, killing some of them with his sword, and pushing

pushing others over the walls : but, when he had done this, Alexander he was in more danger than ever ; for the *Indians*, from the *in the ut-* adjacent tower, gilled him with their arrows, though they *most dan-* durst not come near enough to engage him. His own bat- *ger.* talion of targeteers, mounting in haste to second him, broke the ladders ; which when *Alexander* perceived, he threw himself down into the castle, as did also *Peucestes*, *Leonatus*, and *Abreas*. As soon as the king was on the ground, the *Indian* general rushed forward to attack him, whom the king presently slew with his sword, as he did several of those who followed him ; upon which the rest retired, and contented themselves with throwing stones and darts at him at a distance. *Abreas* was struck into the head with an arrow, and fell upon the spot ; and shortly after another pierced through the king's breast-plate into his body. As long as he had spirits, he defended himself valiantly ; but, through a vast effusion of blood, losing his senses, he fell upon his shield. *Peucestas* then covered him with the sacred shield of *Pallas* on one side, as did *Leonatus* with his own shield on the other, though they were themselves dreadfully wounded. The soldiers on the outside, eager to save their prince, supplied their want of ladders, by driving large iron pins into the walls. By the help of this contrivance, many of them ascended, and threw themselves over, where some, covering the body of the king, compelled the *Indians* to retire ; and others, having pulled down the bars, broke down a gate between two towers, and thereby gave admittance to their companions. The soldiers, in the heat of their resentment, put all that they found to the sword, women and children not excepted. Then they took up the king, and bore him away upon his shield to the camp. There he continued for some time in so weak a state, that his recovery was very doubtful. The news of this accident having reached the camp on the river-side, where were the head-
quarters of the whole army, it struck such a panic, that they scarce knew what to do ; for they immediately concluded, that he was dead : and when from time to time they were informed that he grew better, they attributed this to the arts of the general officers who were about him ; nor would they suffer themselves to be convinced, even when they received advice, that he was returning to the army.

THE king was perfectly sensible of all the mischiefs which might attend these fears and apprehensions of his soldiers : as soon therefore as his health would permit, he caused himself to be put on board his gally, and rejoined his forces. When he came to the camp, and shewed himself, both on *Received !* horseback and foot, the soldiers gathering round him, eagerly *in the camp* kissed, not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his *with great* robes, joy.

robes, and resumed in a moment that courage and alacrity which had hitherto rendered them invincible. The officers, however, of the first rank, who were *Macedonians* by birth, after the first compliments were over, did not spare to tell the king, that he had done very much amiss in hazarding his person after such a manner: at which *Alexander*, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much displeased; but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greatest kindness, an old *Bæotian*, who told him, to sooth his vanity, That such extraordinary attempts became an hero^a (P).

The Malli THE *Malli*, being by this time convinced, that nothing but submission could save the small remainder of them, sent
and Oxy-
dracæ jub-
mit.

^a ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 12, 13. DIOD. SIC. ubi supra. CURT. l. ix. c. 14, & seq. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 9.

(P) *Arrian*, speaking of the king's misfortune, vindicates his own credit, and that of his history. He tells us, that it is not certain, whether a physician, or *Perdiccas*, opened the king's wound, and drew out the arrow; but he assures us, that a great effusion of blood happened at that time, and that the king's fainting saved his life; for the blood then stopping gave them time to apply medicines and bandages, for want of which he must otherwise have perished. He then acquaints us, that many strange things relating to this accident are to be found in historians, who, drawing their materials from romantic memoirs, were in danger of deceiving posterity, if no stop were put to that way of writing. He proceeds to give many instances of the flights of such kind of writers, and then returning to the fact before us, take notice, that it was the vulgar opinion, that *Alexander* received his wound before the capital of the *Oxydracæ* (7). It

is not easy to pronounce what was *Diodorus's* opinion; for in many copies we have *Syracusians* instead of *Oxydracians* (8). However, it is most probable, that he held that which *Arrian* calls the vulgar opinion, in which he is followed by *Curtius* (9). *Plutarch* is right as to the place; but he is among the number of those authors who report, that the king received a blow with a club upon his helmet, which so stunned him, that, a mist seeming to fall over his eyes, he fell down; but, recovering his spirits, rose again, and continued fighting till he was shot in the breast (1); yet *Ptolemy*, who could not but be well informed, wrote expressly, that he was only wounded in the breast (2). We might insist here on many other particulars, which, to avoid prolixity, we chuse to omit. These are sufficient to shew what care ought to be taken in writing the history of *Alexander*, and how dangerous it is to trust any author too much.

(7) *Arrian*. l. vi. c. 2.
(1) *Plut.* in vii. *Alex.*

(8) *Diod. Sic.* l. xvii.
(2) *Arrian*. ubi supra.

(9) *Curt.* l. ix.

their deputies to beseech *Alexander* to forget what was past, and to accept of the dominion of their country, which they offered him. At the same time arrived deputies from the *Oxydraca*, to tender their submission. They had formerly entered into an alliance with the *Malli*, to oppose *Alexander*, and put a stop to his conquests; and in order thereto, they assembled a great army, with which they proposed to have joined the forces of the *Malli*; but *Alexander's* marching through a desert, and thereby entering the country of the last-mentioned people, when they did not in the least expect it, rendered this project impracticable; and the ruin which then fell upon the *Malli*, induced this other *Indian* nation to seek their safety by a timely compliance with the king. Their deputies therefore acquainted him, that, not out of any disrespect to his person, but merely from the love of liberty, they had hitherto declined submitting to him; but that they were now ready to accept of such terms as he should please to give them. *Alexander* commanded, that they should send him no less than a thousand of the principal men among them to serve in his army, and to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the rest. As for the *Malli*, he added them to *Philip's* province, commanding him to have a strict eye over them. While he continued in this camp at the confluence of the *Hydraotes* with the *Acefines*, for the recovery of his health, and in expectation of *Perdiccas*, the thousand men he had demanded of the *Oxydraca* arrived, together with five hundred chariots of war, properly harnessed and equipped; which being over and above his demand, and a free gift of the people, he was so pleased therewith, that he gave the whole thousand men leave to return home, adding, that the faith of so generous a nation was a full security for their obedience.

THESE affairs settled, he employed his thoughts, first in augmenting his fleet, to which end he caused several new vessels to be built; as also in erecting a city, to which he was led from the commodious situation afforded by the confluence of two great rivers. *Oxyartes*, the father of his wife *Roxana*, came hither to pay his respect to him; and was kindly received, having the government of *Paropamisus* bestowed upon him, the old governor having been displaced for maladministration. To this province, that he might further gratify his father-in-law, the king joined all the country, from the falling of the *Acefines* into the *Indus* to the sea, joining *Python* with him in commission: then having transported *Craterus* and his forces cross the river, and given him such directions as he thought fit, *Alexander*, with a larger part of the army than before, embarked on board his fleet, and continued his voyage. He had received information, that

Year of the flood
2022.
Bef. Chr.
326.



Musicanus
an Indian
king sub-
mits to
him.

the kingdom of *Musicanus*, which lay at no great distance, was one of the richest and most populous in *India*. He was therefore highly incensed, that this prince should neither have sent ambassadors to make his submission, nor have taken any other method to bespeak his favour; and for these reasons would not hear of making any stop or stay till his fleet arrived on the coasts of this kingdom. *Musicanus*, surpris'd at his sudden visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train; and, having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and his realms into his hands, and acknowledged his offence; which kind of behaviour always weigh'd much with *Alexander* towards obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardoned him, and admir'd at the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he deliver'd the government of both again into his hands; but, lest he should attempt any innovation when he was at a distance, he order'd *Craterus* to build a castle in the city, and himself carry'd there to see it finish'd.

Marches
against
Oxycanus
another
Indian
prince:

and takes
him pri-
soner.

Reduces
other king-
doms.

THIS done, he left a strong garison therein; because this fort seem'd extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and keeping them in subjection. Then, with his archers and *Agrians*, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he march'd against a neighbouring prince nam'd *Oxycanus*, and invaded his dominions; because he neither came forth to meet him, nor sent ambassadors with the surrender of himself and country. He took two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the king himself was taken prisoner. *Alexander* gave the spoils of them to his soldiers, and carry'd away his elephants; whereupon all other cities belonging to *Oxycanus* immediately submitted without blows. So much did the courage and fortune of *Alexander* prevail against the *Indians* in those parts. After this he led his forces against *Sambus*, whom he had before declar'd governor of the *Indian* mountaineers; but who had fled, when he heard, that *Musicanus* was dismiss'd in a friendly manner, and had his dominions restor'd; for he was at enmity with *Musicanus*. When *Alexander* approach'd the capital city of his province, call'd *Sindomana*, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of *Sambus* came forth to meet him, with presents of money and elephants, assuring him, that *Sambus* did not retire out of his territories by reason of any sinister designs against him, but for fear of *Musicanus* after his enlargement. Having then received the homage of these, he attack'd and won a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many of the *Brachmans* as fell into his hands, charging them with being the authors of this rebellion. About this time he receiv'd advice, that king

Musi-

Musicanus was revolted; whereupon *Python* the son of *Agencer Causes* was dispatched with a body of troops sufficient to reduce that kingdom again; which he performed effectually, distributing garisons throughout all the country, and bringing with him, on his return to the camp, *Musicanus* in chains. *Alexander* directed that prince to be carried back into his own dominions, and there crucified, together with all the *Brachmans* who were about him, and had instigated him to this revolt ^(Q).

THE
Brach-
mans.

^b *ARRIAN*. l. vi. c. 15, & seq. *DIOD. SIC.* ubi supra. *PLUT.* in vit. *Alex.*

(Q) *Diodorus*, from the embarkation of *Alexander* to his entering the territories of *Sombus*, hath abundance of passages which are not to be found in *Arrian*. The reason seems to be, because they are either ill founded or trivial (3). *Curtius*, however, has transcribed the same tales very carefully, and, as usual, with some improvements (4). But, what is not a little odd, neither of these writers have obliged us with any distinct account of *Alexander's* war with *Musicanus*, though they have both mentioned it slightly. *Strabo* treats of it accurately, as indeed he does of every thing, of which, by his subject, he is led to treat at all. He informs us, that the subjects of this prince were a very wise and polite people, and therefore we need not wonder, that they could not long brook slavery (5). As to *Oxy-canus*, *Diodorus* and *Curtius* are also very concise: however, they differ from *Arrian*; for they expressly affirm, that the king was slain; whereas he says, he was taken prisoner. *Diodorus* calls him *Porticanus*, and he is called so likewise in the best editions of *Curtius*. As to *Sambus*, whom

Diodorus calls by the same name, but who is called by *Strabo* *Sabutas*, by *Plutarch* *Sabbas*, *Curtius*, who calls him *Sabus*, insists very largely (6), as all authors agree, that the revolt of this prince was, by *Alexander*, charged upon the *Brachmans*, whom he punished most severely for it, till such time as he became acquainted with their wisdom and generous notions; for then, if we may believe *Plutarch*, he revered and used them kindly, especially on account of an excellent maxim in government taught him by *Calanus*, one of the principal philosophers of the country; which happened thus: *Calanus*, through the intreaty of *Taxiles*, came, contrary to the custom of the *Indian* sages, to visit the king; and, when *Alexander* desired to receive from him some mark of his extraordinary science, he called for a dry hide, and, throwing it upon the floor, first trod on this side, and then on that; which made it continually rise in one place, as it became flat in the other. At last he set his foot in the middle, which made the whole hide lie even; thereby instructing *Alexander*, that, to keep so great

(3) *Diod.* ubi supra. (4) *Curt.* ubi supra. (5) *Diod.* *Curt.* ubi supra. *Plut.* in vit. *Alex.* *Strab. geogr.* l. xv. (6) *Ubi supra.*

Alexander THE king of *Pattala*, a noble island in the river *Indus*, came and submitted himself to *Alexander*, who restored him to his dominions, promising to come shortly and visit him, and directing him to furnish all his army and fleet with provisions. The king then dispatched *Craterus* with a considerable body of horse and foot to escort the invalids through the countries of *Arachosia* and *Drangia* into *Caramania*, where they were to embark for *Macedon*, the elephants also being committed to his care. As to the rest of his army, part of it, under the command of *Python*, marched on one side of the river; another part, under *Hephaestion*, on the other side; the rest remained on board with the king, who, as soon as his affairs would permit him, continued his voyage to *Pattala*. When he came thither, he was exceedingly surprised to find, that the prince, who had lately submitted to him, was fled with almost all his subjects, leaving the cities empty, and the fields destitute of husbandmen. The king thereupon dispatched some light-armed troops, in order to make prisoners; which having done, and brought them to the camp, the king kindly dismissed them, ordering them to tell their countrymen, that they might safely return to their habitations; for that he would do them no injury whatever. Perceiving that, at the point of the island *Pattala*, the river *Indus* divided itself into two vast branches, he ordered an haven and convenient docks to be there made for his ships; and, when he had careened his fleet, he sailed down the right-hand branch towards the

Is in great danger.

ocean. In his passage, however, he sustained great difficulties through the want of pilots; and at the mouth of the river *Indus* very narrowly missed being cast away: yet all this did not hinder him from pursuing his first design, though it does not appear, that he had any other motive thereto, than the vain desire of boasting he had entered the ocean beyond the *Indus*; and this is confirmed by what he performed when he did enter the ocean; for, having consecrated certain bulls to *Neptune*, and thrown them into the sea, performed libations out of golden cups, and thrown them also into the ocean, he came back again, having only surveyed two little islands, one at the mouth of the *Indus*, and one seated farther in the ocean (R).

ON

• ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 18, 19. DION. ubi sup. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

an empire quiet, he ought to retire, to endanger the rest of his side in its centre, and not make dominions (7).
expeditions into remote coun- (R) When *Alexander* sailed

ON his return to *Pattala*, he found, that the commands *He re-* he had issued when he left that place, were, in a great mea- *solves to* sure, complied with; that the fort was in a defensible condi- *leave the* tion, and the dock capable of being made use of. He then *navy, and* resolved to sail down the other branch of the *Indus* into the *proceed by* ocean, that he might see whether it were safer and more com- *land to* modious for his fleet than that which he had already tried; *Babylon.* nor did he fail of offering very plausible reasons for his conduct in this respect. He was informed, that the season of the year would not permit a favourite design of his to be executed; which design was this: He had resolved to send *Nearchus* with his fleet by the ocean, through the *Persian* gulf, up the

down the right-hand branch of the *Indus*, he found its mouth to be there two hundred furlongs broad. Here the flux and reflux of the sea, with which himself and his principal commanders were unacquainted, exceedingly amazed them (8). *Curtius* has described their surprize in too rhetorical a manner, and for it has been severely censured (9). At this mouth of the river there lay an island called by *Arrian* *Cillutas*; by *Plutarch* *Scillustis* (1). *Curtius* has given it no name. Here his fleet anchored, while himself sailed out farther to sea, and took a view of another island; after which he returned to his fleet, offered sacrifices on that island where he had left them, and afterwards sailed again beyond the other island, that he might boast of his daring exploits in the ocean. He then sacrificed once more to the gods, and besought them, says *Plutarch*, that no other man might exceed the bounds of his expedition (2); which carries in it little probability. What is related in the text of his sacrificing for the safety of *Nearchus*, who was to sail from

thence through the *Persian* gulf to the mouth of the river *Euphrates*, is reasonable and just. It is said, when this design was first undertaken by *Nearchus*, that *Alexander* affected a degree of coldness. He who feared nothing for himself, had a mind to pass for one who was apprehensive of all things for his friends, and who could scarce think of exposing them to the peril of such a voyage, when he was not to share with them their dangers in person. But *Nearchus* overcame all these real or pretended scruples, by assuring the king, that he believed it very practicable for him to fulfil all that had been proposed; and, on the other hand, *Alexander* was himself extremely cautious in providing for the safety of his fleet, by all the methods that human wit could devise, or human labour execute, as we have shewn in the text; and therefore need not expatiate further on it here. The curious and inquisitive reader may, if he pleases, inform himself further on this head, from the authors mentioned at the bottom of the page (3).

(8) *Arrian. l. vi. c. 19.*
Alex. (2) *Idem ibid.*

(1) *Plut. in*
(3) *Strab. geogr. l. xv. Arrian. l. vi. l. 1.*

river *Tigris*, to meet him and his army in *Mesopotamia*; but the possibility of this voyage depending on the ceasing of the *Etesian* winds, there was a necessity of laying up the fleet, till the season should prove favourable. *Alexander* therefore, sailing through this branch of the *Indus*, fought on the sea-coast for bays and creeks, where his fleet might anchor in safety; he caused also pits to be sunk, which might be filled with fresh water for the use of his people; and took all imaginable precautions for preserving them in ease and safety, till the season would allow them to continue their voyage. In this he succeeded to his wish; for he found this branch of the river *Indus*, at its mouth, spread over the plain country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger: he therefore appointed *Leonatus*, and a part of his army, to carry on such works as were necessary; and caused them to be relieved, as occasion required, by fresh troops. Then having given his last instructions to *Nearchus*, he departed with his army, in order to march back to *Babylon* by land.

*Some
advise to
divert him
from this
design.*

*But in
vain.*

BEFORE his departure, there wanted not some who had so much love for him, and concern for the army, as to inform him, that nothing could be more rash or dangerous than this resolution. They acquainted him, that the country though which he was to travel was a wild uncultivated desert, where his soldiers would be doubly exposed to the danger of dying for hunger, and to the peril of being lost through heat and thirst: they added, that *Semiramis*, when she fled out of *India*, endeavouring to lead her army this way, brought but twenty of them home; and that *Cyrus*, doing the same thing, escaped with but seven. This was so far from having the desired effect, that it more than ever determined *Alexander* to this very method: for it was his peculiar vanity to desire not only to overcome all nations, but even nature herself, and to attempt and perform those things which none but himself would have dared to think of. He remained therefore fixed to his first purpose; and, as soon as he had put things in order, marched at the head of a sufficient body of troops to reduce the *Orita*, who had been hitherto free, and who had never vouchsafed either to make submission, or to court his friendship. Their territories lay on the other side the river *Arabis*, which *Alexander* crossed so speedily, that they had no intelligence of his march, and so made an easy and quick conquest of the whole country, though not of the inhabitants; for most of them fled into the deserts. Their capital he found to be so well situated, that he resolved to take it out of their hands, and to cause a new and noble city to be erected there, the care of which he committed to *Hephastion*;

sion; then he received the deputies of the *Oritæ*, and the *Ge-* *The Oritæ*
drofi; and, having assured them, that if the people returned *and Ge-*
 to their villages, they should be kindly treated, and having *drofi sub-*
 appointed *Apollophanes* president of the *Oritæ*, and left a con- *mit.*
 siderable body of troops under *Leonatus* to secure their obe-
 dience, he began his arduous march thro' *Gedrosia* (S).

THE road itself was exposed to many inconveniencies: *The mi-2.*
 for, first, it was very uncertain: secondly, it was extremely *ries sub-*
 troublesome on account of its lying through deep and loose *turned by*
 sands, rising in many places into hillocks, which forced the *the Mac-*
 soldiers to climb, and at the same time sunk under their feet: *edonians.*
 thirdly, there were no towns, villages, or places of refresh-
 ment, to be met with; so that after excessive marches, they
 were forced to encamp among these dry sands. As to provi-
 sions, they hardly met with any during their whole march;
 the soldiers were therefore forced to kill their beasts of car-
 riage; and such as were sent to bring some corn from the sea-
 side, were so grievously distressed, that, though it was sealed
 with the king's signet, they cut open the bags, choosing rather
 to die a violent death for disobedience, than to be famished.
 But *Alexander*, when he was informed of the matter, freely
 pardoned them; conceiving, that his own commands were
 dispensed with by the necessities of nature: he was likewise
 forced to overlook the excuses that were daily made him for
 the loss of mules, horses, &c. by excessive heat, which were
 in truth eaten by the soldiers, and their carriages broken in
 pieces to avoid further trouble. As for water, their want of
 it was a great misfortune; and yet their finding it sometimes
 in plenty was a greater; for as by the first they perished thro'
 thirst, so by the latter they were burst, thrown into dropsies,
 and rendered incapable of travel. Frequently they met with
 no water for the whole day together; sometimes were dis-
 appointed of it at night; in which case, if they were able,
 they marched on; so that it was common with them to tra-
 vel thirty, not seldom they were forced to march forty, some-
 times they were constrained to go fifty, nay, even sixty
 miles without encamping. Numbers through these hardships
 were constrained to lag in the rear; and, of these, many

(S) The most sober writers of the affairs of *Alexander* find them-
 selves constrained to launch out a
 little into rhetorical descriptions of
 this more than *Herculean* labour,
 which the king imposed upon
 himself and his soldiers, merely
 that he might have the reputa-
 tion of surpassing all the heroes
 of antiquity (4). We shall, as the
 nature of our work requires,
 give as distinct, but at the same
 time as short; an account of it as
 we may.

(4) *Arrian. lib. vi. c. 21 — 27. Diod. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.*

were left behind, and perished ; for indeed scarce any ever joined the army again : so that, of all others, this was the most dreadful misfortune that had ever befallen them ; which however they sustained with the more patience from the example of their king, who not only supported all these evils with invincible patience, but even carried his courage and self-denial farther, and performed such things as nothing but the authority of the writers who relate them, could engage us to credit (T).

Alexander arrives at the capital of Gedro-na.

WHEN he arrived at the capital of *Gedrosia*, he allowed his fatigued army some rest. Here he removed *Apollonides* for

(T) These extraordinary acts of *Alexander* are recorded by *Arrian* after this manner : As the forces continued their march through these sands, which reflected the burning rays of the sun upon them, it was necessary that they should send out parties daily to seek for water. The king, though ready to faint away with thirst, marched on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and soldiers, as is usual in such cases, might the more patiently endure those hardships which their general shared in common with them. In the mean while, some light-armed soldiers, who were to search for water, found a small quantity not far from the army ; in the chanel of a brook almost dried up ; but it was very muddy : however, they drew it up, and, bringing it in a shield, presented it to the king as a choice gift. He received it ; and, returning due thanks to those who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground, in presence of the army. This action of his encouraged the soldiers as much as if every man had drank a share of that water which he refused to taste ; and his extraordinary self-denial is no less praiseworthy than the noble ex-

ample he shewed of a wife and consummate general. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been speedily remedied, might have occasioned the loss of the whole army ; for, the sands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the surface reduced to a level, their guides themselves were at a loss how to conduct the army any further. In this difficulty *Alexander* was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himself, with a few chosen horse, went before to point out the road ; but their horses, quite spent with heat, were most of them left behind ; inasmuch that only he, with five of his followers, passed through the sands to the sea-shore safe on horseback. However, on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coast, and found plenty of water sweet and clear ; whereupon he ordered the army thither, and, after that, travelled seven days along the sea-coast, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides assuring him they knew the way again, they left the sea, and led the army into the inland parts (5).

(5) *Arrian. lib. vii. Plut. in vit. Alex.*

non-execution of his orders. *Thoas* was the successor assigned him ; and he dying soon after, *Sibyrtius* had the government given to him. About this time *Alexander* was informed, that *Philip*, whom he had left president in *India*, had been murdered by the mercenary soldiers, but that most of these had been put to death by the *Macedonians* ; which occasioned his writing to *Endemus* and *Taxiles* to take upon them the administration of affairs there, till such time as he should send another president. The king then began his march into *Caramania*, a very plentiful country, where the troops made themselves amends for the hardships and fatigue they had sustained. Here the king again halted, to give time to those who were appointed to meet him to come thither. *Craterus* first joined him with the troops and elephants ; then came *Stasanor* pretident of the *Arians*, and *Pharjmanes* the son of *Phrataphernes*, governor of *Parthia*. They brought with them camels, horses, and other beasts of burden, in vast numbers ; for they foresaw, that the king's march through *Gedrosia* would be attended with the loss of most, if not all the cavalry and beasts belonging to his army. Their care in this respect was highly commended, as also that of *Craterus*, who seized *Ordonos* a *Persian* nobleman, who had been practising to raise a rebellion ^d.

THE king's return into *Caramania* made a vast alteration in the affairs of his empire ; for, as, from the moment he entered it, he heard and redressed all grievances, so the people from all the neighbouring provinces, who had been grievously oppressed in his absence, came readily to inform him of their grievance. *Clitander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, who had since the death of *Parmenio* commanded in chief the forces quartered in *Media*, repaired hither with their troops ; and were hardly arrived, when they were accused of many flagrant crimes, such as suppressing the *Persian* religion, extorting vast sums of money from the people, ravishing women, and, in short, giving a loose to their passions in all things. *Clitander* and *Sitalces*, being fully convicted, were immediately put to death ; but *Heracon*, baffling his accusers, was acquitted : yet, the inhabitants of *Susa* preferring a new charge against him, he was seized, convicted, and executed ; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to *Alexander*, and at the same time obliged all the magistrates acting under him to behave as became them. The king, after a short recess, continued his march through *Caramania*, not with a *Bacchanalian* solemnity, as some authors, and particularly *Plutarch*, have reported,

^d ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 27. DIOD. PLUT. ubi supra.

but gravely, and in good order, as *Arrian* assures us from *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, who in their memoirs contradicted the vain relations which others took pains to propagate (U). In his march, *Nearchus* his admiral joined him, and gave him an account, that all under his command were in perfect safety, and in an excellent condition; with which the king was mightily pleased, and, having treated him with singular marks of favour and respect, sent him back to the navy.

(U) *Diodorus Siculus*, after having given us a dreadful picture of the miserable condition of *Alexander's* army, when it returned out of *India*, tells us expressly, that, as soon as they entered a rich and plentiful country, the king caused them to celebrate a feast to *Bacchus*, himself leading the dance, and the army following dressed in the *Bacchanalian* mode, seven whole days being spent in rioting and drunkenness (6). *Plutarch* heightens this scene a good deal, and runs into a long description of the pomp and splendor of this romantic cavalcade (7). *Curtius* exceeds *Plutarch*, and displays his rhetoric in a very pompous detail of this *Dionysian* festival. At the close of his account he has added some political reflections, which indeed shew, that such a march was excessively foolish and ridiculous; but at the same time bear so hard on the probability of the fact, that one would think they were sufficient to overthrow it. He observes, that, if but one thousand men of courage had attacked this drunken and dissolute rout, they must at least have defeated; and might have easily cut them all to pieces (8). *Arrian*, however, assures us, that *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, who accom-

panied the king in his march, said nothing in their memoirs of the celebrating any such festival (9). The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* (1), and the learned dean *Prideaux* (2), both mention this march, without giving their readers the least notice, that there is reason to doubt what some authors have delivered about it. Nay, the latter actually quotes *Arrian* in support of this passage, which, however, he flatly contradicts. This shews the necessity of separating the relations of different authors, if we intend to instruct, and not to confound readers; and demonstrates the use of an history written truly from what is delivered by the antients, and not after the collections of the moderns, who are too apt to regard the symmetry and beauty of their own works, to intersperse those doubts which necessarily arise from the consideration of divided authorities. We thought this no less requisite to be said in defence of our own work, than proper for the information of the reader, since we presume not to dissent from the opinions of men of so great worth as *Raleigh* and *Prideaux*, but for the sake of siding with truth and justice, which no authority ought to overbear.

(6) *Diod. lib. xvii.*

(7) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

(8) *Curt. lib. ix. prop.*

fn. (9) *Arrian. lib. vi. c. 23.*

(1) *History of the world, book ii. sect.*

22. (2) *Concession of the Old and New Testament, p. i. b. viii. ant. C. 325.*

SOME informations having reached the king's ear, of great disorders committed in *Persia* during his absence, he immediately set out, with a body of horse and light-armed troops, for *Pasargadæ*, where was the tomb of *Cyrus*. It was a small, but neat pile of building, with a fine plantation about it; and near it a convenient house for some of the magi, who were appointed to take care of it. In the tomb itself lay the body of *Cyrus* in a coffin of gold, placed on a bed of state, the apartment being in every respect royally furnished. This place, to his great concern and amazement, he found rifled, all things valuable taken away, except the coffin, which was strangely battered and bruised. All the inquiry he could make produced no discovery of the authors of this villainy; for the magi either could not or would not declare by whom it was done. All that in such a case, therefore, the king could do, was, to direct that every thing should be restored to the state it was in before this accident; which was accordingly done, and *Aristobulus* was appointed to see those orders executed. *Orsines* the *Persian* acted at this time as governor of *Persia*, *Alexander* not by any appointment from the king, but by usurpation, the governor settled there by *Alexander* dying while he was in *India*. This *Orsines* was charged by the people with many grievous crimes, particularly with putting many persons of distinction to death, merely to gratify his own resentments. Upon which accusations, after due proofs exhibited, he was condemned to be crucified. This story by some authors is related in a very different manner, as if not he, but *Alexander* himself, had been the criminal: however, there seem to be no just grounds for any such charge; and therefore we may justly wonder, that modern writers of great credit have given into it, and thence taken occasion to accuse *Alexander* of a vice which the best authors tell us he vehemently detested (W). *Peucestas*, who had saved the king's life when he fought

(W) *Curtius* tells us, that *Orsines* the *Persian* was lineally descended from *Cyrus*; that he met the king with a most prodigious train of carriages filled with all sorts of provisions and refreshments; to which he added presents of great value, and four thousand talents in ready money. He was also, as the same author tells us, extremely liberal to *Alexander's* friends; but passed by *Bagoas* the eunuch, whom this

author makes *Alexander's* catamite, without affording him any taste of his bounty. Nay, when he was put in mind of him by his friends, he answered, that he loved the king, and honoured his counsellors and captains; but as for such infamous fellows as *Bagoas*, he disdained and despised them. Upon this the eunuch determined to destroy him, and for that purpose hired certain mean wretches to forswear themselves,

and Bary-
axes the
Mede to
be exe-
cuted.

fought against a whole garison, was appointed governor of *Persia*. Which dignity was no sooner conferred upon him, than he laid aside the *Macedonian* garb, and put on the *Median* habit, being the only one of *Alexander's* captains, who, by complying with the manners of the people he governed, acquired their affection. *Baryaxes* a *Mede*, who had put on the royal tiara, and assumed the regal stile, being brought prisoner hither by *Atropates* governor of *Media*, with those who had counselled him to revolt, was with them, by order of the king, put to death: after which *Alexander* marched to *Persepolis*, the ruins of which when he had a while considered, he is said to have expressed great concern for what he had done. In these marches *Calanus* the *Indian*, who had accompanied *Alexander* at his intreaty, finding himself declining in health by reason of a flux which hung upon him, besought the king, that a funeral pile might be prepared, which with some difficulty was granted. The sage, now so weak

by vouching upon their oaths such stories as he taught them. Himself took pains to poison the king's mind with the most malicious tales, and the most cruel suggestions, against this innocent and worthy man, whom at length he took this opportunity to destroy: The king, going to visit the tomb of *Cyrus*, which we have described in the former page, found it robbed of every thing valuable. *Bagoas*, seeing *Alexander* surprised, immediately said, he wondered not in the least at it; for that some governors were so rich, that their houses would not contain their wealth; and that in all probability *Orsines* would not have parted with his money so freely, if he had acquired it very honestly. Then *Bagoas* put his false witnesses upon accusing *Orsines*, and on their testimony he was condemned and executed. *Curtius* tells us, that, as he went to his execution, *Bagoas* struck him; and that thereupon *Orsines* said, *I have heretofore been in-*

formed, that the Persian empire had been governed by women; but that it should be ruled by an eunuch, is a new thing (3). We are not able to trace any part of this story in all the histories remaining of *Alexander's* life, excepting this of *Curtius*. *Arrian* says expressly, that *Orsines* was put to death for sacrilege, oppression, and cruelty (4). *Plutarch*, speaking of the robbery committed in *Cyrus's* tomb, says, that *Alexander* put to death *Polymachus* a man of quality, and native of *Pella* in *Macedonia* (5). As to the fact, we can say no more; but, as to the dying words, they certainly belong to *Curtius*; for *Orsines* could not possibly use them. He must have remembered the empire ruled by a name-sake of this very eunuch; nay, he must have remembered this very eunuch in the highest favour with *Darius*. Let the reader decide of the rest as he thinks fit.

(3) *Curt. lib. x.*(4) *Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 30.*(5) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

as to be carried in a litter, caused himself to be placed therein on the top of the pile, after having taken an affectionate leave of the *Macedonians*, particularly of *Lyfimachus*, who was his disciple ; and, stretching himself at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midst of the flames *.

THE king, having dispatched *Atropates* to his government, *Ende-* marched himself to *Susa*, where *Abulites*, and his son *Oxathres*, *vours to* being charged with great crimes in the administration of public affairs, were put to death. Afterwards the king gave an extraordinary loose to pleasure, resolving to make himself, *unite the* his officers and soldiers, an amends for the difficulties they had *Macedo-* hitherto undergone, purposing at the same time so effectually *nians and* to unite his new-conquered with his hereditary subjects, that the jealousies and fears, which had hitherto tormented both, should no longer subsist. With this view he took himself two *Takes two* wives of the royal blood of *Persia*, *Barsine*, or *Statira*, the *wives of* daughter of *Darius*, and *Parysatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. *the royal* *Drypetis*, another daughter of *Darius*, he gave to *Hephæstion* ; *blood of* *Amastriue*, the daughter of *Oxyartes* the brother of *Darius*, *Persia*, married *Craterus* ; and the rest of his friends, to the num- *and gives* ber of eighty, he gave other women of the greatest quality. *others to* All these marriages were celebrated at once, *Alexander him-* *his friends* self bestowing fortunes on them : he directed likewise, that the numbers of his officers and soldiers, who had married *Asiatic* wives, should be taken ; and though they appeared to be ten thousand, yet he gratified each of them according to his rank.

He resolved next to pay the debts of his army ; and *Pays all* thereupon issued an edict, directing every man to regi- *the debts* ster his name, and the sum he owed ; with which the sol- *of the are* diers complying slowly, from an apprehension that there was *my* something else behind, he ordered tables heaped with money to be set in all the quarters of the camp, and caused every man's debts to be paid on his bare word, without so much as making any entry of his name ; though the whole sum came to twenty thousand talents. On such as had distinguished *Rewards* themselves in an extraordinary manner, he bestowed crowns *those who* of gold. *Peucestas* had the first ; *Leonatus* the second ; *bad distin-* *Nearchus* the third ; *Onesicritus* the fourth ; *Hephæstion* the *guished* fifth ; and the rest of his guards each of them one. After *themselves* this he made other dispositions proper for conciliating, as he *in war* supposed, the differences among all his subjects. He reviewed the thirty thousand youths, whom at his departure for *India* he had ordered to be taught *Greek*, and the *Macedonian* discipline ; expressing high satisfaction, that the fine appearance

they made rendered them worthy of the appellation he had bestowed on them, to wit, *Epigoni*, i. e. successors. He promoted also, without any distinction of nation, all those who had served him faithfully and valiantly in the *Indian* war. When all these regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to *Hephaestion*, and ordered him to march directly to the banks of the *Tigris*, while in the mean time a fleet was equipped to *Eulaeus*, for carrying the king, and the troops he retained with him, down to the ocean^f (X).

*Enters the
mouth of
the Tigris,
and sails
up that
river.*

WHEN he arrived with his fleet in the ocean, he directed his course to the mouth of the river *Tigris*, which he entered, and sailed up to the camp of *Hephaestion*, without meeting either with any extraordinary obstacle, or himself performing any thing worth recording, except that he directed certain engines to be removed, which the *Persians* had placed in the river to render it less navigable; for he conceiving this to be a cowardly and scandalous practice, worthy of the old masters of the river, though not of him, would not permit these incumbrances to remain any longer, and therefore set the river free. When the king came to *Opis*, a city seated on the *Tigris*, he issued an edict, purporting, that such of the *Macedonians*, as through infirmity or wounds were incapable of serving longer, or who through the hardships they had undergone were unwilling to make any more campaigns, might have their discharges, and return home; but that such as chose rather to remain with him, should receive so much encouragement, that those in their own country should envy their condition. This was certainly intended to please the soldiers, and to make them perfectly easy. It had, however, a quite contrary effect; for as soon as the army were informed of his intent, they began immediately to clamour in an unusual manner, and to transgress all the bounds both of reason and duty; insomuch that when the king mounted his tribunal, they assembled round it, demanding, *That they might all be discharged*; and reproached the king with the favours

*The army
mutinies.*

^f ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 6. DIOD. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. CURT. lib. x.

(X) It is clear from this short expedition, that *Alexander* began to have a great taste in maritime affairs, which had been too much neglected by his predecessors, his father *Philip* only excepted. It is said, that he meditated a voyage to the coasts of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, and thence

round the whole continent of *Africa* to the streights of *Gibraltar*. However, of this there seems to be no great certainty; but that he really intended to subdue the *Carthaginians*, and make some attempt on *Italy*, is more than probable.

he

he had conferred on the barbarians, bidding him *take his dancing boys, and conquer nations*; and some of them had the insolence to tell him, *That his father Ammon and he might go and subdue the world by themselves.*

IT was upon this occasion that the king performed the most *The king's shining action* in his whole life; he leaped from his tribunal, *intrepidity* and calling to his guards, made them seize, one by one, *and resolution.* thirteen of the ring-leaders, whom he pointed out, and ordered to be put to death upon the spot. This struck such a terror into the rest, that they were all silent; whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and, in an eloquent speech, shewed the justice of his own conduct, and the folly of theirs. When he had done speaking, he descended again from his tribunal, and retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends, for two days; on the third he called the *Persian* nobility round him, promoted them to the principal commands in the army, and permitted such of them as were become his relations by marriage, to kiss him. In the mean time the *Macedonians* stood most of them about the tribunal like statues; but when they were told, that the king was forming a *Persian* army after the *Grecian* manner, and that he intended to give the title of the *Royal regiment* to a *Persian* corps of horse, they ran like distracted people to the palace; and surrounding it, laid down their arms, offered to deliver up the authors of the sedition, and protested that they would remain there day and night, till the king had pity on them. When *Alexander* was informed of this, he came to the gate in order to speak to them; but when he saw their arms on the ground, and their dejected looks, he melted into tears, and lost the power of speaking. A quarter of an hour past in deep silence; at last *Callines*, an antient man, who had served in an auxiliary troop of horse, broke it: *Your They are Macedonians, O king, said he, are full of grief, because you reconciled have styled the Persians your kindred, and have suffered them to kiss you, while they were excluded.* The king answered, *I now make you all my kindred, and henceforward will have you reputed so.* *Callines* thereupon stepping forward, kissed him, as did every one of the *Macedonians*. After this *Alexander* gave a solemn feast, at which were present nine thousand persons. The *Macedonians* sat next the king, next them the *Persians*, and after them persons of all nations. This vast company eat together, and drank all out of one golden cup, to the prosperity and perpetual affection of all the nations over whom *Alexander* was king.

Sends

home the
invalids.Year of
the flood

2023.

Bef. Chr.

325.

Harpalus
robs the
king's
treasury,
and flies to
Athens.

THE Macedonians who were sent home as invalids, amounted to ten thousand; they had each of them their pay, and a talent apiece given them over for their expences; *Craterus* was appointed their commander, and *Polyperchon* nominated to assist him. Orders were likewise sent into *Macedonia*, directing, that these old soldiers should have great respect paid them, and themselves and their children enjoy large privileges; their sons however, by *Asiatic* women, the king retained, appointing them schools and masters at his own expence. The severity with which he punished those governors who had offended during his absence, as it extremely pleased the people in general, frightened such as were guilty of the same crimes as those who were executed, insomuch that many of them fled; amongst the rest, *Harpalus*, who had fled once before; but now, to secure himself effectually, he took five thousand talents out of the king's treasury, and having collected about six thousand mercenary soldiers, he left them at *Tænarus*, and went himself to *Athens*; from whence, after some time, being obliged to withdraw, he returned to his troops, and was killed by *Thimbro*, one of his intimate friends. As for *Alexander*, having cured the army of sedition, he was plagued with disputes among his friends. *Hephæstion* his favourite, especially, presumed too far on his kindness towards him, and had once the insolence to remove *Eumenes*, the king's secretary, and the man of the clearest head in his whole army, out of his lodgings, for the sake of a musician belonging to himself: whereupon *Eumenes* went to the king, and, in the height of his passion, told him, *That the way to be in his favour now was to lay down their arms, and turn fiddlers*. The king was very angry with *Hephæstion*, and, after having reproved him sharply, obliged him, against his will, to be reconciled to *Eumenes*. Then the king continued his march through *Media* (Y). The cause of *Alexander's* route this way is not expressed by *Arrian*, or indeed any other author; but it may with probability be imputed to *Harpalus's* flight, and the danger there was, that the rest of the royal treasures might be

(Y) *Arrian* informs us, 'it was said that he received here from *Atrobates* a troop of female warriors, who were supposed to be *Amazons*; but the same author tells us, that no writer of any dignity had presumed to publish such a story in his work: he therefore rejects it as a fiction, as we also do; nor shall we trouble the readers with what other

authors relate of *Thalestris*, her corps of female warriors, and her desiring *Alexander's* private intercourse; tales fitter for a romance, than for any thing which bears the name of history, much less the history of *Alexander*, the most prosperous captain of the *Greeks*, once the most eminent and deserving people in the world.

dispipated :

disipated : however it was, the king continued his progress Alexander arrives at Ecbatan by pretty quick marches ^h.

On his arrival at that noble capital, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and exhibited solemn sports and plays, making also a royal banquet on that occasion ; but the joy and mirth, as well of the king as of his army, was very shortly interrupted by *Hephæstion's* falling suddenly ill, and appearing to be in great danger of death. Authors are not agreed as to the occasion of his sickness ; some expressly affirming, that he overdrank himself ; others, that he took a surfeit ; however, on the seventh day of his illness, mortal signs appeared : of which when the king had notice, he immediately quitted the place of exercise, where he was at that time, and went to see him : but he came too late ; for before he reached his lodgings, *Hephæstion* was dead (Z). The king expressed a very deep concern for the loss of his friend, and did him all the honours, that he could possibly devise (A). In the neighbourhood of *Ecbatana* dwelt the *Cossæans*, a race of rude and barbarous people, sheltering themselves in the *Median* mountains, and who some writers affirm were never subdued by the *Persian* kings. Against these people, on account of their having committed some new robberies, *Alexander*, though it was winter, resolved to march ; which accordingly he did, dividing his army into two bodies, one under his own command, and the other under that of *Ptolemy Lagus*. The

^h ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 13. DION. SIC. lib. xviii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xii.

(Z) It is said, that his physician having prescribed him a low diet, he refused to comply with it, eat a boiled capon, and drank freely of some wine which he liked that day ; whereupon his fever, returning with greater violence than ever, carried him off.

(A) *Plutarch* says, he ordered ten thousand talents to be spent on his monument ; *Arrian* mentions the same sum spent in his obsequies at *Babylon* : as for what *Ælian* tells us, that he raised the castle of *Ecbatana* (6) ; and what others affirm, that he crucified *Hephæsti-*

on's physician, and forbade the sound of the flute, or of any other musical instrument, in his camp ; it really deserves no credit. One thing *Arrian* informs us of, relating to this business, which is more probable, and at the same time more curious, and better worth relating ; to wit, that all the great officers in *Alexander's* army devoted themselves and their arms to *Hephæstion*, at the motion of *Eumenes*, who took this method of shewing, that, far from being pleased at the death of a man who had differed with him, he was deeply concerned at it (7).

(6) *Ælian*, *bist.* *var.* lib. vii. c. 8.

(7) *Arrian.* *all* *supra*.

The Cossians submit.

Cossians, as soon as *Alexander* entered their country, fled to their old hiding-places, supposing they would be now, as they had been heretofore, so many inaccessible fortresses: but they were quite mistaken; for *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* continually pursued them, and, at the head of the light-armed foot clambered up the rocks, and either compelled those who had taken shelter there, to come down, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to starve. Whereupon the *Cossians* in despair sent deputies to submit themselves to *Alexander's* mercy (B). While he was at *Ecbatan*, he gave orders for felling a great quantity of timber in the mountains for building a navy, with which he designed to examine the *Hyrcanian* or *Caspian* sea, and to make himself as thoroughly acquainted therewith, as he now was with the coasts of the ocean, and the passage into the *Tigris* by the *Persian* gulf. These directions given, and the necessary orders distributed

(B) Some authors have affected to call this expedition man-hunting; and tell us, that *Alexander*, having slain many thousands of these poor people, called it offering a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephæstion*. But if, as all authors agree, the *Cossians* were no better than a race of highland robbers, who, presuming on the natural strength of their country, thought to plunder such as passed through the skirts of it with impunity; with what propriety can the king's punishing these criminals be stiled man-hunting? As to his sacrificing to the manes of *Hephæstion*, we are told, that at *Babylon* he offered ten thousand beasts of different kinds to him: yet even this is taken from romance-writers; for neither *Ptolemy* nor *Aristobulus* mention any such thing. What credit then ought we to give to this story of sacrificing men? If we may be indulged a conjecture, we can offer some account of the origin of this tale. It is highly

probable, that some of *Alexander's* officers might propose the undertaking of this expedition to cure his grief; and in all likelihood some rhetorical flourisher, in his memoirs after *Alexander's* death, took from thence an hint of calling this a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephæstion*; and, which is natural enough, some dull writer or other transcribed this flourish for truth. *Arrian* often complains of such things, and *Eratostratus* had before exposed them: we may therefore justly wonder when we find modern writers transcribing these improbable stories, without giving their readers the least caution, or putting them in mind, that they are taken from writers of doubtful credit. If the following a different method hath something lengthened this history, the judicious peruser will not complain, since it is certainly of equal importance to be acquainted with the authority on which facts are founded, as to be told the facts themselves (6).

(6) *Aten. deipnosoph. lib. x. Plut. in vit. Alex. Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*

for the quiet administration of affairs in the province, he set out for *Babylon*.

In his march from *Ecbatan* to the last-mentioned city, he Alexander gave directions for collecting whatever *Grecian* statues, or *marches* to other curiosities, had been brought by *Xerxes*, or any of his *Babylon* officers, in any of their expeditions, out of *Greece* into the *Persian* dominions; and ordered they should be carefully sent back. He likewise gave audience to many ambassadors, not only from the states of *Greece*, but also from barbarian princes, who came to congratulate him on his safe return from his *Indian* expedition, giving them not only courteous and obliging answers, but also gratifying them in whatever requests they made him. When he drew near *Babylon*, the *The magi* magi are said to have sent a deputation, requesting the king *endeavour* not to enter that city, because they foresaw, that it would be *to divert* fatal to him. Others say, that they were afraid to deliver *him from* the message they were charged with to the king himself; but *entering* that they applied to *Nearchus*, who was then at court, and *that city* informed him of the king's danger: however it was, all agree, that the king had notice of these predictions of the magi, and that at first they made great a impression on him; but that when he heard the *Grecian* philosophers reason upon this subject, he began to slight such things, and to return to his first resolution of marching directly to *Babylon*. When the *Chaldeans* found this, they offered the king another piece of advice, which was this; that if he would needs enter *Babylon*, he should march round it, and so enter it with his face towards the east. To this the king assented; but when he attempted to put it in execution, he found it impracticable; for the country on the other side of *Babylon* being a deep impassable marsh, he was constrained to return, and to enter it with his face to the west. This, with some other presages, and un- *Is uneasy* lucky omens, some of which fell out, and others were re- *on account* membered about this time, gave the king great uneasiness (C). *of some* How- *presages*.

(C) The presages referred to in the text are thus related by *Arrian*. *Aristobulus* tells us a strange story which happened to one of *Alexander's* men in this manner: *Apollodorus* the *Amphipolitan*, one of the king's friends, having been deputed to preside over the army, which was left for the security of the province, *Maxæus* being then governor, met *Alexander* at his return

from *India*; and, perceiving how severely he had treated several governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother *Pythagoras*, one of those augurs who gave answers by inspecting the entrails of beasts, and consulted him about his own safety. *Pythagoras* asked him in answer to his letter, of whom he principally stood in fear, that he might divine accordingly: and when he replied, that he

Forms
new pro-
jects.

HOWEVER, when he had been some time in *Babylon*, he resumed his former spirit, and began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vast designs he had formed, such as the conquest of the *Arabians*, the draining the *Babylonian* fens, and making a basin at *Babylon* capable of containing a thousand galleys. As to the first of these designs, he directed proper inquiries to be made concerning the country, people, and most proper time for invading *Arabia*. For his third project, he instantly assigned a number of ship-builders, architects, and labourers, to carry it on ; and, as to the second,

he chiefly dreaded *Alexander* and *Hephaestion* ; *Pythagoras*, seeing the laps or fillets of the liver wanting, wrote a letter, and sent it sealed to his brother *Apollodorus*, then at *Ecbatana* ; wherein he assured him he need not stand in fear of *Hephaestion* ; for he would shortly be taken off by death. And *Aristobulus* tells us, that *Apollodorus* received this letter the day before *Hephaestion*'s decease. Then *Pythagoras*, again consulting for *Alexander*, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting thereto, wrote to the same purpose a second time to *Apollodorus*. He never so much as endeavoured to conceal the matter, but freely communicated the whole story to the king, as a testimony of his sincere good-will towards him, and intreated him to beware of the danger which threatened. *Alexander* hereupon commended him for his fidelity ; and, when he entered into *Babylon*, he demanded of *Pythagoras* by what means he was informed of those things which he had written to his brother concerning him ; and, being answered, that the livers of the sacrifices offered for that purpose were defective, he again inquired what that portended : to which the augur replied, some great mischief. How-

ever, the king was so far from being offended at him, that he respected him the more for relating the whole matter to him simply and sincerely. *Aristobulus* tells us, that he received this story from *Pythagoras*'s own mouth, who also afterwards inspected the entrails for *Perdiccas* and *Antigonus*, and gave the same responses, and the events happened accordingly ; for *Perdiccas* was slain making war against *Ptolemy*, and *Antigonus* lost his life in a battle against *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, at the river *Ipsus*. A strange story is also related concerning *Calanus* the sage, to this effect : When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kissed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except *Alexander* ; and, when he drew near the king for that end, he refused to kiss, and take his leave of him then ; but told him, he would find him again at *Babylon*, and do it there. These words were not at all regarded at that time by those who heard them ; but the decease of *Alexander* afterwards at *Babylon* brought them fresh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death (7).

he went in person down the *Euphrates*, about fourscore of our miles, to examine the canal called *Pallacopas*, by which the waters of the *Euphrates* were let out, in order to judge the better of the proposals he should receive for remedying those evils which fell so heavy upon *Affyria*. From thence he passed to the mouth of the canal, and so to the *Arabian* confines, where, finding an agreeable situation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of *Greek* mercenaries. Then he determined to sail back through the marshes, having the city on his left hand. To shew the skill he had acquired in naval affairs, he directed the royal gally himself; but, as he was upon deck for this purpose, his tiara and fillet, which, according to the eastern mode, he wore to denote his regal dignity, were blown off by the wind. The tiara, by its weight, was carried to the bottom of the river; but the fillet was borne by the winds to the sepulchre of one of the *Affyrian* kings, and there it stuck upon the reeds. A sailor seeing this, and being desirous to shew his zeal and courage in his master's service, jumped into the water, swam to the monument, and recovered the fillet; but, being afraid that it might be wet as he swam back again, he put it upon his head, which was believed to increase the presage already held ominous enough¹ (D). When the king returned to *Babylon*, he found there *Peucestas*, who was come from *Persia* with twenty thousand regular troops, besides a considerable corps of *Cossians* and *Tapurians*, nations lately reduced. *Philoxenus* also came thither with an army out of *Caria*, *Menander* with a body of troops from *Lydia*, and *Menidas* with several squadrons of horse. Embassadors from *Greece* also arrived, who approached the king with garlands on their heads, and presented him with golden crowns, intending thereby to offer him divine honours, a thing which had been fatal to his father, and proved no less so to the son. He was extremely desirous of forming the *Persian* troops on the *Macedonian* model; and, having first appointed them officers of that nation, he next determined to incorporate them into his grand army. For this purpose having directed a review, he assisted thereat for some time with great pleasure; but, finding himself on a sudden very dry, he quitted his throne,

An accidental interpreted as ominous.

His army reinforced.

Embassadors from Greece.

¹ ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 22. DIOD. SIC. lib. xvii.

(D) Some writers have informed us, that this sailor, on his coming on board, had a talent given him as a reward for his boldness, but that he was immediately put to death; but what *Aristobulus* says, besides the

credit it derives from his saying it, is much more probable, viz. that he was rewarded with a talent for saving the fillet, and scourged for his indiscretion in putting it on his head.

Another
event
thought
likewise
ominous.

to go and take some refreshment. A mean fellow, who was a prisoner, but sometimes permitted to go without chains, seeing the royal seat empty, passed briskly through the eunuchs, and sat himself down on the throne. When the king was informed of this, he ordered the man to be seized; and examined whether any body prompted him to this; or what was his motive, if he did it of his own accord. The man answered, that himself only was to blame, and that he did it from a levity of mind, for which he could not account. For this reason the thing was held still the more ominous, and the unhappy wretch, for his unaccountable presumption, immediately put to death.

Other
omens.

A FEW days after this, when *Alexander* offered the accustomed sacrifices for the success of his affairs, and had added some new ones by the advice of his soothsayers, he feasted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is also said to have given the flesh of the sacrificed beasts to his army, and ordered wine to be distributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bedchamber; but was met on his way by *Medius*, one of his friends, at that time in high favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the sports and entertainments in his apartments would not displease him. The royal diary (E) gives us an account, that he eat and drank with *Medius*, and then retired to rest; and when he awaked, and had washed and refreshed himself, he again supped with *Medius*, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had washed, he eat a little, and lay down there, because he had some symptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there sacrificed after his usual manner; and this he repeated several days; and, when the sacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpose for him, till the evening.

Has some
symptoms
of a fever.

IN the mean time he issued out orders to the captain of his troops to make ready for a march in four days time, and

(E) Who was the writer of the royal diary, is uncertain. Some ascribe it to *Cardianus Eumenes*, others to *Diodatus Erythraeus*, and others to *Stratius Olynthius*, who wrote, according to *Suidas*, a diary consisting of five books, giving a general account of *Alexander's* exploits, and a very particular one of his death. But, whoever was the author of that piece, *Plutarch*, a most judicious and accurate writer, has preferred it to all other accounts. According to this diary, *Alexander* was taken ill on the twenty-eighth day of the Macedonian month *Desius*, answering to the twelfth of our *May*; and died on the eighteenth of the same month, the twenty-second of our *May*, in the evening.

even

even nominated those who should travel on foot ; but those that were to go on board the fleet with him were to prepare themselves against the fifth day. After this he was carried to the river, and, being put on board one of his galleys, was conveyed to some pleasant gardens on the other side, where, after he had washed, he went to rest. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accustomed sacrifices ; which done, he entered his chamber, and held discourse with *Medius*, having given orders to his officers to attend him in the morning. He then supped moderately ; and, being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. How- *Is seized*
ever, the next morning he again washed and sacrificed, and or- *with a*
dered *Nearchus*, and the rest of his captains, to prepare for sail- *continued*
ing the third day. The next day he washed and sacrificed as *fever.*
before, but his fever still continued ; notwithstanding which, he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage ; and, having bathed, his fever in- *The fever*
creased towards the evening. The next day he was carried *encreases.*
into an house adjacent to the bath, where he performed his usual sacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was with great difficulty carried to sacrifice ; however, he still continued to renew his orders ; and, notwithstanding he grew manifestly worse, could not be restrained from sacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates ; and, growing still worse, he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace, and, his chief officers approaching near to pay their attendance, he made signs, that he knew them ; but was not able to speak, nor pronounce any thing articulate ; and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever still increased, and all that night, and the next day, continued strong and violent. The army by this time began to suspect, that the king was dead ; and as all crowds are violent in the pursuit of whatever they believe, they openly published this opinion of theirs ; and when it was contradicted by those about his person, some of the soldiers had the assurance to force into the royal apartments, and even into that where the king lay. He was by this time speechless, and scarce able to stir ; however, he raised himself up, and made shift to extend his hand for them to kiss ; which when they had done, they retired. A little after *Python*, *Attalus*, *Demophoon*, *Peucestas*, *Cleomenes*, *Menidas*, and *Seleucus*, came in. They had watched all night in the temple of *Serapis*, and had proposed the following question to the god, Whether *Alexander* should be brought into his temple to recover his health.

health. To which the oracle answered, That it would be best for him to remain where he was. They had been in the room but a small time when the king expired ; so that it was

Year of conjectured the oracle meant death was best for him. This the flood is *Arrian's* account. As for those of other writers, the reader will find them in a note, it being absolutely necessary to let whatever is said upon that subject rest on the particular credit of him who writes it* (F).

2025.
Bef. Chr.

323.
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\* ARRIAN. l. viii. c. 2 25, 26.

(F) *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the death of *Alexander*, usters it in with an account of his losing his tiara and fillet ; to avert which ill omen, he informs us, the king was enjoined to offer certain sacrifices ; which having performed, *Medius* invited him, on his return, to a banquet, where the king, drinking off the *Herculean* cup, was immediately struck with excessive pains, so that he was carried instantly to his lodgings. His sickness increasing, he began himself to despair of life, and gave his ring to *Perdiccas*. His friends inquiring to whom he left the kingdom, he answered, *To the most worthy*. He also intimidated his foresight of their broils, by saying, *He could already view the funeral games which would attend him*. This author mentions the report of *Alexander's* dying by poison, through the contrivance of *Antipater*, with the circumstances alleged to support that opinion. But he leaves the reader to judge for himself on the facts and reasons produced (8). *Plutarch* relates the manner of his death circumstantially. He says, that, after having given an entertainment to *Nearchus*, as he was going from the bath to bed, *Medius* would

needs conduct him to a banquet. There, he says, the king drank all night, and the next day, which threw him into a fever that carried him off. He expressly rejects the story of the *Herculean* bowl, and of the king's being taken in an extraordinary manner. As to his being poisoned by *Antipater's* contrivance, he mentions it, and all its circumstances, but openly professes his disbelief of it. He cites the king's diary, as *Arrian* does ; from whence it is clear, that there was nothing hasty or violent in *Alexander's* death, but that he was taken off by a fever (9). *Curtius* copies the same authors with *Diodorus*, but either delivers what they say more at large, or amplifies out of his own head. He tells us, that the king directed his body to be carried to *Ammon* ; that, when *Perdiccas* demanded at what time divine honours should be paid him, he answered, *When you are all happy*. He is positive, that the king was poisoned ; and affirms, that this black affair was stifled by the power of his successors. This is at least very improbable ; for the king died at *Babylon* ; *Antipater* commanded in *Greece* ; a sedition followed on the king's demise. Is it

(8) *Diod. Sic. l. xvii. prop. su.*

(9) *Plut. in vit. Alex. prop. su.*

WE have seen from the before-mentioned relation, as also *Other relations of Alexander died a natural death (G).* We are now come to *the king's death.*

not strange none of the contending parties should mention it then (1)? *Seneca*, speaking of the dreadful effects of drunkenness, expatiates on the death of *Alexander*: "He who in so many marches," says this elegant writer, "so many battles, and so many harsh seasons, had vanquished all the difficulties of time and place, after so many rivers and seas traced in safety, by intemperance in drinking was destroyed, and by the fatal *Herculean* cup was sent to his grave (2)." *Justin* writes more clearly than all the rest as to the poisoning, which he takes for an indubitable fact. In other circumstances he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Curtius*. He is clear also as to the king's speaking, after the soldiers had quitted the room; and yet *Arrian* and *Ptolemy*, from the king's diary, seem to agree he was speechless before they saw him. Perhaps he gave his ring to *Perdiccas*, and expressed his sentiments to his friends, just before he lost his speech (3).

• (G) The story is told thus: *Antipater*, say they, perceiving that he declined much in the king's favour, that *Craterus* was assigned him for a successor, and that himself was sent for into *Persia*, began to be fearful of the event. He therefore first of all sent his son *Cassander* to apologize for his conduct, with directions, if he found the king inexorable, to take him off; for

which purpose, by the contrivance of *Aristotle*, who was in fear that the king would put in execution the threats thrown out against him when *Callisthenes* was in prison, *Cassander* was furnished with some *Arcadian* water of a deadly nature, put up in a vessel made of a mule's hoof, in which alone it could be contained. This water, it is said, *Cassander*, when he thought it necessary, gave to his brother *Iollas*, who was the king's cup-bearer, by whom it was mixed with the wine which the king drank at the banquet given by *Medias*. The whole tale was, in all probability, a contrivance of *Olympias*, who, to give it the greater colour, would not suffer the body of *Iollas*, who died not long after, to remain interred; but cast out his remains, as if she was satisfied, that he had an hand in the death of his sovereign. The hatred which *Cassander* expressed towards the family of *Alexander* hath been also used as an argument in support of the probability of this story: but it has little in it; for, as the reader will see hereafter, this antipathy of *Cassander* may be accounted for as well, if not much better, from later causes. There is another story relating to *Alexander's* death, which, for its singularity, deserves to be recorded. It is said, that, when he found himself past recovery, he desired to be carried to the *Euphrates*, that, throwing himself thereinto, post-

(1) *Curt. l. x.*(2) *Senec. epist. lxxxviii.*(3) *Justin. l. xii.*

*Remarks on his character.* the end of that famous reign which makes so great a figure in history ; but we shall not take upon us to conclude it with any character of *Alexander*, because, in the best authors of antiquity, there are many characters of him already. To these we cannot altogether assent, and it would be, perhaps, setting our own authority too high, should we attempt to censure them : we shall therefore observe, that, in reading these characters, just regard ought to be had to the rank and credit of the several authors who wrote them. Historians have considered him either as an enterprising and successful prince, the glory of whose great actions scarce suffered the blemishes in his personal conduct to be seen, which is the light *Arrian* has placed him in ; or they make his virtues and vices alike conspicuous, which seems to be the view of *Curtius*. Philosophers and moral writers have dealt more strictly with him, and have therefore seldom run into high panegyrics, *Plutarch* only excepted ; who, in his orations on the fortune and virtue of *Alexander*, speaks as a rhetorician. The satirist *Lucian* hath described him with great spirit, and with consummate judgment ; but he seems to have kept his eye too closely on the latter scenes of his life, when his fortune, not his merit, was at its greatest height. However it is considered, his character is always shining, as his actions were in themselves very extraordinary. He died, according to the account of *Aristobulus*, in the hundredth and fourteenth olympiad, when he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and had reigned twelve years and eight months <sup>1</sup>. *Plutarch* agrees pretty well with this <sup>m</sup> ; but *Justin* asserts, that he was thirty three years old and one month ; for which questionless he had some, though, we think, not sufficient authority (H).

As

<sup>1</sup> Ap. ARRIAN. l. vii. c. 28.  
JUSTIN. l. xii. c. ult.

<sup>m</sup> PLUT. in vit. Alex.

erity might believe, as he came from, so he was returned to the gods ; but in this he was hindered by his wife *Roxana*, to whom upon that occasion he said, That she envied him the honour of his divine origin. *Arrian*, from whom we have this, tells us, that he inserted it in his history, only that it might appear he was acquaint-

ed with such reports ; but that, however, he gave no credit to them (4).

(H) We propose, in this note, to say somewhat of the historians who have written of *Alexander's* history, and of those especially from whom we have collected it. We will begin with *Aristobulus*. He was an eminent officer in

As to the issue he left behind him, we shall speak generally *The wives* here, and more particularly in the subsequent chapter. *By and de- Bar fine scendents of Alex-*

*Alexander's* army, and much in his favour, as is evident from his being entrusted with the care of seeing the tomb of *Cyrus* restored to its first condition (5). He wrote memoirs of what he saw, which are much commended, and in a great measure copied, by *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*; yet they had not the good luck to please *Alexander*, who, reading in them the story of his engagement with *Porus*, threw the book into the river *Hydaspes*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus*, who had once been *Alexander's* tutor, wrote of his actions; but his work, which was not much approved, hath been long lost. *Baton*, who acted as engineer in *Alexander's* army, published an account of *Alexander's* encampments during his expedition (6). The history which *Callisthenes*, the philosopher wrote of *Alexander* is said to have been excellent, so far as it went; yet it is questionable whether he wrote any history at all (7). *Clitarchus*, another of his followers, wrote a very fabulous history of his achievements (8). *Marfyas*, the brother of *Antigenus*, and who commanded the fleet under his nephew *Demetrius*, wrote a complete history of *Macedon*, including the reign of *Alexander*, which was much esteemed; and another treatise of the education of *Alexander*, for which he was exceedingly well qualified, because he was educated with him (9). *Nearebus*, *Alexander's* admiral, left the

journal of his *Indian* voyage, which *Arrian* made use of in his *Indian* history, not without a gentle censure of the author's veracity (1). *Onesimachus*, the captain of *Alexander's* gally, wrote an history, or rather a romance, in relation to his master's achievements. This man had genius, was a great philosopher, and had a good stile. It is said, that *Alexander*, having read this performance, said, He should be glad to come to life again after some time, to see what reception that book met with. Its author, it seems, read part of it once, which contained *Alexander's* war against the *Amazons*, to *Lyfimbachus*: And where, I pray, was I, said the king, when all these strange things happened (2)? There is still a manuscript history in *Latin*, which goes under the name of *Valerius*, stuffed with these romantic accounts, and for that reason never printed. As to authors in better repute, *Craterus* is said to have written memoirs of his master's victories, which were also recorded in the commentaries of *Eumenes*, and in the history of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, whom, of all others, *Arrian* commends and follows most. On this account it is that we prefer his history to all that are now extant; and, amongst other reasons, it is valuable for this, that we have it intire, excepting only a passage of no great length in the seventh book. *Strabo*, as he has occasion to mention the pro-

(5) *Arrian*. l. vii. (6) *Jesepb. cont. Apion*. (7) *Arrian*. l. iv. c. 15.  
(8) *Curt* l. ix. (9) *Arben. deiprosoph*. l. xiv. *Diod. Sic.* l. xxi. (1) *Arrian*.  
*hist. Indic.* *Strab. geogr.* l. xi. (2) *Plut.* in vit. *Alex*.

*Barsine* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and the widow of *Memnon*, a lady of great beauty and merit, he had a son named *Hercules*, who was afterwards murdered. By *Roxana* the daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*, he had a posthumous son named *Alexander*, who had for a time the title of king. By *Cleophis* queen of part of *India*, he had a son named *Alexander*, who succeeded his mother in her kingdom. By *Statira* the daughter of *Darius* he had no children, nor by *Parysatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. As to the former, the very judicious dean *Frideaux* seems to think, that *Arrian* mistook her name when he called her *Barsine*, and that he confounded her with the widow of *Memnon*<sup>u</sup>; but, upon looking farther into this matter, we find, that *Arrian* did not confound them, though there is a mistake in the name in the present copies; for it appears from the excerpts in *Photius*, that she was called by *Arrian*, not *Barsine*, but *Arsinæ*; which, for aught we know, might be her true name<sup>o</sup>. Of these ladies we have reason to suppose, that *Roxana* was the best beloved; since it appears, that he married her from the dictates of his passion, the rest for reasons of state.

The extent  
of the Ma-  
cedonian  
empire.

WE have now perfected the history of a reign, which bestowed the epithet of *Great* on him of whom we have been speaking, and extended his empire, in name at least, over the world. This indeed was rather a flight of *Grecian* flattery, than any adequate description of his dominions. He was far from being master of the world then known; for he possessed but part of *Asia*, a small part of *Africa*, and a still smaller of *Europe*: yet he was the lord of a multitude of fair provinces, the sovereign of many large and powerful kingdoms, and held an empire more extensive than the world had till that time seen. *Macedon* was his hereditary kingdom; a great part of *Thrace* and *Illyria* he had subdued; all *Greece* was under his protection; and the protection of so great a prince always did, and always will, include sovereignty. His *Asiatic* conquests reached

<sup>u</sup> Connect. of the Old and New Test. p. i. b. viii. ant. C. 325.  
<sup>o</sup> Ap. Phot. p. 214.

vinces conquered by *Alexander*, inserts also abundance of passages of his life, and furnishes us with various particulars, which are not to be found elsewhere. *Diodorus Siculus* has afforded us much assistance, and would have afforded more, if there had not been so large a chasm in his seven-  
teenth book. *Curtius* we have

all along examined, and, where it was necessary, made use of him, as also of *Justin*. *Ælian*, *Polyænus*, and *Frontinus*, have been consulted as to particular facts, together with *Lucian*, *Seneca*, and many others, whose names it is unnecessary to retale to the reader.

from the *Hellepont* to the *Indian* ocean, including all that the *great king* possessed, and more. *Egypt* and *Libya* were his; and all the *Greek* islands owned his authority. All these were the acquisitions of a few years, and many of them obtained in as little time as he could pass through them. We have, in the course of our history, endeavoured to place all these conquests according to the order of time in which they were made, as also according to their vicinity to each other. For the better understanding of the whole, we have subjoined a map of his dominions, wherein is marked the route of his army, from his first march out of *Macedonia*, to his last coming to *Babylon*; and that this might be still more intelligible, we have, in a note, shewn the value of that map in point of accuracy, and likewise explained its uses (F).

HERE

(F) The map which we have given our readers, was drawn by the famous *M. De Lisle*, in the year 1729. for the use of the *French* king. There is therefore all the reason in the world to believe, from the known ability of the author, and from the design of his work, that it is excellent in its kind, and was performed with all imaginable accuracy. In this map there is a double description of the countries laid down therein: one by *M. De Lisle*, founded upon astronomical observations; the other according to our modern geographers in general. The reader will have the satisfaction of comparing both, and of seeing all *Alexander's* marches and conquests, as they are delineated in one and in the other. The situation of places in *M. De Lisle's* map were, as we have said, determined by observations, where they were to be had, and, where they were not, from the geographical tables of the eastern astronomers, who, by comparison of the situations assigned of places

where observations had been made, were judged to come very near the truth. Where both of these were wanting, the distances set down in the relations of travellers in the highest credit were made use of. The inquisitive reader may be further satisfied of the care and nicety with which this map was drawn, if he will take the trouble of perusing a short, but very full, memoir on that subject, written by the author's son-in-law (3). We ourselves have taken some pains in the same way, and have compared the situation of the *Caspian* sea in *M. De Lisle's* map, by the chart of the same sea drawn by order of the *Czar*, and published in the year 1731. and find them to correspond very well. We have also found, that *M. De Lisle's* map reconciles the descriptions given by antient authors with those which have been delivered to us by the most judicious modern travellers. On the whole, therefore, we are well satisfied, that what we have just now said, and also what we have advanced

(3) *Recherches géographiques sur l'étendue de l'empire d'Alexandre, &c. Par M. Baubée. Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, 1731.*

HERE then let us quit this subject, with this remark, that the foregoing history is not collected from any one author; or with a partial regard to any of those it is collected from. We have compared the best writers of antiquity on this subject, and have from them laid down a regular series of events, distinguishing, as far as we were able, the probable from the improbable, the certain from the doubtful; and where we were not able thus to distinguish, we have cited the authorities, which hindered us from distinguishing; and have placed the evidence before our readers, that they may decide for themselves. Such is this history of the rise, progress, and establishment of the *Macedonian* empire; which, we hope, will be found consistent with the plan laid down of this work, and very different from any other yet extant in our language.

in the text, is agreeable to truth,      cern. To add more on this head, and no more than what every judicious reader will readily discern. Therefore, would be tedious.

*The End of the EIGHTH VOLUME*







